THE friedle ANNALES OF CORNELIVS A2 TACITYS. 12

THE DESCRIPTION OF GERMANIE.



LONDON,
Printed by J. L. for Richard Whitaker, and are to be fold at the figne of the Kings Armes in Pauls
Church-yard. 1640.

J. Caroline



THE RIGHT HO-NOVRABLE, ROBERT

EARLE OF ESSEX AND EVVE,

Earle Marshall of England, Viscount Hereford and Bourchier, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bourchier and Lovaine, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Master of the Queens Majesties horse, and one of her Majesties most honourable Privite Counsell.

HE worthinesse of this Authour well known unto your Honour, putteth me in some hope of pardon for my presumption; in presenting unto your Honours view, and craving a favourable acceptance of my bold unskilfulnesse. For if Historie be the treasure of times past, and as well a guide, as image

of mans present estate, a true and lively patterne of things to come, and as some terme it, the work-mistresse of experience, which is the mother of prudence; Tacitus may by good right chalenge the sirst place among the best. In judgement there is none sounder, for instruction of life, for all times, to those which oft reade him judiciously, nothing yeelding to the best Philosophers: no word not loaden with matter, and as himselfe speaketh of Galba, he useth Imperitoria brevitate: which although it breed difficultie, yet carrieth great gravitie. I present him therefore to your Honours savourable protection in regard of himselfe; but yet no otherwise then as a glasse, representing

in lively colours of prowesse, magnanimitie and counsell: not onely worthy personages of ages past and gone, but also your L. owne honourable vertues, whereof the World is both witnesse and judge. If your L. vouchsafe to receive him (though greatly darkened of that he first was, and very much dimmed in respect of the Historie alreadie in our tongue) into any degree of favour, I little doubt but others will both look on him, and the better like and allow him: for here below we receive either light or darknesse from above. Vespassans example wrought more then a law: for obsequium in Principes, and amulandi amor, to speak with Tacitus, maketh that to be ingreatest request, which perhaps in it selfe deserveth least. Whatfoever my unskilfull paines hath been, my zeale and devotion to your Honour I present with it; unto whom I wish all good hap and felicity, with the accomplishment of vertues and honourable

desires.

Your Honours most humbly devoted,

RICHARD GREENWEY.



THE READER.



Hat which most men alleadge, courteous Reader, as a cause of publishing unto the World their commendable endeavours; as commandement of superiours, intreatie of friends, or such like : causes yeelding some excuse, if things well done by them needed any, that can I no way pretend: though

no man hath juster cause to invent somewhat to excuse that, which (well knowing and confessing my owne insufficiency) I should by no inducements have beene drawne unto. For I wanted not judgement to know, that to performe this I undertooke as I ought, was a matter beyond the compasse of my skill: yet neverthelesse my will overcoming my owne judgement and reason in undertaking. I have ventured my credit to the wide sea of common opinion, and dangerous censure; and knowing the best, have followed the worst. A fault perhaps pardonlesses, in the rigoroust censure, and which bred in my selfe a long time di-Arust and feare: yet at last, incouraged by hope to finle some milder Iudges for my boldnesse, I ventured this labour, and performed it thus meanely as thou seest: trusting the courteous Reader, if in ought I have pleasured him, will affoord me his good word for my good will, and in that I have done amisse pardon, and a favourable construction for my paines. And although in reason it seemeth, I should most of all feare the censure of thelearned (if any such vouchsafe to reade this Translation) in regard they best can, and with quickest infight pierce into my want of skill, judgement, and understanding; yet in

those is my greatest bope, because they be learned. Cause sufficient to feare no captious or carping constructions, as a property ill befeeming their good qualitie and education. I was well affured that he who best might would take no further paines in the kinde: nor hearing of any other which would, I thought some could be contented to have it rather ill done, then not at all. Friendly Reader, I crave pardon for my faults, and defire thou wouldest favourably beare with my overfights.

Farewell.



BOOKE

THE ANNALES

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

The Proceed Tacitus, containing the forme of government untill Augustus time : with the Subject of this Work



HE Citie of Rome was in the beginning governed by Kings. Libertie and the Confulship L. Brutus brought it. The Dictators were chosen but for a time: the Decemviri passed not two yeers: neither had the Confulary authoritie of the Tribunes of the fouldiers any long continuance: nor Cinna, nor Sillaes dominion: Pompey and Crassus quickly yeelded to Casars forces: Lepidus and Antony to Augustus; who entitling himself by the

name of Prince, brought under his obedience the whole Romane state, wearied and weakened with civill disorders. But as well the prosperous, as unprosperous successes of the ancient Common-wealth, excellent Writers have recorded: neither wanted their worthy and fingular wits, to deliver Augustus exploits, untill they were by the overfwarming of flatterers utterly discouraged. Tiberius, Caius, Claudius and Nerces actions, they yet living, and flourishing, were falfly fet down, for feare; and after their death, through fresh hatred, as corruptly as before. Whereupon I entend to deliver some few things done in Augustus latter times: then Neroes reign, and other occurrents as they fell out, without paffion or partialitie, as being free from motives of both.

> 1. The means by which Augustus came to the Empire . and whom he chose to succeed.

Fter that Brutus and Cafsius were flain, and no armes now publikely born; Pom-A pey defeated in Sicilie, Lepidus difarmed, Antonie killed, and no chief leader of Inlines Cafars faction left, but onely Augustus: he would no longer be called Triumvir, but in shew contented with the dignity of a Tribune to defend the people, bearing himself as Consull: after he had wound into the favour of the souldier by gifts; of the people by provision of sustenance; and of all in generall with the sweetnesse of ease and repose, by little and little taking upon him, he drew to himself the affaires of Senate; the dutie of magistrates and laws, without contradiction of any: the stoureft by warre or proscriptions already spent, and the rest of the nobilitie, by how much the more serviceable, by so much the more bettered in wealth, and advanced in homours: feeing their preferment to grow by new government, did rather choose the present estate with securitie, then strive to recover their old with danger. That form $of government the Provinces difliked not, as {\it miltrufting} the {\it Senates} and {\it peoples} results and {\it peoples} results$ giment by reason of noble mens factions; covetousnesse of magistrates: the laws affoording no fecuritie, being swayed hither and thither by might, ambition, and corruption. Besides this, Augustus labouring by some stay to settle the soveraigntie, advanced Claudius Marcellus his fifters sonne, being very young, to the pontificall dignitie and Ædilship: and M. Agripps meanely descended, but in martiall exploits warlike, and a companion in his victories, to be twice Confull together; and after Marcellus death, chose him to be his sonne in law. And his own house not failing, he bestowed the title of Emperourupon Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus his wives children; and adopted Casus and Lucius Agrippaes children: and making shew to the contrary, yet his earnest defire was, they should be called Princes of youth, and chosen Confulselect, before they had cast off their pretext or infants garments. But when Agrippa was dead, and Lucius going into Spain to take charge of the armie, and Caim returning wounded out of Armenia, by hastie fate or treachery of their stepmother Livia: Drusus also dead long before, onely Nerowas left of all Augustus sonnes in law. Unto him all men now crowched and fawned; being received the adopted fonne of Augustus; copartner of the Empire; affociate of the Tribunitian dignitie; shewn to the campe as succeffour; not as before, by secret devises and practifes of his mother, but openly perfivading the Emperour thereto. For she had so enthralled the filly old man, that Agrippa Posthumus his onely nephew, he had confined in the Hand Planasia: indeed, badly trained up in liberall Sciences, and sottishly bragging of his ftrength and activitie of body; but yet never detected of any notorious vice. He gave Germanicus son unto Drussus, charge over eight legions, by the river of Rhene; and commanded Tiberius (albeit he had a fonne of his own) to adopt him, the better to establish the succession with moe stayes then one. Warres there were none at that time, but only against the Germans, not so much in regard of enlarging the Empire, hope of bootie or reward, as to blot out the dishonour received, when he lost his army with Quinctilius Varro. All was quiet in the Citie, the old names of the magistrates unchanged; the young men born after the victory of Actium, and the greatest part of the old, during the civill wars: how many were there, which had feene the ancient forme of government of the free Common-wealth? Thus then the state of the citie turned up-fide down, there was no figne of the old laudable customes to be scene; but contrary, equalitie taken away, every man endeavoured to obey the Prince; mifdoubting nothing, whilest Augustus, yet strong in body, was able to defend himself, his house, and peace. But when he grew old and feeble with ficknesse, and that the end of his government, and hope of a new was not farre off: fome few, but in vain, difcourst of the commodities of libertie: fome feared warre, some defired it: but the greatest part used lavish speeches, and spred rumours against the next conjectured fuccessour. Agripps they counted by nature cruell, and through the indignitie of his late difgrace eafily kindled; young, and raw in state matters, unable for so great a charge. Indeed, Tiberius was of convenient and ripe yeers, expert in feates of warre, but possest with the hereditary pride of the Claudian Family: yea many apparant sparkles of crueltie did burst out in him, howsoever he went about to suppresse them. Besides, he was brought up in an house, which knew how to reigne: the Consulship was more then once cast upon him with triumphes. During the time that he was at Rhodes (cloking his exile under colour of retiring himfelf) he dreamt of nothing but revenge, diffimulation, and fecret means of licentious lufts: withall, he had his mother at hand, untolerable in all impersections incident to the sexe: and thereby they were to obey a woman, and two young men, which would in the meane space oppresse, and in time rent in pieces the Common wealth, II. The

II. The death of Augustus: and Tiberius Nero made Emperour.

7 Hilest they thus debated the matter, Augustus maladie increased; and as it was suspected by some, through the lewde practise of his wife. For not many moneths before, a rumour was spread, that Augustus with the privitie of a few, accompanied onely with Fabius Maximus, had conveyed himfelfe to the Iland Planasia, to visit his nephew Agrippa, both weeping tenderly at their meeting, with manifest tokens of love, and a hope conceived that the young man should be recalled and restored to his Grandsathers house. Fabius disclosed this to Martia his wife, and shee to Livia, and C. Navus to Casar: for not long after Fabius (doubtfull whether by his owne procurement or not) being deceased, his wife Martia among other her lamentations at her husbands funerall, was overheard to accuse her selfe, as the cause of her husbands death. But howsoever the matter passed. Tiberius had scarce put soot in Illyricum, when by letters from his mother hee was recalled in post haste: not being well knowne, when hee arrived at Nola, whether there were any breath yet left in Augustus or not. For Livia had beset the house with a watchfull and straight guard, sometimes giving out that Angustus was on the mending hand; and so having made all sure on all hand, as the time and occasion required, the same rumour which not long before gave joyfull newes of Augustus amendment, now published that hee was dead, and Nero in possession of the Empire. The first exploit this new Prince did, was the murdering of Posthumus Agrippa; whom a Centurion resolute and appointed for the purpose, and taking him unarmed and misdoubting nothing, yet could heardly dispatch. Tiberius made no words of this to the Senate, but pretended that it was done by his fathers appointment: who (as hee faid) had given charge to the Centurion which had the guarding of him, to make him away incontinently after hee had intelligence of his death. Little doubt but Augustus complaining of the young mans untowardly behaviour, caused his exile to be confirmed by decree of the Senate: but yet he never perfifted long in defiring the death of any of his; neither was it credible that to affure the estate to his wives some, he would seeke the bloud of his owne nephew. But very likely it is, that the young mans death was haftened by Tiberius feare, and Liviaes hatred: the one as jealous, least hee should bandie for the soveraigntie; the other through the naturall hatred incident to all stepmothers. When the Centurion brought him word (as the manner of service was) that hee had fulfilled his commandement, he answered presently, that he commanded him no such matter, and that hee should answer it before the Senate. When this newes came to Griffus Saluftius eares (who being inward in greatest secrets with Tiberius, had by letters given the Centurion order how to proceede) fearing leaft his owne turne should bee next, dangerous to him alike: to confesse the trueth, or to stande to a lie: advised Livia that she should not in any wife divulgate the fecrets of her house, the councell of friends, and services of fouldiers; and that Tiberius should beware of weakening the power of Soveraigntie, inreferring all things to the Senate: the qualitie of absolute rule being such, that it could not fland but in one alone. Now at Rome the Confuls, the Senators, and Gentlemen ranne headlong to fervitude; and the more nobler, the fairer shew, and the more hafty; but with a composed and setled countenance, least they should feeme over glad of the death of the last, or discontented with the new Prince, they tempered their griefe with joy, and lamentation with flatterie. The two Confuls Sext.

* Three pound feven shillings

Sext. Pompoius, and Sext. Apuleius did first sweare alleageance to Tiberus Cafar: and after into their hands, Seius Strabo and C. Turrianus, the one Captaine of the guard. the other chiefe Officer for provision of corne. After them the Lords of the Senate. the fouldiers, and the people. For Tiberius would have all things begunne by the Confuls, as the manner was in the ancient free commonwealth: as though hee had not resolved with himselfe whether it were best for him to accept of the Empire or not. No, not so much as the edict to call the Lords to the Senate to counsell, but was proclaimed in vertue and authoritie of a Tribune; which dignitie he had received in Augultus time. The words of the Edict were not many, and delivered in modest termes. That he would onely consult what pomp and honour were fit to be done for his father: and that he would not depart from the body: which should be the onely publick charge he would undertake. Nevertheleffe when Augustus was dead, he gave the watch-wordto the guard: placed the watch: disposed of the souldiers: managed all the affaires of Court, as if hee had beene Emperour. The fouldiers waited on him to the place of publike affemblies; to the Senate house; and dispatched letters to the Campe, as though he had beene in full possession of the state: irrefolute in nothing, but when hee should speake in the Senate. The chiefest cause proceeded of feare; least Germanicus who had fo many legions at commandement; fuch ftrong aides of confederates; and so exceedingly beloved of the people; should rather hold, then expect the possession of the Empire. He stood on his reputation likewise, and seemed rather to be called and chosen by the Common-wealth, then creepe in by the canvasing of a woman, and adoption of an old man. It was afterward further knowne, that he used that lingering doubtfullnesse, the better to sound the affection of the Nobilitie; for observing their countenance, and wresting their words to the worst, he bare them all in minde. In the first meeting of the Senate, hee would have nothing debated, but Augustus last will and Testament; which being brought in by Vestaes Virgins, declared Tiberius and Livia to be his heires: and that Livia was adopted into the Iulian family, and intituled by the name of Augusta. After them he substituted his nephewes, and nephewes sons: and in the third place the Peeres of the citie, which in generall he hated; yet hee did it to winne fame and glory with posteritie. His legacies were moderate, like unto other citizens, saving that hee gave as well to the common fort, as the rest of the people, foure hundred and thirtie five thousand nummos *: to every fouldier of the Pretorian band a thoufand *; to every one of the legionary cohorts which cofifted of citizens of Rome, *7.16.16 5.3.d three hundred *.

> III. The solemnities of Augustus funerals, and the censure which men gave of him.

Fter that, consultation was had concerning the pompe and solemnities of the funerals; among which the most honourable and magnificent were judged to funerals; among which the more monourable and the dead corps should bee bethefe. Gallus Asinius thought it meete that the dead corps should bee brought through the triumphall gate; and L. Arrunius, that the titles of the lawes by him ordained, and the names of the nations by him vanquished, should be carried before him. Messalla Valerius added, that it was convenient the oath of alleageance should every yeere be renewed in Tiberius name. Who being demanded of Tiberius, whether hee had commandement from him so to advise; answered, that he did propound it of his owne free motion: and that in matters concerning the Commonwealth, he would use no mans advise but his own, although it should be with danger

and offence: fo farre had flattery spread it selfe, that that onely kinde remained unpractifed. The Lords of the Senate after that cryed with one voice, that they themfelves would carry the corpes to the funerall fire on their floulders: which Cafar did veeld unto with a modestie, yet savouring of arrogancy. And admonished the people by proclamation, that they would not (as in times past they had disturbed the buriall of Iulius Cafar of famous memory) carried away with over-great affection, fo defire now that Augustus body should rather be burnt in the place of publick assemblies, then in Campus Martius, a place deputed to that use. The day of the funerals being come, the fouldiers were placed as it were a guard to the body, when as fuch as had either seene or heard their fathers report, of the fresh and late yoke of cruell fervitude, unluckily attempted to be shaken off, and recover their ancient libertie: then I fay, when the murdering of Iulius C.elar the Dictator feemed unto fome a wicked, and unto others a worthy deede; laughed to see that now an old Prince which had reigned fo many yeeres, and provided heires to fucceed him in might and wealth, should need a guard of souldiers quietly to celebrate his funerals. This bred fundry speeches of Augustus, many marvelling at vain and frivolous things: as that his death fell on the same day he was made Emperour: that he died at Nola in the same house and chamber, that before him his father of trim did: they made it a great matter that he alone had been as oft Contull, as Valerius Corvinus, and C. Marius both together: that he had continued Tribune seven and thirtie yeeres: had been honoured with the name of Emperour one and twenty times; with many other old and new dignities bestowed or invented for him. But among the better fort his life was diverfly commended or discommended: Some faid, that the love of his father, and the care of the Common-wealth, at that time when all lawes were dasht, drove him to civill warres, which can never be begun or prosecuted by any good meanes: and that he had yeelded in many things to Antonic, and to Lepidus in like manner, because he would revenge his fathers death. For seeing the one grew carelesse with age, and the other wasted with lasciviousnesse, there was no other meanes left to redreffe all discords in the common-wealth, then to bring her under the obedience of one alone, who should governe; neverthelesse not as King or Dictator, but as Prince. The Empire he had bounded with the Ocean, and other Rivers farre off: the Legions, Provinces and Navie, were linked and knit in peace and unity: inflice was ministred in the cities: the allies entreated with modesty; the city beautified with fumptuous building: and if any rigorous dealing had been used against some few, it was for setling of quietnes in the whole. Contrarily some said. that the love of his father, the corruption of times, ferved him but for a cloake and colour: and that he had flirred up the old fouldiers by gifts and bribery, through ambition and defire of rule; that being yet but young and a private person, he had gathered a power; corrupted the legions of the Confuls; that he made a shew onely of favouring Pompeius fide: but had no fooner gotten by order of the Senatours the fasces or knitch of rods, and the Pretorship; after the death of Hirrius and Pansa, (both flain by the enemie, or Panfaes wound poisoned, and Hirries murdered by the fouldiers, or by Cofar the contriver of the feat) but he feafed on both their forces. extorted the Confulfhip; maugre the Senators, and the power affigned him to fubdue Antony, he converted against the Common wealth. He banished the Citizens, divided their lands, and gave away their goods, which were things by the doers themselves discommended. Indeed the revenge and pursuing his fathers death upon Cassius and Brutus may be tolerated (albeit it had been convenient for a publick benefit to have laid afide private grudges) but he deceived Pompey under

colour of peace, and Levidus under a shadow of friendship. Asterward he tolled on Antonie with the treatie of Tarentum and Brundusium, and marriage of his sister. which deceitfull alliance he payed with the loffe of his life. Doubtleffe a peace enfued this, but a bloudy one, as may witnesse the death of Lollius and Varus, and in Rome it felf, of Varro Equations and Iulius. Neither did they forbeare to discourse of his domestic all affaires: as that he took Nerves wife from him, and asked the opinion of the Pontife in a scoffe, whether there might be a lawfull marriage betwixt them, the being with childe by her other husband, but not yet delivered. They forgat not L. Aredius, and Vedius Pollies riot and lasciviousnesse. Finally, that Livia was an intolerable and burthensome mother to the common wealth, and to the house of the Cs/ rs a dangerous stepdame. There was no honour left for the gods, seeing he would himselse by the Priests and Flamines be worshipped in the temples, with all the ornaments belonging to the gods. Neither was Tiberius chosen successor to the State for love of himfelfe, or care of the Common-wealth, but deeply in feeing into his lofty and bloudy disposition, he would by being so unequally compared with so outragious a mate, win glory afterward to himselfe. And although Augustus had not many yeeres before uttered honourable speeches in Tilerius behalfe before the Lords of the Senate, when he fued to make him once again Tribune: yet he interlaced fomethings among, touching his attire and behaviour, which in the excus-

1111. Tiberius d sembling colour in refusing the Empire; Augustus judgement of three which were desirous or worthy of the Empire.

fing of him, teemed to turn to his difgrace and reproach.

Vguffus funerals being ended according to the usuall manner; a temple and A religious ceremonies were inflitted in honour of him: from that time forward all fuits and requests were made to Tiberius, who discoursing diversly of the greatnesse of the Empire, and in modest termes of his own insufficiency, thought dugullus wisdome oneig capable of fo weighty a charge, that himselfe being affumed by Augustus, as an affociate and partner in the state, had by good proofe learned, how hard a matter, and how subject unto fortunes change, rule and foveraignty was. And feeing the city was replenished with fo many famous and worthy personages, better it were and more case, that many, joyning their studies and carestogether, should undertake the charge, then cast all upon one mans shoulders. This speech carried greater majestie then truth: for T.berius either by nature, or by custome, even in those things which he would have known, spake alwayes darkly and doubtfully; but then of fet purpose endeavouring to hide his drifts, wrapped himselfe more then ever, in a dark cloud of uncertaintie and ambiguitie. But the Lords of the Senate fearing all one thing (which was left some perill might enfue, if he should doubt that they perceived his diffimulation) began to lament; complain; offer up vowes; and lift up their hands to the gods; to Augustus image, and to his own knees; untill he commanded the booke of remembrances to be brought forth and read. That booke contained the wealth of the publick treasure; how many citizens and allies were in armes; what strength there was by sea; how many kingdomes, provinces, and countries yeelded obedience to the Empire, what tribute was levied; what cultomes; what necessary charges iffued out; what gifts; and all written with Angullus own hand. Withall he gave a politick inftruction (yet whether for feare or envie uncertain) how to restrain the Empire within boundes and limits. Whileft thefe things were a handling, and the Senators in most low and humble manner intreating, that he would accept the charge: Tiberius letting flip a word by chance, that as he was unable to take charge of the whole; fo he would undertake the protection of any one part they should affigne him. Asiaius Callus asked him, What part, Cafar, wouldest thou have committed to thy charge? Who being stroken in a maze with this unlooked for demand, stood mute a while: then gathering his spirits to him answered: That it ill befitted his modesty, to choose or refuse any one part of that, from all which he defired to be excused. Galliss replied (for by his countenance he conjectured he was offended) that he did not therefore demand that question, as though he would fever that, which was inseperable, but by his owne confession convict him, that the common-wealth was but one body, and therefore to be governed by ones onely wifedome. And continuing his speech added many things in commendation of Augustus: and called to remembrance Tiberius owne victories, and divers notable things done for many yeeres in time of peace. But all this could not appeafe the Princes inveterate hatred against him: as though by marrying Vipfana daughter to M. Azrippa, once wife to Tiberius, he had crrried too lofty a courage, and higher aspiring mind, then the private calling of a cisizen; and favouring of the heady and fierce humour of Alinius Pollio his father. After that L. Aruntius uling fpeeches not unlike unto Pollio, offended alike; and although he bore Aruntius no old grudge, yet because he was wealthy, bold, learned. and in reputation with all men, he had him in jealousie. When Augustus drew towards his latter end, discoursing who were likeliest to possesse the place after his death; who would refuse it, although they should be chosen as meet; who being unmeet and unable, yet would defire it: who could difcharge it, and would undertake it: faid that M. Lepidus was for his fufficiency able, but would refuse: Gallus Asimus greedy to lay hold onit, but was insufficient: L. Aruntus was not unworthy, and if occasion were given would venture for it. All men agreed that the two first were so named, but for Arantius some put Ca. Pifa; and howsoever it was, all faving Lepidus, through Tiberius practife, for fundry pretended crimes were made away. L. H. st. ariss like wife, and M merris Scaurus troubled his jealous head: the one by faying, How long C.e far wilt thou fuffer the common wealth to want a head? The other, because he hoped that the petitions of the Senators should take effect, feeing he did not as he might, withfland the relation of the Confuls by being Tribune. He inveied sharply, and that incontinently against Haterius, but let goe Securus without any word: although he were more implacably offended with him then the other. And being wearied with the clamors of all in generall, and importunity of some in particular, by little and little yeelded unto their requests: not so much because he would contesse, he tooke the charge of the Empire on him; as to make an end of refusing, or being any more entreated. Certaine it is, that as Haterius went to the palace to crave pardon of Tiberius; he narrowly escaped from being flaine of the fouldiers: because that calling himselfe at his knees as he was walking; either by chance, or happily hindered by Haterius, the Emperour fell: yet that danger did nothing mitigate his wrath: untill Have ins miking entreatie to Augusta, by her earnest suite was protected. Exceeding great flatterie was used towards her by the Senators, some being of opinion that shee would be called the foundres of the common-wealth, some the mother: and many that besides the name of Calar, the sonne of Iulia should be added. But Tiberius answered, that titles of honour ought to be moderately given unto women: and that he would use the same moderation in such as should be bestowed on himselfe. This he did upon envy and jealoufic

The first Booke of the Annales jealousie: and therefore thinking her greatnes to be his owne abasement, would not fuffer her to have a sergeant before her, or an altar to be dedicated in memory of her adoption, nor any fuch like honour. He entreated neverthelesse that Proconsularie authority might be given Germanicus Cafar, which was fent him by Embassadors. with commandement to comfort him for the death of Augustus. The reason why the like was not demanded in favour of Drasus, was because he was there present and Confull elect. And as Augustus had ordained before, he did nominate twelve competitors, for the Pretorship, and bound it with an oath he would not passe that number, although the Senators exhorted that they might be increased. That was the first time that the election of Magistrates was taken from the people, and transferred to the Lords of the Senate. For although untill that day all matters were swaied as best liked the Prince: yet some things were left to the favour and voyces of the Tribes. Neither did the people but with a vaine rumour complaine, that their right was taken from them; and the Senators feeing themselves delivered of many bribes and unseemely suites, were well contented to accept the authority: Tiberius fo moderating the matter, that he commended onely four competitors, which should be elected without suit or feare of repulse. The Tribunes of the people made request that it might be lawfull for them to set forth playes at their owne costs, and record them in the Calender of the Citie, and call them Augustales, by the name of Augustus. The playes were granted: but the costs and expenses were to rise out of the publike Treasury: and that it should be lawfull for them to use the triumphalrobe in the race, but not be carried in a Chariot. Not long after the annual cebration of these Plays, was cast upon the Pretor, which was judge between the citizen and the forrainer.

V. A rebellion in Pannony, stirred up by Percennius.

THis was the estate of the citie affaires, when the legions of Pannony mutined: for no new occasions, but only because the change of the Prince gave licence of hurly burly, and hope of gaine by civill wars. These were three legions of the fummer campes committed to Iunius Blefus charge, who advertised of the death of Augustus, and Tiberius entring to the government (in regard of the vacation which then happned, or joy conceived) neglected the accustomed care of his dutie. Hereupon the fouldiers began to grow licentious and quarrelfome, and gave eare to the most dissolute and disordered: and in fine hunted after riot and ease; set nought by all militarie discipline, and refused travelland labour. There was one Percennus in the garrifons, who had beene fometimes a ringleader of factious companions on Stages, and Theaters; afterward a common fouldier; an impudent and faucy prater; well practiced in diffurbing affemblies: to shew favour unto such actors as he favoured. This Percennus after the better fort were gone to their lodgings, by little and little in fecret conventicles in the night, or in the shutting of the evening, gathered together, and stirred up the unexpertest of the fouldiers, and such as were most doubtfull what entertainment they should expect after the death of Augustus. And when he had gathered about him of the most licentious a sufficient rabble, and readiest instruments of sedition, in manner of an Oration he began to , question with them thus. Why they would like bondslaves be subject to a small " number of Centurions, and a smaller of Tribunes? when durst they seeke a redresse, ,, if they would not now prefent themselves to the Prince with intreaty or the sword;

whileft he is new, and not fully fetled in the ftate? they had through cowardlineffe held their tongue many yeeres, fome thirtie, fome fourtie in pay, overgrowne with age, and many their limmes lost in service. And after they were licenced to depart. " yet they were not at an end of service; but deteined under ensignes, indure as great " toile as before under a new name. And if any escaped so many hazards alive, they ... were drawne into fundry countreys, where under a colour of fome lands, either a moorish bogs, or barren mountanous crags were allotted to their share. Besides, ser- " vice was painefull in it felfe and unprofitable; their lives and bodies valued but at .. ten affes * a day: having no better allowance to furnish themselves with weapons, * 7 penes ob. apparell, and tents; and redeeme themselves from the cruellusage of the Centuri-" ons: pay fees of vacations from fervile ministeries: yet their stripes, wounds, hard " winters, fcorching fummers, bloody battels, and fruitleffe peace had no end; and hope " of redreffe there was none, unleffe certaine lawes were fet downe for fuch as enter " into fervice; as that every ones pay should be bettered to a denier * a day; and *9 perce cournone bound to serve above sixteene yeeres; and from that time forward, they singular traditions should not be deteined under enfignes, but receive in the same campe they served, their recompense in ready coyne. What? did the Pretorian bands, which received " two deniers * a day, and at the end of fixteene yeeres were fent to their houses, oppose themselves to greater dangers then they? yet hee did not speake this to deprave * 18, pence or diminish the credit of the citie-guard, but because they should consider what a " hard part they were offered; yet hee for his owne part being lodged among favage " and barbarous people, did from his cabine fee the enemy every houre. The bafer " fort came murmuring about him, and stirred up others with divers encouragements: fome reprochfully shewing the wales of their stripes; fome their gray haires; fome their ragged torne coates; and fome their naked bodies. At last they grew into fuch a fury and rage, that they purposed of three legions shuffled together to make one: but they changed that devise very quickly, every one through emulation coveting that honour for his own legion; and pitched the three standards and ensignes together: withall they threw up mounds of turfes, and placed on it a Tribunall, to the end the feat might be more conspicuous. As they hastned to finish the worke, Blasus came in among them, rebuking some, and hindering now one, now another, and crying aloud, In my bloud rather imbrue your hands; for it is a leffer offence to flay the Lieutenant, then fall from the obedience of the Emperour. I will either with my life keepe the legion in faithfull allegeance; or being flaine by you, haften your repentance. Nevertheleffe they held on their worke untill they had brought it brest high; when at last being overcome with his importunacie, they gave over their enterprise: then Blass did in good and eloquent manner shew unto them, that it was not convenient that Souldiers petitions should be carried to the Emperour by " mutinie and rebellion. Neither did the old Souldiers under Emperours in times " past, noryetthey themselves demand of Augustus such unlawfull and new re- " quests: and that in an unseasonable time: the new Prince was burdened with cares " in the beginning of his Empire. Notwithstanding, if their purpose was to obtaine " that in a time of peace, which being conquerers in civill wars, they never attem- " pted; yet why do they contrary to the duty of allegeance, and order of service, use " force? they should rather depute some Embassadour to Casar, with publike com- " mission, to declare their requests. They all cryed immediatly, that Blasus sonne a " Tribune might undertake the Embassie, and intreate that all such as had served sixteene yeeres, should be dismissed and sent home: which being granted; then they would enjoyne him the rest of his charge. The young man being departed with this

meffage, they surceased their rebellion. But the souldiers grew proud that the Lieutenants some undertooke to plead the common cause; as being an evident token that they had wrung out that by sorce, which by modest demeanour they should never have obtained.

VI. The rebellion continueth : a practife of Vibulenus against Blæsus.

N the meane feafon, certaine bands of fouldiers fent to Nauportum before the rebellion began, to see the waies cleare, the bridges safe, and other conveniences for Lthe warre: understanding of the mutinie growen in the campe, snatched up their enfignes; and facking villages adjoyning, and Nauport it selfe, which might have passed for a reasonable free-towne; injuried & reviled the Centurions which went about to bridle them; first with scoffes & reprochfull termes; then with blowes and stripes. But they had an especiall hart-burning against Ausidienus Rusus, the campe-master: whom they pulled out of his chariot, and loaded with a fardle of stuffe, and made him march formost of all the company: now and then asking him in a mockery, whether he bare so great a burden willingly or not; or whether so long a journie seemed not tedious unto him? This Rufus had long beene a common fouldier; then a Centurion. then the camp-mafter: and fought to renew the ancient rigour of service; and being himselse hardned to beare any labor & travell, was so much the more cruell, because himselse had endured the like. These companies joyning with the other legions, began to rebell a fresh; and stragling some one way, some another, destroy and waste all about them. Blasus to terifie the rest, commanded some few, and especially fuch as had the greatest pillage, to be apprehended, whipt and cast into prison; for even then the Centurions, and the better fort of the fouldiers were obedient to the Lieutenant. But the prisoners drew backe, and resisted such as led them, catched holde and embraced the knees of the standers by; calling every man by his name, or by the name of the band he ferved under, or cohort, or legion; crying that they should drinke all of the same cup: withall, they heaped injurie upon injurie against the Lieutenant: called to witnesse the heavens and the gods: and left nothing undone or unfaid, which might ferve to stirre hatred, move compassion, breed feare, or provoke anger. The fouldiers clustered all together, brake open the prisons, set at libertie the prisoners, and shuffled in among themselves, the fugitives and condemned of capitall crimes. This kindled the rage of the fouldier: and more ringleaders joyned with them. Among whom one Vibulenus a common fouldier, lifted on the shoulders of the standers by, before Blefus Tribunall, began to speake unto the disordered and attentive fouldiers in this manner. You have given light and life to thefe "innocent and miserable wretches; but when will you restore life to my brother, "and my brother to mee? who being fent unto you from the Germane campe, to "entreat of the common profit and good, was this last night murdered by his "Fencers, which he hathalwaies ready armed to cut the fouldiers throates: answer, "Blefus, where hast thou throwne his body? for the enemies themselves envie not "that I should burie him? And when I shall have filled my griefe with kissing, and "weeping over him, command me to be murdered also: so as these our companions "bury him & me; flaine for no other offence, but because he furthered the common "good and profit of the Legions. He inflamed his words with teares, beating him-"felfe on the face and breast: then thrusting them from him on whose shoulders he was carried, and throwing himselse at every mans feet, drove them all into such amaze,

and stirred such hatred, that part of the fouldiers laid hands on Blosus Fencers, and bound them; part on the residue of his family; and part ran hither and thither, to feeke for Vibulenus brothers body, And if it had not appeared incontinently, that there was no fuch body found; if his flaves by torture had not denied any fuch pretended murther to have been committed; and further, that Vibulenus never had any fuch brother: the fouldiers would hardly have spared the Lieutenants life. Nevertheleffe, they thrust out the Tribune and Camp-master, spoiled and robbed such as fled. flew Lucillius a Centurion, whom the fouldiers by a nickname called Cedo alteram, give mee another, because that when hee had broken upon a souldiers shoulders his vine-wand, his manner was to call aloude, give mee another; and when that was broken, another. The rest were saved by hiding themselves; only Iulius Clemens they kept alive, because that having a ready and quicke wit, they thought him a meete man to be employed as an Embaffadour in the fouldiers behalfe. Befides this, the eight and the fifteenth legions were now ready to goe together by the eares, because the eight legion demanded Serpicus a Centurion to death, whom the fifteenth defended: if the ninth legion had not interposed her selfe, first by way of intreaty; then menacing fuch as made light of them.

VII. Drusus is sent to appease the rebellion in Pannony: and the ringleaders punished.

Hen Tiberius had intelligence of these mutinies: although he were close, and a great diffembler of bad tidings; refolved to fend his fonne Drusus unto these legions with certaine of the principallest Gentlemen of the Citie, wi'u two Pretorian bands, without any limited commission, but to determine there, as occasion best required. The bands were of extraordinarie choise men, and ftronger then my other were used to be, and a greater part of his guard of horsemen, and the ablest Germans of his owne guard. Actius Sejanus also Captaine of the guard, was sent with him, once an associate and companion to Strabe his father, and a man highly in credit with Tiberius; as well to be a guide to the young Prince, as to thew unto others the danger or reward of ill or well doing. When Drusus was come neere unto them, the legions met him as it were to doe their dutie; but not as the manner was, cheerefully with glittering enfignes, but in base and abject habit: and in countenance although pretending fadnesse, yet indeed were neerer wilfull obstinacie. After he was entred the trench of the campe, they fet a strong guard at the gates, commanded some troupes to attend at certaine places of the campe, and the rest came, and environed the Tribunall in huge multitudes. Drusus stood up, and with his hand commanded silence to be made. When the fouldiers beheld what a multitude they were, they made a dreadfull noise with hideous tunes; then anon turning their eyes towards Cafar they quaked for feare: after that, they made a confuse murmuring and buzzing; then a cruell outcry; and on a sudden all was husht againe; which bred, as men were diverfly affected, either a feare in themselves, or in others. At last the tumult ceasing, he read his fathers letters, which contained what a speciall care hee had over those most valorous legions, with whom hee had sustained many battels; and that as foone as his mind could be at reft, and the mourning for his father past, he would deale with the Lords of the Senate concerning their demands: that in the meane space hee had sent his sonne which should graunt without delay, as much as for the present could conveniently be yeelded: and that the rest should be reserved to the consideration of the Senate, whom it was con12

venient should Judge as well what deserved favour, as rigor and severity. They anfwered all in generall, that Clemens the Centurion had charge to propound their demands: he began with licence to depart after fixteen yeeres, with recompense after the end of their service: and that their wages might be a denarius a day; that the old Souldiers should not be constrained to continue under ensignes. But when Druss began to pretend, that these were sit matters to be referred to the Lords of the Senate, and his fathers confideration; they cut of his speech with clamors, expostulating: "That seeing he had no authority to augment their pay; nor ease them "of their labour; nor benefit them any way, to what purpose was he come thither? "Eut to beat and put them to death, every man had authority. It was an old trick of "Tiberius to frustrate the legions desires, with the name of Augustus: and Drusus "doth now put the same in practife. Shall they never have any feut them, but such as "are under the power of another? It was strange, that the Emperour should referre "only that to the knowledg of the Senate, which concerned the fouldiers commodi-"ty. It were as requifite the Senators advises should be known, when a souldier should "be punished, or brought to fight in battell. Did it stand with reason, there should be "mafters appointed, to despose of their rewards and recompense; and that without "any judge their punishments should be arbitrary? At last they goe from the Tribunall, and threaten with their fifts those they met, of the guard, or Cafars friends and familiars, as desirous to pick quarels, and raise sedition. But they bare a speciall grudge unto Cn. Lentulus, because that he, for his yeeres, and experience in martiall feates, in greater reputation then the rest, was thought to animate Druss against the fouldiers, and first of all reject their licentious demands. Whom not long after (foreseeing the danger he was in) going with Casar to the standing campe, they environed him, asking whither he went? towards the Emperour, or towards the Senate? whether there he would bee also against the legions profit? And withall coming fiercely upon him, and throwing stones at him, all imbrued in blood, and certaine of prefent death, yet was succoured by such as came with Cafar. That night which menaced great diforder, and outragious behaviour, was quieted by a meere chance. For the Skie being cleere and bright, yet the Moone seemed to bee eclipsed on a sudden; which the souldiers, being ignorant of the cause, construed as a presage of present ill lucke: and comparing their attempts, to the eclipse; were of opinion that their fuccesse should bee prosperous, if the goddesse should become cleere and bright againe. Whereupon they began with Trumpets, Cornets, and other brazen inftruments, to make a loude noise, now joyfull, now fad, as the Moone appeared either cleere or darke. But when the blacke cloudes, rifing, tooke from them the fight of the Moone, supposing she had been hidden in darkenesse, and utterly loft her light: as troubled minds fall eafily into superstition, they began to complaine and lament, that that portended, their labour shall have no end, and that the gods turned their faces from their wickednesse. Casar thinking it expedient to make his profit of their feare; and governe that by wifedome, which fortune had offered: commanded the Pavillions to be viewed; Clemens the Centurion to bee called, and fuch others, as for their laudable vertue's were best liked of the common fort: who thrusting themselves into the warch, the wards, and gate-keepers, increafed sometimes their feare, and sometime promised hope, saying: "How long shall "we befiege the Emperours sonne? what shall be the end of our revolt? Shall wee "fweare alleageance to Percennius and Vibulenus? shall we looke for our pay at their "hands? shall they reward the old Souldiers with lands? to be briefe, shall they take "upon them the government of the Roman Empire, in Neroes and Drusus stead?

were it not better that as we were the last which offended; so we should be the first to repent? Demands in common are flowly granted: a private favour is no fooner deferved, then obtained. These speeches troubled their mindes, and bred a mistrust among themselves: the young fouldiers forfooke the old: and one legion parted from another. By little and little they returned to their allegeance; went from the Gates which before they possessed: carried to their usuall places their ensignes, which in the beginning of their rebellion they had pitched together. Drusus the next morning calling an affembly, although he were no great Oratour; yet the worthinesse of his birth supplying that want, hee condemned their former, and commended their prefent behaviour. Affured them that he was not to be overcome with feare and threatning: but if he perceived in them a modest carriage, intreatie of pardon with submission; he would write unto his father, that forgetting that which was past, he would give eare to the legionssuites. At their intreaty Blass, and L. Aprintus, a Gentleman of Rome, and one of Drusus company, and sustas Catonius achiefe Centurion, were fent againe to Tiberius. This done, Drusus counsellers disagreed in opinions: fome holding it expedient, that expecting the Embaffadours returne; the fouldiers in the meane feafon should bee gently entreated; some that tharpe remedies ought to be used: affirming that there was no meane in the common people; and unleffe they were kept in awe, they would keepe other under-That they might eafily be dealt withall, whileft they flood in feare; and therefore it was needfull that they should be bridled by their Generals authority: the ringleaders of the revolt executed, whileft yet the superstition held them in astonishment. Hereupon Drusus being naturally of a rough disposition, caused Percennius and Vibulenus to be put to death. Some fay they were murdered in the Governours tent; others that their bodies were thrown out of the rampier to the terrour of the rest. After this, a search was made for the principall Captaines of the conspiracie: whereof some roming about the campe, were flaine by the Guard, others the souldiers themselves delivered, as a testimony of their allegeance, into Drusus hands. But there did nothing more augment the fouldiers distressed case, then an untimely winter, continuall and cruell raines; that they could neither put foote out of their tents; nor meet together: nor hardly keepe up their standards, through boisterous winds, and flormy showers, toffing them hither and thither. They were not yet rid of the feare, the heavens ire stroke them into; imagining that the starres grew not darke in vaine against their wickednesse; and that the tempests fell upon them for their lewde and villanous demeanour. There was no comfort left, but to abandon those unluckie, and difloyall camps; and being purged of their offence by fome propitiatory facrifice, each legion to repaire to his standing campe. The eight legion departed first, then the fifteenth. The ninth cryed that they ought to tarry for Tiberius answer: but being discomfitted by the others departure, preventing imminent neceffity, voluntarily went away. Drufus not expecting the Embaffadours returne, feeing all quiet for the prefent, went backe to Rome.

> VIII. A mutinie in Gallia, and many Centurions flaine. Germanicus loyaltie to Tiberius.

Lmost at the same time, and for the same causes, the legions of Germany rebelled: fo much the more violently, by how much the more in number: with great hope that Germanicus C.s. far could never endure to be commanded by another: and that by following the humor of the legions, he would by maine strength

a rage and fury: the conspiracy beginning by the one and twentieth and fifth legions, which drew also to their side the first and the twelfth: all of them being in the same Summer Campes, in the confines of Vbium, idle, or in very easie service. Advertisements being come of Augustus death, a multitude of City-borne bondmen, and after made free, newly mustered to be souldiers, given to licentiousnesse, and impatient of labour: began to fill the mindes of the ruder fort, with these speeches. That the time was now come, that the old Souldier might demand a shorter time of service; the new greater pay; and all in generall an end of their miseries: and opportunity given to revenge the crueltie of the Centurions. This was not spoken by one alone, as when Percennius incited the legions of Fannonie, nor unto dastards looking that men of better courage then they should begin: but many seditious mouthes and voyces, were at once heard to say; that the whole Roman state was in their hands; that by their victories it was growne great; and that of them the Emperours took their furname. The Lieutenant, the rage of the multitude having taken away his constancy, durst not resist them: when on the sudden like frantike men, with their swords drawne (a very old subject of quarell and hatred in souldiers, and a beginning of cruelty) they fell on the Centurions, threw them along; laid them on with stripes; threescore to one, to make even number with the Centurions. And having thus mangled and torne them, and flaine some, they threw them out of the Trench, or into the River of Rhene. Among others Septimius fled to the Tribunall, and cast himselse at Cacinaes seet: but was with such importunacie demanded, that he could not but deliver him to the butchery. Cassus Charea (famous afterward to posterity for murdering C. Cafar) then a young man, but of a stout and

resolute, looked into the successe of others revolt: but the lower army grew into

brave courage, made way with his fword, through such, as armed, went about to hinder his passage. After that neither Tribune, nor Campe-master was obeyed; the watch and ward, and whatfoever the present time required, was ordered, and distributed among themselves. Those which deepely looked into the disposition of souldiers; judged it a strong argument of a great and implacable revolt, that they were not scattered and divided; nor any attempt given by a few; but grew insolent altogether: were quiet at once: with such a moderation and constancie, that thou wouldest have thought they had beene governed by one head. In the meane season newes was brought to Germanicus (who as I have said, was levying of subsidies and tributes

in Gallia) that Augustus was departed. Garmanicus had married Augustus niece Agrippina, and had by her many children, and was Drusus Tiberius brothers sonne, and nephew to Augusta: but greatly perplexed, by reason of his Uncles and grandmothers secret harred towards him; so much the more deepe and deadly, because unjust. This proceeded of the good will and remembrance which the people of Rome had of Drusus: all of them certainely beleeving, that if he had gotten the Soveraigntie, he would have fet liberty on foot againe: and hoping the like of Germanicus, bare him the like affection. This young Prince was of a milde disposition, very courteous nothing at all resembling Tiberius in countenance, or covert and arrogant

fuse lamentation and complaint among them: some taking him by the hand as it were to kisse it, thrust his singers into their mouthes, that he might feele they were toothlesse: others shewed their crooked bodies with age: Who perceiving them confusely shuffled together, commanded to separate themselves into companies, the easier to heare his answer: and beare their ensignes before them, the beater to discern their bands: wherein they obeyed slowly enough. Germanicus beginning with the reverence of Augustus, fell by little and little into the praise of the victories and triumphes, and especially the samous exploits Tiberius had done in Germany with those legions. Then extolled the unitie of Italie; the loyaltie of Gallia; and how all other parts of the Empire were quiet. The fouldiers gave eare unto all this with silence, or with a small murmuring: but as soone as he began to touch their mutinies, expostulating; "What was become of the modest behaviour of souldiers? "where was the honour of ancient discipline? whither they had driven their Tri-"bunes and Centurions? they all uncloathed themselves, shewed him their wounds, scarres, and marks of their stripes: then with a confuse note, how deerely they bought their ease and vacations; found fault with their small pay; the intolerable paines they were put to in working : by name condemning the rampiers, trenches, feeking of flower, carrying of flones and timber, and all other provisions; either necessary in the campe, or to keep the fouldiers from idlenesse. But the greatest clamours were heard to proceed from the old fouldiers: whereof fome having spent thirrie yeeres in service, some more; besought him to provide for such wearied poore souldiers, and not suffer them to end the rest of their dayes, in misery and pain: but delivered of fuch labour and toyles, that they might at length enjoy repole without penurie. Some demanded the legacie bequeathed by Augustus Will, and wished Germanicus all good fortune, offering themselves to his devotion if he would take upon him the Empire. Whereat, as though he had been distained with some villanie, he leapt from the Tribunall: and as he would have departed, the fouldiers turned their weapons towards him in menacing wife, unlesse he would go back again. But crying that he would rather die, then fallifie his faith, drew his sword from his side, bent the point of it towards his breast, ready to have thrust it in; if some which were neere him by catching hold of his hand, had nor withheld him by maine strength. That part of the throng which was farthest behinde, and which is scarce credible, some other getting neerer and neerer, encouraged him to strike boldly; and one called Calusidius offered him his naked sword; saying that it was better pointed then his. But that even to the most furious, was thought a barbarous and savage part, and an evill president. Casars friends had time to conduct him to his pavilion: there they consulted what was best to be done; because news came, that the souldiers were in hand to dispatch Embassadours to the higher army, to draw them to the same attempt: and that they had determined to facke Colen: and having imbrued their hands with that prey, run on to pill and waste Gallia.

met the fouldiers out of their campe, hanging down the head; repenting them of that they had done. He was no fooner within the trench, but there was heard a con-

Ermanicus feared so much the more, because he knew the enemy would not Taile to invade, as soone as he understood of the discord of the Romanes, and that the rivers side was undefended. On the other side, if the allies and confederates should armethemselves against the legions, it was to begin a new civil warre. And that it was to the state dangerous alike, to use either severitie or liberalitie: and no lesse, to grant the souldier all things or nothing. The matter being thus debated on both sides, it was thought good, that letters should be written in the Princes name, containing; That such as had served twentie yeers should be fully dismissed. and fuch-as sixteene, discharged also: with condition onely to remaine under en-. fignes, and repulse the enemy: That their legacies left them by Augustus, should be doubled and payed. The fouldier perceived that those were sleights to win time, and therefore urged a present execution: licence of departure was presently yeelded by the Tribunes, but payment deferred. The fift, and one and twentieth legion, refused to go to any standing campe, untill they had their pay in the same camps they ferved in. Which they received of fuch provision, as Cafar could either make by his friends, or had to serve his own turn. Cacina the Lieutenant brought back to Ubium, the first, and the twentieth legion, in base and disorderly aray: carrying between the enfignes and standards, masses of money, extorted from the Emperours treasure.

Germanicus went to the upper armie, and there without delay, tooke the oath of allegeance, of the fecond, thirteen, and fixteenth legion, the fourteenth yet resting doubtfull what were best. But they had all their discharge and money offered them

unasked. At the same time, certaine vexilliary, souldiers which continued under enfignes, and were placed for a guard to the Countrey, of two legions which before were at jarre began a tumult in the Countrey of the Chauceans: which was quickly suppressed by putting to death two of his souldiers. Which Mennius the Campmaster commanded rather for example, then right of his office. But the tumult growing hot, Mennius fled; and being found out, perceiving that there was no fafe-

ty in lurking, tried what boldnesse could availe: saying, That they bent not their forces against the Camp-master, but against Germanicus their Generall, and Tiberius the Emperour: perceiving that those words danted such as would have hinde-

red him, fnatching up an enfigne, went to the River side, and denouncing him a su-

gitive and traytor which refused to follow; brought them to the Winter standing campe, aftonied, and not daring to attempt any thing. In the meane season the Em-

baffadors sent from the Senate to Germanicus, found him at Ubium, at the place cal-

led the Altar. Where two legions, the first and the twentieth wintered, with the old fouldiers lately difmissed and kept under ensignes. The timorous and troubled in

conscience, were surprised with a sudden feare, lest some were come by comman-

dement of the Senate, to make frustrate all they had wrung out by rebellion. And

as the manner of the people is, alwayes falfely to accuse some one or other whom they suspect: so now they laid all the blame, on Munatius Plancus, who had beene

Consulland chiefe in the Embassie: affirming him to be the Author of that decree.

the campe of the first legion: where embracing the standard and enlighes, found fafety as in a religious place. And had not Calphurnius, the standard-bearer, guarded him from the fury of his fouldiers (athing which feldome hapneth, even among the enemies) an Embassador of the people of Rome, in the Romans campe, had with his bloud polluted the Altars of the gods. Affoone as it was day, that the L. Generall. the fouldier, and the attempts might be knowne; Germanicus entred the campe: and commanding Plancus to be brought to him, placed him in the Tribunall by him, Then sharply rebuking their fatall rage, stirred up by the wrath of the gods, and not the fouldiers will: he openeth unto them the cause of the Embassadors coming : their priviledges, bewailing with great eloquence Planew underserved h.p.; and the discredit of the legions. And having rather ravished then quieted the assembly, fent away the Embassadors with a guard of auxiliary horsemen. During this feare, every man blamed Germanicus, that he went not to the upper army, where he should have both obedience, and ayde against the Rebels; that his fault had beene great enough, in difmissing the fouldiers with money in their purses, and using them so courteously. And if he made no greater reckoning of his owne person; yet he had no reason to leave his young sonne, and his wife great with child, as a pray to furious and mad men; breakers of all humane lawes. And that he should preserve them, at the least wife, for their grandfather, and the Commonwealth. He then weighing long, what he were best to resolve: his wife resusing to forsake him: alleadging, that the was descended from Augustus, and protesting that she would never degenerate from her bloud, what foever danger might be prefented: at last embracing both her and the child, with many teares constrained her to depart. Away then pact this lamentable company of women; and the Generals wife; fleeing with his little sonne in her lap, with a heavy troup of her friends wives about her, lead away with her for company: those which remained behind, no lesse forrowfull then they. This resembled not a triumphing Casar, marching out of his campe: but the bewailing and lamentation of a City, conquered and fackt of the enemy. Which piercing the eares

of the fouldiers; they went out of their cabbines; enquiring what that dolorous tune was? and from whence proceeded that lamentable noise? And perceiving those noble dames to goe without any Centurion or fouldier, to guard them; and their Emperours wife destitute of her accustomed traine, going towards Trevers, to commit her selfe to the mercy of strangers: were stroken into shame and compassion: when they called to minde Agrippa her father, Augustus her Grandfather, and Druss her father in law: and now she her selfe was for her chastity and child-bearing,

honoured of all: and how she had had a child borne and brought up in their campe: whom by a military name they called Caligula: because that to win the favour of the common fouldier, he wore the fame kind of stocking or buskin as he did. But

nothing did move them more, then the hatred of those of Trevers: and therefore began to intreat, and hinder their going: praying her that she would return and remaine with them. Some ran before Agrippina; many turned backe to Germanicus:

who through the late occasions, yet full of griefe and anger; uttered to the multi-

X. Germanicus Oration to the souldiers: the feare the

Tot my wife, or fonne, are deerer unto me, then my father and the Commonwealth: but him, his owne Majesty; the Empire, the other armies shall defend. I doe now remove my wife and children (which nevertheleffe I would "willingly offer unto death, were it to your glory and honor) from the fight of raging "mad men: that all your lewd actions be purged with my bloud only; left if you "Should murder Augustus nephewes sonne, and Tiberius daughter in law, you should "become guilty of moe hainous crimes: for what have you not dared to attempt "these dayes past? or what have you left unviolated? By what name shall I call this "affembly? Shall I call you fouldiers, who have befieged your Emperors fonne even "within the trench? or shall I callyou citizens, by whom the authority of the Senate "is so little regarded? You have broken that law which one enemy observeth to another: violated the facred freedome of Embaffadors, and the law of Nations. "Iulius of famous memory, repressed a sedition in his army with one bare word: cal-"ling fuch Quirites, which drew backe contrary to the oath of allegeance. Augustus "of facred memory, daunted the legions at Actium, with his look. And as for us, al-"though we be neither of them, yet being extract from them, we thinke it strange "and unmeet, that the Spanish or Syrian fouldier should contemne us. Thou the "first legion, and thou the twentieth, the one having received the enfignes of Tibe-"rius, and the other a companion in fo many battels, and enriched with fo many re-"compenses, doe you thus guerdon your Generall? Is this the message I shall carry "my father (who receiveth but good tidings from all other Provinces) that neither "the young, nor old fouldier, can be fatisfied with licence to depart, nor money in "their purse? And that here only, the Centurions are murdered, the Tribunes "driven away, the Embassadors shut up? that the tents and rivers are stained with "bloud? and that I my felfe, hold my life but at the curtefie of fuch as hate me? why "did you fnatch out of my hands, the fword which I meant to thrust through my "breast, the first day of our meeting? O unadvised friends! yet he dealt better and "more lovingly with me, which offered me his fword; for by that meanes I should "have ended my life, before I should have seen so many outragious in my army. You "fhould have made choise of a Generall, which would have left my death unpuni-"fhed, yet have revenged the death of Varus, & of the three legions. The gods forbid "that the Belgians, though offering themselves, should carry away the credit and the "honour of fuccouring the Romanes, and bridling the Germans. Let thy foule, Augu-" ftus of facred memory, received into heaven, thy image father Drufus, and the re-"membrance of thee, together with these souldiers whom shame and glory do enter "into, wipe away this blot, and convert this private rancor, to the destruction of the "enemy. And you in whom I perceive another countenance and another will, if you "purpose to restore the Embassadors to the Senate; yeeld dutifull obedience to the Emperour; and me, my wife and sonne: withdraw your selves from the contagion " of the feditious, and goe from them which have been the authors of this rebellion: "that shall be a fure token of your repentance, and a bond of fidelity. With these fpeeches the fouldiers humbling themselves, confessed all to be true which was upbraided them: and befought him that he would punish the faulty, and pardon those which were seduced, and bring them against the enemy: recall his wife and the legions child; and not deliver him to the Gaules for an hostage. Germanicus excused the returne of his wife by the neerenesse of her time, and winter; yet that his fonne should resurne againe: and as for other things, that they themselves should fee them performed. The fouldiers then, being better perfwaded, ran from place to place, laid hands on the most disordered persons, and brought them bound before C. Cetronius, Colonell of the first legion: who gave judgement and punishment on every of them in this manner. The legions called together, stood with their swords drawne before the Tribunall: and the offender shewne by the Tribune out of a high feate: and if the fouldiers did cry that he was guilty, he was immediatly throwne downe headlong, and cut in pieces: the fouldiers rejoycing in these massacres, as though himselfe thereby had been acquited. Germanicus did not hinder them at all. feeing, that being done without his commandement, as well the fact, as the envy of it. should light upon their owne neckes. The old fouldiers following that prefident, were anon after fent to Rhætia, under colour of defending the province from the invalion of the Swevians: but indeed, to draw them from those garrisons, yet breathing of cruelty, no leffe by that cruell means of redreffe, then memory of their former outrages. This done, he tooke a furvey of the Centurions; who being called by the Captaine, told their names, degrees, and Countrey, what payes they had received, and how many yeeres: what exploits they had done in fervice, and with what donatives rewarded. If the Tribunes and legions approved their valour and integrity, they kept their roomes: if by common confent, covetoufnesse, or cruelty were laid to their charge, they were cashierd. Things thus setled for the present, there arose immediately a matter of no lesser waight then the former, through the heady infolency of the fift, and one and twentieth legion, lodged in winter flandings threefcore miles off, at Vetera. For they first led the daunce, and with their owner hands committed the lewdest outrages: Nothing terrified with their fellowes punishment, continued impenitent, and still harboured anger in their breasts. Whereupon Casar gathereth forces, prepareth a Navy with confederates and allies, to fend downe the Rhene: purposing if they were obstinate, to try it out in a maine battell. No tidings being all this while brought to Rome of the fuccesse in Illyricum: and understanding of the rising of the Germane legions; the City trembling with feare, began to blame Tiberius, that counterfeiting a doubtfulnes of taking on him the Empire, mocked the Lords of the Senate, the wake and unfurnished common people, and fuffered the feditions in the meane time to rebell, which by the weake authority of two young men could not be suppressed. That he should therefore have gone himselfe in person, and opposed his imperiall Majesty against them; at whose fight they would presently have yeelded, being by long experience skilfull, and carrying with him power to punish, or reward. If Augustus stricken in yeares, could make often journeys into Germanie: should Tiberius being of a strong and able bodie, sit in the Senate, carping the Senators words? He had taken good order how to keepe the City in fervitude : and that it was now time to apply some medicine to the souldiers minde, to induce them to a disposition of peace. Notwithstanding Tiberius standing stiffe in his determination, refolved not to forfake the head of the Empire, and hazard himfelse and the whole state. Many things troubled his minde: as that the Germane army was the strongest: and the Pannonian neere at hand: the one leaning to the strength of the Gaules: the other, lying in the confines of Italy: doubtfull himselfe which first to goe to, lest the other being postposed should take it in disdaine. But his sonnes might visit both, as a thing standing well with imperial Majestie, bearing greatest state farthest off. The young men might be excused, if they referred some things

ged shipping; then exculing himselfe, now with the narallesse of the winter; now with this, now with that: he deceived first the wife, then the vulgar fort; and the provinces a very long time.

XI. The first and the ninth legion kill many of the rebels; Germanicus overcometh the Marseans, beateth downe the Temple of Tanfana. The death of Julia.

Dut Germanicus, although he had an armie in readinesse to revenge upon the Rebels: thinking it convenient neverthelesse, to give them some respite; to see whether they would be reclaimed by the example of the other legions: fent letters before to advertise Cacina, that hee was coming with a power: and that if they would not punish the offenders before his coming, hee would without any respect make a generall slaughter of them all. These letters Cacina secretly imparted

to the standard and ensigne-bearers, and the better sort: perswading them to deliver all in general from infamy, and themselves from death. For in time of peace each mans cause and merit waighed; but in warre, the guilty and guiltlesse peri-They then founding the mindes of those they thought fittest, and finding the greater number of the legionary souldiers to continue dutifull; following the Lieutenants advice, set downe a time when to cut off the lewdest, and most seditious among them. Then the watch-word given, they brake into their Tents; flue them; none privy to the cause, but such as were of counsell in the enterprise: neither imagining the beginning, nor the end of this butchery. The ftrangest manner of civill warre that ever happened was this: for without order of battell, not fallying out of divers standings; but out of the same beds, in which they had eaten by day, and slept by night: they banded into factions; lanced their darts: outcries were heard; wounds given; bloud shed; but the cause unknowne: fortune ruled the rest, and some honest men were slaine among. But it was no sooner knowne against whom this watch was intended, but the worst persons snatched their weapons likewise: no Lieutenant, nor Tribune present to bridle them: but every man licenced to revenge his fill. Germanicus anon after entring the campe, with many teares calling that a butchery, and not a medicine, commanded the bodies to be burnt. The bloudy souldiers thirsted after the enemy, as a satisfaction of his fury; fuppoling that the ghofts of their companions could by no other meanes be appealed, then by receiving honourable wounds in their wicked breafts. Casar followed the souldiers heate, and building a bridge over the River, past over twelve thousand, drawne out of the legions; fixe and twenty cohorts of allies: and eight wings of fuch horsemen, as during the mutiny, were of good and modest carriage. The Germans not farre off were jocund: whilest we for the death of Augustus, and by civill discords, kept holy-day. The Romane army marching with

speed, past the Wood Casia; and the bound begun by Tiberius; and encamped upon it fortifying the front and the backe with a trench, and the sides with loppings

ver either a bed, or at table, without feare, and no watch set. So farre had they left all things at randon, nothing misdoubting warre, nor, being drunke, greatly caring for peace. Casar divided the legions greedy of pillage to waste the more ground, into foure pointed battels; and destroyed with fire and sword, fifty miles; neither age nor fexe, moving him to pity; prophane and secret places, and the Temple called Tanfana, a place of great fame among those people, he battered to the ground: the Romans receiving no wound, but flaying the enemy halfe a fleepe, or unarmed, and stragling without order or aray. That slaughter stirred up the Bructeri, Tubants, and the Usipetes, who beset the wood, that way the army should returne. Whereof the Captaine being advertised, he marshalled his men in order at once, both to march and fight. Part of the horsemen with auxiliary Cohorts led the way: after them followed the first legion: the carriages inclosed in the midst, had on the left fide the twenty one legion: on the right fide, the fift: in the rereward, the twentieth: and after them the rest of the confederates. But the enemy stirred not whilest the Romane campe marched through the wood: then lightly skirmishing with the flankes and foremen, set amaine on the hindmost: who being but slenderly appointed, and amazed with the thicke troopes of Germans, were ready to shrinke: had not Casar stepped to the twentieth legion; crying alowd, that now was the time to blot out the infamies of their former conspiracies, and shew valour; and make haste to turne their former fault into glory and honour. This speech so inflamed their courages, that breaking in suddenly upon the enemies, drove them to an open place, and hewed them in pieces: and the vantgard getting out of the wood, began incontinently to fortifie and intrench. After that, they marched without disturbance: emboldened with their late successe, and forgetting what was past, were brought to their standing campes. These newes made Tiberius both glad and forry: glad, that the fedition was suppressed: forry, that Germanicus had purchased the fouldiers favour by largenesse, and timely dismissing them: not a little grieved also with the glory that Germanicus got in that warre.' Yet he imparted these newes to the Senate, highly commending his exploits: rather in colour and shew of words, then beleeved that he spake from the heart. Drusus he commended also, and the successe of the Illyrian rebellions, in sewer words, but more unfainedly, and with better affection; yet confirmed all that Germanicus had granted; and gave the like to the enemies in Pannonie. The same yeere Iulia dyed: confined first by Augustus her father for her unchaste life, in the Iland Pandateria: then in Rhegium, a Towne seated

them, till they came to the villages of the Marfies, whom they befet round: being

affection; yet confirmed all that Germanicus had granted; and gave the like to the enemies in Pannonie. The same yeere Iulia dyed: confined first by Augustus her father for her unchaste life, in the Iland Pandateria: then in Rhegium, a Towne seated upon the Sicilian sea. She had beene Tiberius wise, whom she contemned as an unsit match for her, whilest Caius and Lucius flourished, which was the very inward and secret cause, why Tiberius withdrew himselfe to Rhodes. But having gotten to be Emperour, and that by the death of Agrippa Posthumus, her hopes were cut off; banished and infamous, with great want hunger starved her: perswading himselfe that her long banishment, would have smothered the speech of her death. The like occasion egged him to the like cruelty against Semp. Gracchus: who nobly descen-

expecting bad tidings. Of whom he requested some more time, white his late will to Alliaria his wife; which being done, he offered his necke to the executioners: in the constancy of his death, not unworthy the Sempronian name, though in his life he had degenerated. Some gave out, that those Souldiers were not sent from Rome, but from L. Asprenus, Proconsull of Africke, by Tiberius appointment; hoping, though in vaine, that the infamy of the murder should redound to Asprenas discredit. This yeere were instituted new ceremonies, by founding a society of Priests, called Augustales: as in times past T. Tatjus, desirous to continue certaine Religious solemnities of the Sabins, ordained a company of Priests called Titians. One and twenty of the chiefest of the City were drawne by lot, and Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius and Germanicus added to the number. These players at their first beginning, were disturbed by a contention rising betwixt stage players: Augustus himselfe favouring the sport, to please Mecanas; who was exceedingly carried away with affection towards Bathillus, and himselfe not disliking them, thought it no uncivill matter to shew himselfe at those disports, amongst the common people. But Tiberius was of another humour; yet durst not on the sudden reduce the people to a straighter course, which so many yeeres before had beene nuzled in pleasure and casie usage.

XII. Germanicus invadeth the Chatti. Astrife betweene two noble men of Germany, Arminius and Segestes.

Arminius wife is taken.

Casar and Narbo being Consuls, a triumph was ordained in honour of

Germanicus, the warre yet continuing: for which although great preparation was made for the Summer following; yet hee by a fudden incursion made on the Chatti, did anticipate it in the beginning of the spring. For a rumour bred a hope that the enemies were banded into factions, some favouring Arminius; and others Segestes: the one most loyall, and the other most disloyall unto us. Arminius disquieted Germany: Segestes discovered often to Varus, but especially in the last banquet, after which armes were taken, a rebellion intended: and counselled him to cast himselfe, Arminius, and the chiefest of the conspirators into prison; the people not daring any attempt, the ringleaders being taken away: and that he should have time thereby to sift out the offenders from the innocent. But Varus by destiny, and deminius violence died. And although Segestes was by common consent drawne to

banquet, after which armes were taken, a rebellion intended: and countered infitto cast himselfe, Arminius, and the chiefest of the conspirators into prison; the people not daring any attempt, the ringleaders being taken away: and that he should have time thereby to sift out the offenders from the innocent. But Varus by destiny, and Arminius violence died. And although Segestes was by common consent drawne to the warre, yet he shewed himselfe very backward by his private grudge against Arminius increasing more and more; because he had taken away by sorce his daughter nius increasing more and more; because he had taken away by force his daughter betrothed to another. Thus then the sonne in law being odious to the father; the fathers in law at utter defiance betwixt themselves; that which should serve for a bond of friendship among friends, served here for a provocation of wrath and bond of friendship among friends, served here for a provocation of wrath and malice. Whereupon Germanicus committed source legions to Cacinaes charge, sive thousand auxiliaries, and certaine German bands levyed in haste, inhabiting the

Chatti, that the weaker fort by age, or lexe, were presently either taken or slain: the young men swam over the river Adrana, and drave back the Romanes, which began a bridge: But at last driven away themselves with shot of arrowes and other engines, entreating in vain of conditions of peace: some fled to Germanicus: the rest abandoning their villages and houses, dispersed themselves in the woods: Germanicus having burned Mattium the capitall citie of the countrey, returned toward the Rhene, the enemy not daring to set on him as he retired; as his manner is, when he gave ground, rather upon policy then feare. The Cherusci would willingly have succoured the Chatti; but Cacinaes armie fleeting from place to place, kept them in awe, and overthrew the Marsi which ventured to joyn battell with him. Shortly after Embassadors came from Segestes, to crave aide against the violence of his countreymen, which had besieged him: Arminius bearing greater sway, because he incited them to warre. For among barbarous people, the more audacious a man sheweth himself, the more loyall he is reputed; and the fittest instrument in troubled times. Segestes joyned his sonne Sigismond to these Embassadors: but being touched in conscience, was unwillingly drawn to it: because that when the Germanes rebelled, being priested at the altar of the Ubians, he brake his head-band, which was the marke of his calling, and fled to the rebels. Yet trusting in the Romanes clemency, fulfilled his fathers commandment; and being courteously received, was conveyed with a guard, to the shores of Gallia. After this Germanicus thought it convenient, to convert his power against those which besieged Segestes, whom he delivered, with a

great number of his kindred, and followers. Among whom there were many noble dames, and Segestes daughter, Arminius wife: affecting rather her husband then fa-

ther: and being taken, not once falling a teare, nor craving favour, joyning her hands on her breast, looked down upon her great belly. The spoiles of Varus overthrow were at the same time brought in and distributed, as a bootie to the greatest part of fuch, as had yeelded themselves with Segestes. Who with a comely majestie, and bold courage, and loyaltie to the Romanes, began a speech in this manner. "This is not the first day that the people of Rome, hath had experience of my con-"stancy and loyaltie: for fince Augustus of famous memory, gave me the privi-"ledges of a Citizen of Rome: I made choise of such friends or enemies, as might "fland you in stead: not for any hatred to my countrey, (for traitors are odious even "to those whose instruments they be) but because I judged it profitable alike to the "Romanes and Germanes: and preferred peace before warre: for this cause I ac-"cused Arminius, ravisher of my daughter, and infringer of the league concluded "with you, before Varus the Generall. But when I was by the flacknesse of the Gene-"rall deferred to a farther day of hearing, having small hope of support in lawes: I

"befought him earnestly, that he would commit me, Arminius, and the rest of the "conspirators, to straight custody. I call to witnesse that night, (which if it had "pleased the gods I would it had been my last) in which those things ensued, which "deserve rather to be bewailed then maintained. In fine, Ilaid irons on Arminius, "and suffered the same in my self, by his faction. But seeing you have vouchsafed

rather repent than perish. For my sonnes youth and errour I cravepardon: my daughter I consesse, was drawne thither by force. It resteth in you to determine, whether it ought to be of greater force, to be with child by Arminius; or be begotten by me. Casar with a milde answer, promised his children and his kindred lastite: and himselse his ancient seat in the province. This done, he bringeth backe his armie, and with Tiberius liking, tooke upon him the name of Emperour. Armenius wise was delivered of a sonne, which was brought up at Ravenna; of whom we will speake more hereafter, and how he served for fortunes scorne.

XIII. Arminius stirreth the Germans to warre, seeketh revenge: What danger Cacina was in. Germanicus burieth the legions which were staine with Varus.

He newes being spred of Segestes yeelding, and gentle usage, as mens mindes were affected to peace or warre; fo they were mooved with hope or griefe. Arminius being fierce of his owne disposition, understanding that his wife was taken prisoner, and the fruit of her wombe, a bondslave; became as it were mad: and raunging the Cheruscians countrey; craved for succour against segestes, and Calar; not being able to containe for outragious speeches, saying, "That, that must "needs be a brave father, a mighty Emperour, a worthy army, that could with fo "much helpe carry away one filly woman. He had defeated three legions, and so "many Lieutenants: not by treason, nor against women great with childe, but "in the face of the enemy, and against armed men, atchived his enterprises. And "that the enfignes, which he had taken from the Romanes, were to be seene in the "woods of Germany, offered up in honour of their Countrey gods. Let Segestes "inhabit the conquered banckes; and restore his sonne to his Priestly dignity: that "the Germanes could never excuse it: that the Romanes have beene seene to beare "their roddes, their axes, and gownes betweene Albis and Rhene. Other Na-"tions being strangers to the Romane Government, could speake nothing of their "cruell punishments and grievous Tributes: and seeing they had shaken off those "burdens; and that, that Augustus whom they placed among the gods, and Tibe-"riss chosen after him. lost their labour; they should not scare an unexperien-"ced young man, nor his mutinous company. If they preferred their Countrey; "their Kindred; their ancient life, before new Lords, and new Colonies; they "should rather follow Arminius, protector of their glory and libertie, then Segestes "the Author of reproachfull fervitude. These speeches incensed not only the Cheruscian, but the neighbours adjoyning also, and drew Inquiomerus, a man once in credit with the Romans, and Uncle to Arminius by the fathers fide, to their party, which increased Casars feare the more. And therefore left the whole waight of the warre should stonce fall upon him: hee sent Cacinna with fourty cohorts of Romans, to fever the power of the enemy through the Bructeries countrey, to the River of Amilia. Pedo the Camp-master had the conducting of the horsemen, by Frisia: himfelfe embarqued foure legions, and lead them through the lakes: all the horsemen, footmen, and the whole Navy meeting together at the faid River; and received the Chauceans among them who had promifed them ayde. The Brutteri burning their owne Countrey, Stertimus overthrew with a company of light harnessed souldiers, fent against them by Germanicus: and found betweene the slaughter and the bootie, the banner of the nineteenth legion which was loft with Varus. From

thence the army marched to the utmost confines of the Bructeri, all the countrev wasted betwixt the river Amisia, and Luppia: not farre from the forrest Teutoburgh: where the reliques of the legions which Varus led, were reported to lie unburied. Whereupon Cafar had a great defire to celebrate the captaines, and fouldiers funerals; all the armie moved to compassion, some calling to minde their kinsefolkes; fome their friends: and fome in confideration of the hazards of warre, and the flipperie estate of man subject unto fortunes change. And having sent Cacina before, to fearch out the fecret places of the forrest, and cast bridges and causeys over the moist and deceitfull passages of the bogs, they marched those dolefull wayes, irksome to behold, and dreadfull to remember. Varus first encamping seat, by the large circuit of ground it contained, and dimensions of the * Principia, did shew that *principiastethe inclosure was capable of three legions: thenby a rampire halfe broken downe, met to be that and a shallow trench, they perceived where the overtoiled remnant was retired. The shallow trench and the first the shallow the following the first the shallow the first the shallow the first the first the shallow the shal In the middle of the field lay white bones, either scattered, or on a heape, as they busined presehad either resisted or fled: hard by, trouncheons of weapons, and horses ribs; and di are quarbefore them mens heads, fastened upon the bodies of trees. In the woods were sau, in the their barbarous altars, on which they facrificed the Tribunes and chiefe Centuri- city of the ons. Those which escaped alive, or broke prison after the butchery, told that here verb. farum. the Lieutenants were flain; there the standards taken: where Farus received his first wound, where with his own unluckie hand he flew himselfe. On what Tribunall Arminius made his oration. How many gibbets he had fet up for captives, and what ditches: and with what proud disdaine he scoffed at the ensignes and standards. The Romanes then that were present, six yeeres after the slaughter, oppressed with griefe, yet more then ever kindled with rage against the enemy, covered with earth the bones of the three legions: as if they had been all their friends or kindred; howbeit it was uncertaine whether they buried the stranger or friend. C.esar to shew a gratefull memory of the dead, and himselfe to be partaker of their griefe, with his owne hands put the first turfe on their tombes; which Tiberius misliked: either as construing all Germanicus actions to the worst; or because the fight of the dead, unburied, would make the Souldiers more fearfull of the enemy, and leffe forward to fight: and because a Generall honoured with the Augurall dignitie, and devoted to most ancient ceremonies, ought not to meddle in mortuaries. But Germanicus pursuing Arminius, already crept into accessible places, assoon as he found conveniencie, thrust his horsemen on him, and recovered the field which the enemy occupied. Arminius gathered his men together; and commanding them to draw neare the wood, turned short on the sudden, and gave them the watchword which he had hidden there before, to break out. Whereat the horsemen amazed, and the cohorts fent for a supply, borne back with those which fled; augmenting their feare, were almost thrust into the bogges, well known to the Conquerours, and dangerous to the Romanes; had not Cafar come on with the legions in battell aray. Which stroke a terrour into the enemy, and affored the courage of the fouldier: both the armies in the end parting on even hand. Anon after the army being brought to the river Amisia, he conducted the fleet and the legions backe againe, in the same manner they came thither. Some of the horsemen were commanded to returne to the river of Khene, still coasting the Ocean shore. Casing who conducted another companie, although he was skilfull in the wayes, yet was charged to returne with all diligence by the long bridges; which was a narrow causey betwixt wide marshes, thrown up in times past by L. Domitius. The rest of the countrey was mirie, and full of fast binding clay, with some doubtfull brookes. Round

Round about were woods, ascending little and little, which Arminius had filled, by a neerer way, and light armie, preventing the Romanes, loaden with armour and carriages. Cecina doubting how he should at once repaire those bridges, already decayed with age, and drive back the enemie; thought it best to encampe in the fame place, that while some were fortifying, others might skirmish with the enemie. The Barbarians used all force to breake the wardes, and make way to the trench-makers: set on them, and compassed them in; ran from place to place; leaving nothing undone, to disturb them. The labourers and the fighters made one confuse cry: nothing prospering on the Romanes side. The place was nothing but a deep mire, not firme to tread on, and slipperie to march: the weight of their corfelets an hinderance, and they unable to launce their javelins in the waters. Contravily the Cheruscians being a great limmed people, and accustomed to fight in bogs, were with huge speares able to hurt afarre off. To be briefe, the night delivered the legions from an unluckie battell. The Germanes through prosperous successe, nothing wearied, but forbearing from rest; turned all the waters which rose in the mountaines, into the under grounds: whereupon the plaine being drowned, and so much of the work overthrown as they had cast up, the Romane fouldier was put to a double labour.

XIIII. The Romanes escape a great danger through the good conduct of Cacina.

AEcina had then in qualitie of a fouldier of commander fortie yeere received pay: and therefore being acquainted as well with the changeable events of fortune, as prosperous successes, fell nothing at all in courage: but pondering in his minde what might follow, found nothing more expedient, then to enclose the enemic in the wood, untill the wounded, and the carriages were gotten before. For betwixt the hills and the marshes, there stretched out a plaine, capable of a small armie. The legions were fo placed, that the fifth should be in the right flanck; the one and twentieth in the left; the first to leade; and the twentieth to defend, if they were purfued. The night was unquiet for divers respects; the barbarous enemie, in feafting and banquetting, fongs of joy, and hideous outcries filled the valleys and woods, which redoubled the found againe. The Romanes had small fires, broken voices, lay neare the trenches, went from tent to tent, rather disquieted, and not able to fleep, then watchfull. The Generall had that night a heavie dreame, which drove him into a feare: for he thought that he had feen Quinctilius Varus, rifing out of those bogs, embrued all in bloud, calling him by name, and stretching out his hand towards him, which he thrust back retusing to follow. At day breaking, the legions appointed for the flanckes, either for feare, or contempt, abandoned their standings; and seased on the field adjoyning beyond the marshes. Arminius although he might fafely have affaulted them, yet forbare a time. But he no fooner perceived their bag and baggage to flick in the mire, and dieches, and the fouldiers troubled about it, disbanded and out of order, and the enfignes confufedly difordered; as it falleth out in such times, every man busie to help himselfe, and deafe to hearken what was commanded; but he encharged the Germanes to break in, crying aloud, Behold Varus, and the legions once again vanquished by the same destinie! Having thus faid, accompanied with a choice band of horsemen, breaketh the rankes of the Romanes, and especially woundeth their horses; which slipping, by reason of their own bloud, and moisture of the bogs; overthrowing their matters,

either trode under feet, or scattered all they met. Much adoe they had about the enfignes, which they could neither beare up, the shot came so thick: nor pitch on the ground, it was fo miry. Whilest Cacina maintaineth battell, his horse was killed under him; from which being fallen, he had been taken by the enemie, if the first legion had not opposed her selfe. The greedines of the enemy was some help unto them; being more thirsty of pillage then bloud: whereby the legions had leifure towards the evening, to win the open firme land. And yet their miseries did not thus end: They had defences to make, and stuffe wherewithall to feek: their tooles to cast up earth, or cut turfes, were almost lost: tents they had none to cover them: nor medicaments to heale the wounded: and dividing their meat partly flained with bloud, or beraied with dirt, they bewailed that unfortunate darkneise; and that onely day left for so many thousands to live. By meere chance a horse brake loose in the campe, and praunting up and downe, affrighted with noise, overthrew all he met in his way: which stroake such a feare and terrour in the souldiers hearts, that thinking the Germanes had broken upon them, ran all to the gates of the campe, and especially to the Decumana, which was farthest from the enemy, and fafest to flee away. Cacina being affured that it was but a vain feare, yet not being able either by his authoritie, entreaty, or forcible meanes to flay their fleeing; cast himselfe acrosse the gate, and so moved them to pity, stopping the passage; because they would not tread on their captaines body. The Tribunes and Centurions shewed them withall, that their feare was false, and without cause. Then affembling them in the Principia, and commanding filence, admonished them of the time and "necessitie they stood in. That their safety onely consisted in their weapons, which "vet they were to moderate by discretion: keeping still within their trench, untill "the enemy with hope to break upon them, should draw neare: and that then they "fhould rush out on every side, and so get to the river of Rhene. Whereas if they "fhould flie, they should paffe through more woods, finde deeper bogs, and the ene-"my more cruell then ever: but by conquering they should purchase glory and re-"nown: putting them in minde of those things which were esteemed deere at home, and of credit in campe: not once mentioning their diffgraces and adverfities. This done, he affigned to the most couragious a horse: beginning with his owne then with the Tribunes and Centurions, not respecting calling or quality to the end that they should first invade the enemy, and the footmen follow. The Germanes, what with hope, what with greedinesse of pray, what with disagreeing opinions of captaines; were as much disquieted as the Romanes. Arminim thought it best to fuffer them to come out of their fort, and fet on them in the bogs and marshes: but Inquiomerus advice, though more cruell, was most pleasing to the Barbarians: which was, that they should be siege the campe, perswading that by that meanes, the affault would be easier; more captives taken; and the bootie entire and untouched. Affoon then as it was day, they beat down the trenches, filled them up with hurdles, grappled up to the toppe of the trench, few fouldiers refilting them, and those all stock still in a maze. The cohorts within had the allarum given; the cornets and trumpets founded; and with a great clamour fallied out couragiously, and hemmed the enemie in, casting in their teeth, that here there were neither woods nor quagmires, but the places and the gods indifferent to both. The enemies imagining it but an easie conquest, and that there were but a few to resist, and those but halfe armed, hearing the found of the trumpets, and feeing the glittering of the armour; which feemed fo much the greater, by how much the leffe they were efteemed, on a sudden were beaten down and slain, as men in prosperitie greedy, and in adversitieuncircumspect. Arminius and Inguiomerus fled, the one not hurt, and the other grievously wounded. The common fort were flain as long as the day and anger lasted: the legions returned at night to the fort. And although there were more wounded then the day before, and no lesse want of victuals: yet with the victory they thought they had recovered strength, courage, health, and all other necessaries.

XV. The danger the legions were in under Vitellius. Tiberius reneweth the law of treason.

T was noised abroad in the meane season, that the legions were besieged; and that the Germane hoste was entring Gallia. And if Agrippina had not hindered the pulling downe of the bridge over Rhene; fome through feare would have ventured fo lewde an action. Who being a woman of great courage, took upon her for some daies the office of a captain relieved the souldiers, as they had most need, with apparell and medicine. C. Plinius a writer of the Germane warres, re-"counteth; that she went to the end of the bridge and there staied, praising and "thanking the legions as they returned. A matter which entred deeply into Tiberius "minde: imagining with himfelfe that it was not for nought, that she used such " care & courtefie: that the fought not the favour of the fouldier against the stranger. "That there was nothing left for the Emperours to do, if a woman took once upon "her to visit the bands, go to the ensignes; and seek meanes to corrupt the souldier: "As though it had been but a finall point of ambition, to carry her fonne about the "campe in the attire of a common fouldier, and call him Cafar Caligula. That Agrip-"pina was now of greater credit with the army, then the Lieutenants and Captaines; "and that a woman suppressed a fedition, which Calars name and power could not doe. All this was aggravated by Sejanus, well acquainted with Tiberius humour; and who had long before fowne feeds of hatred: which for the time he smothered, because they should burst out the greater in the end. But Germanicus gave P. Vitellius charge of the fecond and foureteenth legion, which he had brought by sea, to conduct by land: to the end the shippes might in the low waters faile more eafily, or in the ebbing lie a ground more lightly. Vitellius had a quiet beginning of his journey, a dry shore, and small flote: but by and by through a gale of northern winde, the aguinoxe falling out the fame time, and the feafwelling extraordinarily. his army was toffed hither and thither: the face of the earth was covered with waters, the fea, the shore, the fields, were all but one. The uncertaine fands could not be differred from firme land: nor the shelves from the deepe feas: their horses and carriages were drawne under water, and swallowed in the gulfes: dead bodies flored and met one another: the fouldiers diforderly mingled, now breaft, now chin high in water; and sometimes losing footing, either drowned or scattered. Encouragements tooke no place: and being thus to fled with waves, the valiant man was not diffinguished from the coward: the wife not known from the foole; nor no difference betwixt counsell and chance; but all wrapped up in like violence. In the end Vitellius having gotten the higher ground, brought the rest of his company thither, where they passed all that night without utenfils, or fire: the greatest part either naked, or moiled, in no lesse miserable a taking, then the besieged by the enemy: for the end of those is glorious, and the death of these without honour. The day shewed them land, and they passed to the river Visurgis, where Cafar was arrived with the whole fleet: into which he received the legions, repor-

ted to have beene drowned, and never beleeved to be alive, untill they faw Cafar and the army returned. Now Stertinius fent before to receive Segestes brother Segimerus, who had yeelded himselfe, brought him and his sonne to Coleyn, and both pardoned; though Segimerus easlier then his sonne: because it was layde to his charge, that he had scoffed at Quintilius Varus body. But to supply these losfes which the armie had fuftayned; Gallia, Spaine, and Italy, strove who should furnish most; offering armour, horses, gold, and such things as they had most in a readinesse. Germanicus commending their love and affection, accepted onely their armour and horses, and furnished the rest with his owne charges. And to comfortand mitigate the remembrance of their overthrow, with some courteous ufage, hee went about to visit the wounded: praysing in particular every ones valiantnesse, and looking on their wounds; fed one with hope, and another with praise: wun all by good words, and care, and made them constant to himselfe, and resolute to fight. The same yeere by decree of Senate, the markes of triumph were ordained for A. Cacina, L. Apronius, C. Silius, for their noble exploits atchieved under Germanicus. And Tiberius refused the Title of father of his countrey, which the people had often cast upon him. Nor would not suffer any to sweare to the observation of his ordinances, although the Senate were thereto confenting: affirming, that all mortall things were mutable and uncertaine, and the higher hee should clime, the slipperer his estate should be. Notwithstanding all this, they could not be perswaded that he meant well to the citizens, because hee had put on soote againe the law of treason, knowne to the ancients by the same name. But by vertue of that law other things were brought into question: as if any had betrayed the army: ftirred the people to fedition: badly managed the affaires of the commonwealth: impayred and weakened the majesty of the people of Rome. But then deeds onely were punished, words went scotfree. Augustus was the first, who under colour of this law, comprehended the examination of infamous libels: moved thereto by the infolent behaviour of Cassius Severus, who had defamed honourable persons, both men and women, with scandalous writings. Tiberius also, when Pompeius Macro the Pretor asked whether judgement should bee given, touching the fayd crime, made answer; that the lawes were to be observed. Tiberius was the more exasperated, through certaine verses cast abroad by an uncertaine author, against his cruelty, pride, and disagreeing with his mother. It shall not be amisse, if I rehearse, with what pretended crimes, Falanius and Rubrius, both meane Gentlemen of Rome were charged: to make it knowne by what beginnings, what fleights of Tiberius, an utter ruine of the Common-wealth was intended, then suppressed, afterward revived again, and in the end, overmastered all. Falanius accufer objected against him, that amongst other worshippers of Augustus (for such fellowships there were almost in every house as it had been Colledges) he had received one Cafsiva a stage-player, and infamous of his body: and that with his gardens he had fold Augustus image. Rubrius was accused to have violated an oath made in Augustus name. When these things were brought to Tiberius notice, he answered: "That his father had not a place affigned him in heaven by decree of "Senate, because that honour should be converted to the overthrow of the Citizens. "That Cassus the stage-player, was wont to be admitted with others of the same "trade, to the playes which his mother had confecrated to Augustus memory. That "there was nothing done against religion, if his image was fold, as the counter-"feits of other gods were, in the sale of their gardens and houses. And as for Ru-"brius oath, it was to be held in the same accompt, as if he had deceived Iupiter him-C 3 felf, felfe: and that the injuries done unto the gods, ought to bee referred to the care "of the gods.

> XVI. An accusation against Granius Marcellus. orders against luing for dignities.

TOt long after, Granius Marcellus Pretor of Bythinia, was accused of treason by Capio Crispinus his Quæstor: Romanus Hispo subscribed thereto: who entred into a course of life, which the calamities of times, and mens boldnesse made famous. For being needy, obscure, and a busic companion, by secret information he fo crept into the cruell humor of the Prince, that hee was able in fhort time to endanger the estate of the best in the citie; thereby getting credit and authority with one, and hatred of many. He gave an example, which many following, of beggers became rich, of base and contemptible persons, feared; procuring destruction to others, and in the end to themselves. Hee accused Marcellus to have uttered bad speeches against Tiberius: which was an accusation inevitable, because that having chosen out the greatest blemishes of Tiberius life and manners, because they were true, were beleeved. Hispoadded, that Marcellus image was placed higher then those of the Casars; and that the head of another of Augustus being cut off, Tiberius image was put upon it: which so incensed him, that breaking silence, hee cried out that hee would himselfe, and that sworne, give open sentence in that cause: to the end the rest should be inforced to doe as he had done: for as yet there were some markes of dying libertie left in the Senate. Then said C. Pifo. What place wilt thou take Cafar to deliver thy censure? If thou wilt speake first, I shall have a president to sollow: if last, I seare I shall swarve from thee uncircumspectly. Abashed with this, the hotter unadvisedly he had growne, the more repenting, hee fuffered the arraigned of treason to bee quit. As concerning the extorsions, the cause was put overto the delegates. And not contented with the judgements of the Senators, hee affifted in the hearing of causes himselfe, and sate in the end of the Tribunall, lest he should put the Pretor out of his chaire. Many orders were given in his presence against canvasing for offices, and noble menssuites; but whilest hee laboured for justice, liberty went to wracke. Whilest these things were a doing, Pius Aurelius a Senator, complained that his house was decayed and growne to ruine, by the raising up of a publike way, and conveyance of water, and craved avd of the Lords of the Senate in that behalfe. And where the Treasurers opposed themselves against it, hee was releeved by C.e. far, who payed him the valew of his house: desirous to imploy his money in honest actions: which vertue hee long retayned after he had shaken of all others. He bestowed* ten hundred thousand sesterces upon Propertius Celer once Pretor, & now craving licence to give up his room, by reason of the poverty his father left him in; and commanded others which made the same suite, to make it known to the Senate, that their petition was true: desirous to be accounted fevere in things well done: which caused others rather to indure their poverty with filence, then by acknowledging it, receive a benefit at his hands. The same yeere, through continual raines the river Tiber rose so high, that it co. vered all the flat places of the city; and in falling, there infued a great ruine of men and buildings. Whereupon a remedy being confulted of in Senate, Alinius Gallus was of opinion, that the bookes of the Sibyls should be searched: which Tiberius hindred, as one who would hide from them, as well things divine as humane. But he committed that charge unto Ateins Capito, and L. Aruntius: Achaia and Maceof Cornelius Tacitus.

donia complaining of their heavy taxations: it was agreed in Senate, that they should no longer bee governed by a proconsull, but by C.esar. Drusus being made overseer of a play of fencers, set forth in in his owne and his brother Germanicus name; because he seemed to take over great pleasure in shedding of bloud; stroake a feare into the peoples mindes, and as it is reported, was difliked of his father. Why Tiberius forbare to fee this spectacle, it was diversly construed: some thought becanie he lothed to be in great affemblies: fome because he was of a melancholy sad disposition: and also mission left some should fall into comparison, betwixt him and Augustus, who was wont to be present at such playes with courteous and milde carriage. I cannot thinke that his meaning was, rogive his fonne occasion to shew his cruelty, and move the people to offence; although some have so reported. The licentiousnesse begun in the Theater the last yeere, grew now to a farther outrage: many not onely of the common people flaine, but fouldiers and Centurions and a Captaine of the guard, whileft they went about to bridle the infolency of the people, and hinder them from using lavishing speeches against magistrates. That fedition was debated in Senate; many being of opinion that it was convenient. that the pretor should have authority to whip the stage-players. But Hattarius Agrippa Tribune of the people contradicted him: whom Asinius Gallus rebuked in an oration: Tiberius holding his peace, suffering the Senate to use that shadow of liberty. Yet Hatterius prevayled, because Augustus had once declared the stage-players to be free from stripes: and therefore not lawfull for Tiberius to infringe it. Many orders were layd downe touching the moderation and charges bestowed upon playes, and against the insolent behaviour of their favourers; whereof the cheifest are these. That no Senator should enterinto a players house: that the Gentlemen of Rome should not accompany them in publike places: that it was not lawfull to see their playes but on the Theater. And that the Pretor should have authority to banish such lookers on, as behaved themselves disorderly. The Spaniards had licence granted them, at their request, to erect a temple in honour of Augustus in the free towne of Tarracon; which was a president for all the other provinces to follow. The people making supplication, that they might bee unburdened of the imposition of one in the hundred of all things bought and sold, which began after the wars were begun: Tiberius answered by an edict that it was the onely stay of fouldiers wages: and that the state would bee overcharged if the olde fouldiers should not be dismissed after twenty yeeres service: and by this meanes the order wrung out to appeale the fouldiers, that the fouldiers should be dismissed afterfixteene yeeres service, was abrogated. After this it was propounded in Senate by Aruntius and Ateius, whether for the repressing of the inundations of Tiber, it were convenient to divert the course of the rivers and lakes, which were cause of his rifing. Upon this occasion, the Embassadours of other free townes and colonies were heard; and especially the deputies from the city of Florence; requesting that Clanis might not be turned out of his owne channell into Arne, as a matter greatly to their hurt. The like speech the Interamnates used, shewing that the fertilest track of Italy should be lost, if (as it was intended) the River Nar should be cut into many branches; and fo all become a flanding poole, if the new channels were not capable of so much water. The Reatins did not in this case hold their peace; no way yeelding that the mouth of the lake Velinus should be dammed up, where it dischargeth it selfe into Nar: for so it would overflow all about it. And that nature had well provided for the necessity of mans use: having given all rivers their course and mouth, and as well their bounds, as beginnings. That the religion of their allies was to bee confidered.

* About 7. thoufand cight bundred and twelve pound tenshikings. dered, who confecrated unto the rivers of their countrey, woods and altars. Yea that Tiber would not be deprived of his neighbour-rivers, and fo run his course with leffer glory. In the end either through the intreaty of the Colonies, or difficultie of the worke, or superstition, Pises opinion was approved, which was, that there should be nothing changed. Poppaus Sabinus was continued in the government of Messa, and Achaia and Macedonia added to his charge. For it was Tiberius man ner, to continue men in their office and charge, either of warre, or jurisdiction, fometimes during their life, whereof there were divers reasons given. Some sayde he did it, to avoyd the redious care of often providing; and that hee would have that to continue which he had thought once well done: some did interpret it to bee done of envie, because many should not injoy them: some, that as he was of a subtill wit, fo of no resolute judgement; as not choosing men of excellent vertue: and on the other fide, hating vices. Hee feared left the best would attempt somewhat against him, and the worst dishonour the state. Which doubtfulnes brought him to that passe at last, that he gave the government of provinces to some, which he would not suffer to depart the City. Concerning the election of Consuls, which was first observed under this Prince, and afterward by others, I dare assure nothing: not only the authors, but the Prince himselfe doth so much differ in his orations. For fometimes not naming the futers, he described every mans beginning, life, and what pay he had received, that a man might easily guesse who they were. At another time not touching any of those particulars, he perswaded the suters, not to disturbe the elections, by bribing and canvaling: promising that himselfe would be a meane for them. And oftentimes he fayd, there were no more which pretended to be futers, but fuch onely, whose names he had presented unto the Consuls: and that others might bring in their names likewise, if they would trust either to their merit or favor. Burall was but faire words, and indeed deceitfull and without effect: and by how much the more they were masked with a colour of liberty, by so much the heavier and greevouser a servitude they were like to bring after them.

THE

Chaidhaidhachachach

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. The cause of the Parthians warres. Vonones driven out of his kingdome.

Jenna Statilius Taurus, and L. Libobeing Confuls, the kingdome of the Eaft, and the Romane provinces rebelled: the beginning thereof proceeding from the Parthians; who having demanded and received a King from Rome, yet contemned him as a forreiner, although he were defeended of the Arsacides. Vonones was this King, who had been before given in hostage to Augustus, by Phrahates. For although Phrahates had repulsed the army and the Romane Captains, yet he shewed all duties and reverence to Augustus; and the better to confirme friendship, sent some of his children to him: not so much for seare of us, as distrust of dissolutie in his own subjects. After the death of Phrahates, and other fucceeding Kings, through murders committed among themselves: Embassadours came to the City, from the chief noble men of Parthia, to demand Vonones the eldeft fonne of Phrahates, Cafar thinking that to be an honour to himfelf, enduing him with great riches delivered him; and the Barbarians, as their manner is at the change of a new Prince, received him with great joy. Not long after the Parthian grew to be ashamed, that he had so much degenerated, as to demand a Prince from another countrey, trained up in the fleights of their enemies. That now the royall feat of the Arfacides was given and accounted among the Romane Provinces. Where is the glory of those which murdered Grassand chased away Amonie; if Casars bonds we after fo many yeers fervitude should command and rule over the Parthians? He himself kindled their difdainfull mindes, by fwerving from his predeceffors manner of life; as going seldome a hunting; being carelesse of horses; carried in a chariot in the streets. and loathing their countrey fare: his Grecian followers were scorned, and himselse laughed at, for keeping under his feal his baseft utenfils. But the free acceffe unto him, his curtefie towards all men; unknown vertues to the Parthians; were accounted new vices: and because they were not used of their ancestors, was odious alike to the good and bad. Whereupon Artabanus, one of the Arfacides bloud, brought up with the Dahes, was raifed against him: who in the first encounter overthrown, recovered new forces, & enjoyed the kingdome. When Vonones was overcome he fled to Armenia, then without a King; and betwixt the Parthian and Romane wealth wavering, through Antonies treacherie: who having under colour of friendship tolled unto him their King Artavas des, loaded him with chains, and in the end deprived him of his life. Artaxias his fon, hating us for the injurie done to his father, with the power of the Arfacides, defended himfelfand the kingdome against us. But when Artaxias was slain by the treason of his nearest friends, Tigranes was made King of the Armenians, and brought by Tiberius Nero into the kingdome. Yet Tigranes reigne dured but a short time, nor his childrens: although they were, as the manner of strangers is, linked in marriage with the Armenians. Then by commandment of Augustus, Artavasdes

was appointed their King, afterward driven out: not without a great flaughter of our men. Afterthat, Cafar was chosen to settle the affaires of Armenia, who with the good liking of the Armenians, appointed Ariobarzanes descended from the Medes, to be their King: a man greatly reckoned of for the comelinesse of his personage, and valiant courage. Ariobarzanes dying by missfortune, the Armenians would endure none of his race: but tried the regiment of a woman called Eratus, whom they expulsed in a short time: and led an uncertain and loose kinde of life, rather without a Lord then in Libertie: and in the end received the fugitive Vonones againe. But when Artabanus began to use threatning; and that small aid was to be expected of the Armenians: and yet if he should be desended by our forces; it were to enter into war against the Parthians: Creticus Silanus governour of Syria sent for Vonones: and appointed him a guard: and suffered him to enjoy all pompe and sumptuousnesse, and name of a King: from which mockery how he purposed to deliver himself, we will set down in his place.

II. Germanicus maketh warre in Germanie.

Vtit displeased Tiberius nothing at all, that the East parts were in an uproare because that under that pretext he might draw Germanicus from his accustomed legions, and by giving him charge over new provinces, expose him to treachery and hazard. But he, by how much the more affectionate the fouldiers were towards him, and his uncle backward; by so much the more earnest he was to haften the victory; and laid all the plots he could to give the enemy battell: Difcourfing with himfelfe, what fortunate or unfortunate fuccesses had happened unto him those three yeeres past, which he had spent in war amongst them: that the Germanes in a pitched field and indifferent places would eafily be vanquished: that they took advantage of woods, bogs, short summers, and timely winters: that his fouldiers received not fo great hurt by wounds, as by long journeys and weight of their armour: that Gallia was wearied with furnishing horses, the long traine of carriage was subject to ambushes; and not casily defended. But if he should take sea, the possession was open for him, and unknown to the enemie. Withall, that so the war might be sooner begun: the legions and victualls brought together: the horses and horsemen conveied by channels and mouthes of rivers into the heart of Germanie. Having thus refolved, he fent P. Vitellius, and Scantius to levie the fublidies of Gallia: Silius Anteius, and Cecina had care of all preparation by fea. A thousand ships were thought to suffice: which were made ready with speed. Some were short and narrow at the fore and hinder part, & broad in the middle, as ftronger against the waves. Some were flat bottommed, to land without danger. Many had rudders at both ends, that the rowers altering their stroak on a sudden; might drive to land at either end. Many of them had bridges over, to carry both their engines, horses, and provision, swift of faile, and nimble with oares; in shew gallant and fearfull to the enemie, by reason of the souldiers cheerefulnes. The place appointed to meet at, was the Iland of the Batavians, as a place of easie arrivall; and fit to receive the army; and from thence to transport them to the house of battell. For the river of Rhene keeping one channell, or elfe environing but few Ilands, at the entring of Batavia, is divided into two rivers, and keepeth his name and swiftnesse through Germanic untill he fall into the Ocean. But by the coast of Gallia it waxeth broader, and runneth not so swiftly; and changing his name, the inhabitants call it Vahales; which name, it afterward changeth again into Mosa: so continuing untill it fall into the same Ocean with a great breadth. Whilest the ships were a putting from shore, Cafar commandeth the Lieutenant Silius, with a band of men lightly appointed, fur idealy to invade the Chatti. And himselfe understanding that the fort of Luppizupon the rivers fide, was befieged, conducteth thither fix legions. Silius by reason of sudden raines, did little else then bring away some small bootie, and the wife and daughter of Arpas, prince of the Chatti. Neither did those which had belieged the fort, ftay to fight; but flipt away, when Cafars coming was noyled. Yet they had throwne downe the tombe, lately built in honour of Varus legions, and the old altar erected for Drufus. The altar, the Prince reedified, and in memory of his father, hee and the legion ran a horse race; but thought it not convenient to fer up the tombe againe, but fortified all puffages betwixt the fort, Alifo, and Rhene with new mounds and bulwarkes. By this time the Fleet was come: and having fent before all provision, and affigued the legions and confederates their shipping, himselie entred the ditch, called the Drusian ditch: where he made a prayer to Drusus his father, that having undertaken the fame enterprise, that he had done; he would willingly and benignly further him, with the example and memory of his counfels and exploits. From thence he fayled prosperously, by the lakes and Ocean, untill he came to the river Amisia, where the navy was least, leaving the river on the left side of it. Wherein there was an overfight, that they brought the shipping on higher, the fouldiers being afterward constrained to land on the other side: whereby many daies were spent in making of bridges to passe them over. The horsemen and legions paffed the first arme of the sea, the waters being yet but small, without seare: but the auxiliarie fouldiers which followed, and Batavians, whilest they sported themselves, and shewed their skill in swimming, were some hindered and troubled, and fome drowned.

III. Arminius deborteth his brother Flavius from the Romans fervice.

S Cafar was planting his campe, word was brought, that the Angrivarians were revolted behinde him. And Stertinius was incontinently dispatched away wirh a company of light horsemen, which revenged their treason with fire and fword. Betwixt the Romanes and the Cheruscians ran the river Visurgis, and on the banke fide was Arminius, with the rest of the nobility: who enquiring whether Cafar were come, and answer given him that hee was; intreated that hee might have licence to speake with his brother Flavius, who was in the campe, faithfull and trustie to the Romanes; and who not many yeeres before, had lost one of his eyes, under Tiberius. His request was granted him: and as Flavius came neere, Arminius faluted him. And caufing his followers to withdraw themselves, requefted that our archers which were placed in order on the banke fide, fnould ftand farther of: who being gone away, hee asked his brother how hee came to that blemish in his face. Hee named both the place and the battle. He asked him further, what rewards he had received? Flavius telleth him that his pay was augmented, sheweth his chaine, his crowne, and other military gifts: which Arminius skorned as base rewards of servitude. After that, they grew to farther communication, the one extolling the greatnesse of the Romans: C.efars wealth: the grievovs punishments inflicted on the conquered, and the clemency used to such as yeelded: that neither his wife nor fonne were intreated as enemies. Arminius alleadged the duty of his countrey: their ancient liberty: the gods of the inward parts of Germany:

that his mother and himselfe befought him; that hee would not rather chuse to be a traitour and forfaker of his countrey, then a captaine of his kindred, allies and nation. Growing from thence by little and little to hard words, although the river was betwixt them, they had coped; if Stertinius had not runne in, and held backe Flavius, full of anger, calling for his armour and horse. Arminius was heard to threaten on the other fide, and denounce battell: intermingling some Latine words: for once hee commanded his countreymen; and received pay in the Romane camps. The next day, Germane armie prefented it felfe in battell aray beyond Vistingis. Germanicus not thinking it the part of a Commander, to hazard the legions, not having first made bridges, and appointed guards to defend them, passed over the horsmen at the foord. Stertinius and Aemilius, sometime captaine of the principall ensignes, were the leaders: who separated themselves farre one fom the other, to devide the enemies forces. Cariovalda, Captaine of the Batavians, where the river was swiftest, fallied out: the Cherusci making as though they fled, tolled them to a plaine, environed with woods: and there turning againe, and spreading abroad, drove back those which made head; hotly pursued those which shrunke: then being gathered round in a ring, overthrew them some neere, frome farre off. Cariovalda having long sustained the brunt of the enemy, exhorted his souldiers closely together, to breake into the enemies troopes: himselfe venturing amongst the thickest, was beaten downe with darts: and his horse killed under him, and many noble men about him. The rest either through their owne valour, or ayd of the horsemen, with Stertinius and Aemilius, escaped danger. When Casar had passed the river Vifurgis, he understood by a fugitive from the enemies campe, what place Arminius had chosen to give battell: and that other nations were affembled in a wood confecrated to Hercules, with intention to affaile the campe by night. The runnagate was beleeved: lights were feene: and the espials getting neerer, reported they heard a great confuse noise of men and horses. Being therefore at a jumpe to hazard all, thinking it convenient to found the fouldiers minde, hee bethought himfelfe what was the fittest expedient to trie the truth. The Tribunes and Centurions brought him oftener pleafing, then true newes: the freemen were of a servile dispolition, infriends there was flattery: if he should call an affembly, that which a few should begin, the rest would applaud. That their mindes would bee best known when they were by themselves; not overlooked: in eating and drinking they would utter their feare or hope. As foone as it was night, going out the Augurall gate, accompanied with one alone, in secret and unknown places to the watch: casting a favage beafts skin on his backe, he went from one place to another: flood liftning at the tents, and joyeth in the praise of himselfe: some extolling the nobility of their Captaine; others his comely personage: many his patience, and courtesie: that in fports and ferious matters, he was still one man: confesse therefore that they thought it their parts, to make him some requitall in this battell, and sacrifice the traitors and peace-breakers, to revenge and glory.

IIII. Arminius and the Germans overthrow.

Midft the fe things, one of the enemies campe, skilfull in the Latine tongue, riding close to the trench: promifeth alowd in Arminius name, wives, and lands, & a hundred * fefterces a day, as long as the war continued, if any would fellingther the from the Romans, and come to his fide. That bravado did greatly exasperate the legions, wishing among themselves: O that the day were come, that wee might

once come to joyne battell with them, faying, that they would take possession of the Germans lands, and bring away their Wivesby force. They accepted of their words as a prefage, and vowed they would have their Wives and money for a bootie. About the third watch the enemy affailed the campe, but threw no dart: because he perceived many in readinesse to defend their forts: and no man remisse in his charge. The same night Germanicus in a pleasant dreame, thought he had beene offering of facrifice, and that his pretext or robes of his infancy, had beene (prinkled with holy bloud, and that he received another at the hands of Augusta his grandmother. Emboldned with that dreame, and the Augurs foretelling luckie fuccesse, concurring with it: he called the souldiers to an assembly, and declared unto them what things by wifedome he had forefeene: and what he thought expedient for the eminent danger of the battell. "That not only the open fields were "commodious for the Romans to fight in, but the woods also and forrests; if they "proceeded by discretion. Neither were the barborous huge Targets, and long "Pikes fo hand some, among trees and low shrubs; as darts and swords; and armour "close to the body. They should therefore lay on thicke load; and strike at their "faces with their fwords. That the Germans had neither coat of fence nor helmet" "and their bucklers were not ribbed with iron, or finews, but with ofiers, or painted "thin board. Their first rancke was in some fort appointed with Pikes: but the rest "had but fhort weapons burnt at the point. And although they were grim in coun-"tenance, and of some courage for a short sit: yet being once wounded they would " flee and be gone without shame of discredit, or care of their Captaine: in adversity "faint hearted and timerous; but in prosperity, unmindfull both of divine and hu-"mane lawes. If they defired an end of their wearifome journeys, and fea; in this "battell they might ease themselves. Albis was now neerer then Rhene: neither "was there any further warre to be made, if in that place treading the steps of his fa-"ther, and uncle, they would make him Conqueror. The heat of the fouldier being inflamed with this speech of the captaine, the signe of battell was given. Neither did Arminius nor the rest of the German nobility omit to incourage theirs on the other fide, faying: "These are the Romans which fled from Varus campe: who for "feare of joyning battell, had raifed a rebellion. Whereof fome their backes loa-"den with wounds, and others their fides tired and broken with waves and tempefts "of the feat once more offered themselves to the enemy full of ire, without hope of "good; the gods being against them. They tooke sea, and chose out the by-wayes "of the Ocean; left they should have been encountred as they came, or pursued "after they were repulsed. But when they shall come to handystrokes, they shall "finde finall refuge in the winde, and oares. That now they should call to minde their covetousnesse, cruelty, and pride: was there any thing else to be done, then "to maintaine their liberty; or dye rather then be brought to fervitude? Thus encouraged, and demanding battell, they were brought into a place called Idiftavifum, betwixt Vifurgis and the hils:not of one breadth, but now wide, now straight, as the River or jutting out of the hils did suffer. Behind them was a wood of high trees: and between those trees a plaine and even ground; which the Barbarians had poffessed with the entrance of the wood: the Cherusci put themselves on the top of the hils to fall furiously upon the Romans in the heat of the fight. The order of our battell was this. The aydes of Gallia, and the Germans were placed in the front: followed with the foot archers: after them four legions; and Cafar himfelf with two Pretorian cohorts, and a choife troupe of horfemen. After them fo many legions more, with light horfemen, and bowmen on horfebacke: and the rest of the confederates:

confederates; all of them most carefull to keepe their order and aray. Germanic is perceiving the Cheruscians troupes to come fiercely toward them; commanded the ablest horsemen, to charge them on the flanke, and Stertinius with the other fquadrons of horsemen, to environ him, and set on him behind, promising to be himselse at hand if need required. In the meane season, eight Eagles (a very lucky figne) were seene to flee towards the entrance of the wood. Which the Emperour perceiving; cryed that they should march on, and follow the Romane birds; the peculiar gods of the legions. Whereupon the footmen brake in, and the horsemen fent before charged them on the flanke and on the backe. And which is ftrange to report, two companies of the enemy tooke a contrary flight: those which kept the wood, ran to the plaine: and those which held the plaine, hastened to the wood. The Cherusci being betweene both, were thrust downe from the hils: amongst whom with great valour, Arminius maintained the battell, with his hands, voyce and wounds. All his might he bent against the archers, to have burst out that way, if the cohorts of Gallia, of Rhætia, & the Vindelicians, had not opposed themfelves with their enfignes. Nevertheleffe, by strength of body, and courage of his horse, he escaped; having first dyed his face with bloud, lest he should be knowne. Some report that he was knowne to the Cherusci, which were among the auxiliary bands of the Romanes, and let passe by them. The same either valour or guile, gave Inguiomerus meanes to escape; the rest were slaine on every side. And most of them endeavouring to swim over Visurgis, were either with the darts throwne after them, or force of the river, or waight of fuch as leapt after, or with the bankes which fell, killed or overwhelmed. Some cowardly fleeing away, fought to clamber the tops of trees, and there hiding themselves in the boughes, were shot through by the archers in a mockery: and others bruifed by the overturning of the trees. The victory was great, and unto us not bloudy. From five of the clocke, untill night, the enemies were flaine, which filled ten miles of ground with dead carcaffes, and armour. Some chaines were found among their spoiles; brought to imprison the Romanes, as not doubting a prosperous successe. The souldiers saluted Tiberius by the name of Emperour, in the same place where the battell was fought: and erected a mount of earth, as a token of victory: and put on it the armour of the enemy: and underneath the names of the nations which they had conquered.

V. A second battell wonne by the Romanes against the Germanes.

HE wounds which the Germanes received, and their overthrow, did not so much fret and grieve them as this spectacle: in so much that those which were on the point to abandon their dwellings, and make preparation to passe the river Albis, catch up their weapons, and demand battell. The common fort, the chiefe Gentlemen, young and old, assaile and endanger the Romanes. At last they chose a place, environed with woods and a River, which had a narrow watersh plaine within it. The woods were invironed likewise with a deepe marsh: saving on one side, where the Angrivarians had raised up a broad causey, by which their territories were separated from the Cherusci. The footmen stayed there: the horsemen hid themselves in the woods adjoyning; that when the legions should enter the wood, they might charge them on the backe. Casar was informed of all their plots: he knew their designements, their places, their open and secret devices, and turned the enemies fraud to his owne destruction. The charge of the horsemen and the plaine he committed to Sejus Tubero Lieutenant: part of the footmen marched in

in order of battell to the wood: and part went about to win the causey; the hardest he undertooke himselse; and the rest he committed to the Lieutenants. They unto whom the plaine fell, did easily enter it: but those which were to assault the causey. were fore gaulded, & put back, with blowes from above, as if they had scaled a wall. The Captaine perceiving that the enemy had the advantage by fighting so neere. caused the legions to retire a little: and commanded the sling-casters and stonecafters to let freely at them, and drive them from their fence. Many darts and speares were shot out of engines; and the more the enemies were in fight, the more wounds they received. The causey being taken, Cafar himselfe with his guard, couragiously entred the woods, and fought with the enemy hand to hand: who had behinde him a marsh, and the Romanes a river or mountaines: the place brought a necessity of fighting to both parts: their hope consisted in their manhood: and their safety in the victory. The Germanes were no lesse couragious: but they were overcome by the advantage of weapons, & manner of fight. For being a great multitude, and the place narrow, they could neither thrust out, nor draw backe those long pikes, nor use any nimblenesse of body in running in, and stepping backe: but were forced to fight, and not move a foot. Contrarily the Romane fouldier, his shield close to his brest; his sword in his hand: gored the wide sided, and open faced Barbarian: and by their flaughter opened a way through them. Arminius being now couragelesse, by reason of continuall danger, or fresh bleeding wound lately received; but Inquiomerus flew up and downe the army, wanted rather fortune then courage. And Germanicus to be the better knowne, unlaced his helmet, and befought them to continue the flaughter; captives there was no need of: only the generall butchery of the nation would make an end of the warre. And in the eyening he draweth out one legion from the army; to make ready the campes: the rest filled themselves untill night with the blood of the enemy. And for the horsemen, it is hard to gheffe which had the better. Then Cefar having praifed the valor of the Conquerours in an affembly, made a great heape of armour with his proude title. The people betwixt Rhene and Albis being vanquished, Tiberius C.sfars army doth dedicate those monuments to Mars, Iupiter, and Augustus. Of himselfe he added no word for feare of envy, or because the memory of the sact was sufficient testimony for him. Immediately after he commanded Stertinius to make warre against the Angrivarians, unleffe they would prefently yeeld: who humbly intreating and yeelding to all that was demanded, received generall pardon. But the Summer being now farre spent, some of the legions were sent backe to the standing camps, and Germanicus embarking many, conveyed them to the Ocean, by the river Amilia. At the first they had a quiet and calme sea: no noise heard, but the noise of the oares of a thousand vessels; which sometimes likewise were driven with failes; by and by haile powring downe out of blacke and thicke clouds, and fundry from es and tempefts arifing from all parts; and uncertaine raging furges deprived them of all forefight, and skill in governing their shipping. And the souldier fearefull & unacquainted with the dangerous adventures by fea, whilest he troubled the mariners, or unfeafonably goeth about to helpe; hindered the office of the more skilfull. In the end the heaven, and all the sea gave place to the southwind : which more and more prevailing, through the mountaines of Germany, deepe rivers, and huge clouds; and growing more violent and boilterous through the cold of the north, neere which it is, toffed and scattered the shipping into the wilde Ocean, or rocky Ilands, or dangerous and unknowne quickfands. Which being a little, but with much adoe efcaped, by the changing of the sea, they went whither the windedrove them. They

could neither cast anchor, nor pumpe out the water which came in on them. Horses of service and carriage; bag and bagage; yea their armour, they threw into the sea; that the ships might be lightned, which leaked at the sides; the billowes swelling more and more. By how much the Ocean is more violent, then any other fea; and Germany exceedeth other countries in roughnesse and sharpenesse of ayre: by so much that misfortune exceeded others, in strangenesse and greatnesse: happening at the shores of the enemies land, or in so deepe and wide a sea; that it hath beene beleeved to be the last, and beyond which there is no land. Some of their ships were drowned; many cast upon Ilands farre off: the fouldiers, the countrey being unhabited, perished by famine, unlesse it were such as releeved themselves with the horses as were cast a land. Germanicus galley only arrived at the Chauceans country: who feeing himselfe all those dayes and night supon rockes, and points; crying that he only was guilty of the casting away of so many persons: could hardly be kept and stayed by his friends, from casting himselfe into the same Sea. At length the fea growing lower, and the winde more favourable; the lame and untackled ships. with a few oares, or their garments spread in stead of failes, or drawne at the taile of stronger, returned. Which Germanicus mending in haste, sent to search the Ilands: by which care many of the fouldiers were gathered together and recovered. The Angrivarians lately received into protection, delivered some, which they had redeemed of such as dwelt further in the land: some were cast into Britanny, and fent backe by the petty Kings. As every man returned from farre countreys, he reported strange wonders; tempestuous stormes; birds never before heard of; fea-monsters; doubtfull shapes, whether of men or beasts: which they had either feene, or imagined through feare.

> VI. Germanicus being returned, wasteth the countrey of the Chatti: and recovereth an ensigne, lost with Varus.

DUt the fame of the navy loft; as it did put the Germans in a hope of beginning a new warre: so did it give Germanicus stomach to curbe them. Whereupon he commanded C. Silius to goe against the Chatti, with thirty thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen; and himself invaded the Marsi with stronger forces. Their Captaine called Malovendus; who not long before had yeelded himself, gave notice how, that not farre off, an enfigne of Varus legion was buried, and kept but with a flender guard. A band of men was fent thither out of hand: with direction, that fome should toll them out, and assaile them in the front; and others by invironing them behind, to open the earth and take out the enligne: fortune flewing herfelfe favourable to both the companies. This made Cafar more forward, and entered further into the land: wasteth, forrageth, rifleth the countrey; the enemy not daring to encounter them: or if at any time he did resist, he was straight driven back: never (as they understood by certain captives) fearing more in their lives. For they gave out, that the Romanes were invincible, and not to be danted with any misfortune; feeing that having loft their navy, and armour; and after that the shores were covered, with the carcaffes of their men and horses, they invaded them afresh, with the same courage, & like fiercenesse: yea as if they had increased their number. From thence the fouldiers were brought back to their winter-standing camps: glad that they had recompensed their missfortune by sea, with so prosperous a victory. Cafar used great largenes, recompensing every man, to the value of the losse he had

fuffained. Little doubt, but the enemy grew faint hearted, and began to confult how he might intreat a peace: and that if the next summer the warres should have been continued, thereshould be an end of all. But Germanicus was solicited by often letters from Tiberius, to return and receive the triumph which was ordained for him: that he had paffed through many chances and accidents: that he had had prosperous successe in many battels: that he should remember what grievous and cruell losses he had sustained, not by any oversight of the Captain, but by the winds and waves of the fea: that he had been fent nine times into Germanie by Augustus of famous memory: where he had atchieved more noble exploits by counfell then force. So he had received the submission of the Sigambri : fo the Suevians and the King of the Maroboduans were inforced to make peace: that the Cherufci and other rebellious nations, feeing the Romanes had had a fufficient revenge on them, might be left to war one against another. But Germanicus intreating for one yeere longer, to finish the enterprises he had begun; Tiberius affaulted his modefty more earnestly; offering him the Consulship once more: which he should execute in person. He added further, that if there were any more wars to be enterprised, he should referve that subject, for the glory of his brother Druss: who no other enemy being left, could not but by warring against the Germans, get the title of Emperour, or win the crown of laurell. Germanicus made no longer ftay: although he knew well that those were but colours, sought through envy, to draw him from the glory he had already purchased.

VII. Libo accused of treason, killeth himself.

Bout the fame time Libo Drufus, one of the Scribonian family, was accufed for practifing against the state. The beginning, the order, and the end of that businesse, I will set down: because those things came then first to light, which for fo many yeers had confumed and eaten the Common wealth. Firmius Cato a Senator, and one of Liboes inward friends, induced this uncircumfpect young man, and eafily led to vanities, to give credit to the Chaldeans promifes, Magicians ceremonies, and interpreters of dreames: vainly and boaftingly putting him in minde, that Pompey was his great grandfather; Scribonia, who had been Augustus wife, his Aunt, the C.e fars his cofen germans: and that his house was full of images and monuments of his predecessors. He incited him further to licentious riot: to take up and borrow money, making him a companion of his wanton lufts and familiarities, the better to wrap and convince him with many evidences. When he had found witnesses sufficient, and such also of his servants which were privy to the whole matter, he defired he might be admitted to the speech of the Prince: and by means of Flaccus Vescularius, a Gentleman of Rome, and one of Tiberius familiars, discovered the matter, and the man. C. of ar was content with the accusation, yet denied conference with Firmius the accuser: faying, that by the same messenger, Flaceus, their speech might passe from one to another. In the mean season he honoureth Libs with the Pretorfhip, inviteth him to his table, never changed his countenance towards him, nothing passionate in words (so skilfull he was in concealing his anger) and although he could have pretended both his words and enterprifes; yet he defired rather to know the manner of his proceedings: untill one Iulius folicited to convince and raile infernall spirits by inchantments, uttered the matter to Fulcinus Trio, one amongst the promoters, compted quicke and ready witted, and carelesse of discredit. This Trio, accused immediatly the party: went to the Con-

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fuls: and required that the Senators would heare the matter. The Senators were affembled, and given to understand that they were to deliberate of an important and waighty affaire. Libo in the meane time changing his attire, went with certaine noble women from one house to another, intreated his Cousins, and craveth their good word in his extremity: but all of them refused; some pretending one excuse, some another; fearing left they should be thought partakers of the same crime. The day come that the Senate fate; being through feare, or as some report, faining himselfe ficke, weake and weary, was brought to the court gates in a chariot, leaning on his brother, and holding up his hands, craved pardon of Tiberius, who received him, never once changing countenance. Then Cafar read the libels aloud, and their Authors: fo moderating himselfe, that he was not thought either to mitigate, or aggravate any way the crimes. Besides Trio and Catus, there stepped forth two other accusers, Fonteius Agrippa, and C. Livius, striving which had best right to plead against him; untill Livius (because they would not yeeld the one to the other, and Libo came without any advocate) promifed that he himfelfe would fet downe feverally every crime by him committed. Then he produced such sortish declarations. that among other things, they contained, how Libe had confulted with the Magicians, whether he should ever have money enough, to be able to cover the Appian way, from Rome to Brundusium; with many such simple and frivolous matters, and more mildly to terme them, pitifull. Yet the accuser enforced one thing more: that in one writing of Liboes owne hand, there were added certaine dangerous and unknowne characters, to the names of the Cafars and Senators. And the party arraigned denying it; it was thought good, that his bondmen which knew his hand, should be examined upon the racke. And because that by an ancient decree of Senate, it was nor lawfull to torture a bondman against the life of his Lord: Tiberius a fubtile deviser of new lawes, commandeth them all to be fold to a publicke Actor, that without prejudice of the decree, they might be tortured, as not being Libres bondmen. Whereupon Libo defired that the matter might be deferred to the next day. And being at his house, intreated his neere Kinsman P. Quirinius, to make the last intercession for him to the Prince: who had answer given him that he should intreat the Lords of the Senate. In the meane feafon his house was beset with a guard of fouldiers, who in the entry made fuch a noise, that they might easily be both heard and feene. When as Libo loathing the very fight of the dainties ministred for his last comfort, began to call for some one to murder him: and taking his bondmens right hands, and putting a fword in them; whileft they trembling with feare, and refusing to doe it, ran from one place to another: overthrew the light on the table: in that mortall and deadly darknesse, he thrust himselse twice in the guts. At the grone when he fell, his freed men came running about him: but the fouldiers feeing the murder, flood aloofe. Notwithstanding, the accusation was prosecuted with like affeveration, and Tiberius swore, that if he had not voluntarily hastened his owne death, he would have begged his life, although he had beene guilty. His goods were distributed among the accusers, and Pretors roomes were extraordinarily given to fuch as were of the Senate. Then Cotta Massalinus, gave his opinion, that Liboes funerals should not be carried the funerals of his posterity. C. Len:ulus,

that none of the Scribonian family should take upon him the surname of Drussia.

By the advice of Pompey Flaccus, certaine daies of general procession were ordained.

L. P. and Gallus Asinius, and Papius Mutilus, and L. Apronius, were of opinion, that

gifts should be offered to Iupiter, Mars, and the goddesse of Concord; and that the

Ides of September when Libo killed himfelfe should be kept holy day. The dignities

and flatteries of these men, I have thought good to register, that it might be knowne that that was alwayes an old disease in the Common-wealth.

VIII. An expulsion of Mathematicians. A reformation of abuses.

Ecrees of Senate were ordained, for the expulsing of Astrologers, and Ma-Vide ann. (1). gicians out of Italy: among whom L. Pituanius was thrown headlong, from 1. hip.cap.7the Tarpeian rocke: and the Confuls punished P. Martius without the Esquilingate, with the found of Trumpets, according to the ancient custome. At the next meeting of the Senate, L. Haterius once Confull, and oftavius Fronto, who had beene Pretor, spake much against the superfluous excesse of the City. Where it was decreed, that they should not serve at their tables vessels of beaten gold, nor men weare filke above their degree. Fronto went further, and demanded that there might be an order fet downe touching their plate, houshold stuffe, and number of servants: for it was a thing in use, for the Senators to lay downe that for a decree. which they thought expedient for the Common-wealth. "Gallus Asinius spake to "the contrary, faying: that with the greatnesse of the Empire, private mens wealth "was increased: which was no new matter, but of old times received likewise: that "the wealth in Fabricius time differed from that in Scipioes; and yet all referred to "the Common-wealth: which being but in meane estate, the Citizens houses were "thereafter. But now that it is growne to that magnificence, the effate of particu-"lar men is better also. Neither is there anything too much or too little, either in "plate number of servants, or other furniture of houshold, but in respect of the qua-"lity of the owner. The revenewes of a Senator were diftinguished from a Gentle-"mans: not because they differed in nature; but as they were preferred in place, de-"grees, and dignities, the one before the other. These things are procured for the "recreation of the minde, or health of body. Unleffe peradventure they would that "the most noble should take most cares upon them, & hazard their persons in most "dangers; and yet want those pleasures and comforts, which best served to lenisie "and make them more easie. The acknowledging of vices under honest termes, and the likenesse of affections in the hearers minds, caused Gallus to have an easie affent. Tiberius added, that that was no time for reformation: & if there were any diffolution in manners, there should not want one to redresse it. Among these things, L. Pila reprehending the ambition used in places of judgment, corruption of justice, cruelty of advocates, the threats of accusers, protested he would be gone and for sake the City, and lead his life far off in fome retired and folitary place in the countrey; and in fo faying went out of the Senate house. Tiberius was moved at this; and did what he could to pacifie him with faire words: and withall was earnest with his neerest Kinfmen to stay him, either by intreaty or authority. Not long after the same Pife gave no leffe free testimony of his griefe, by summoning Vrgulania to appeare in judgement; whom the favour of Augusta had priviled ged above the course of lawes: but Vrgulania disobeying the summonce being conveyed into Cafars house, made small reckoning of Pifo; yet he delifted not, although Augusta complained her credit was touched therein, and her calling embased. Tiberius making it a part of curtesie, so farre to yeeld unto his mothers request, as to promise he would goe to the Pretors Tribunall to defend Vrgulania: went out of the Palace, the fouldiers being commanded to follow a far off. The people which met him in the face, marked with what a fetled countenance he went forward, protracting the time & the way, with divers discourses,

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discourses, untill that (Pifoes friends labouring in vaine to disswade him from the fuite) Augusta had commanded the money which was demanded to be brought to the Tribunall. That matter was so ended, not without some glory to Piso, and greater fame to Casar. But Frgulanias credit and authority was so overgreat in the city, that she disdained to come, and give witnesse in a matter which was handled before the Lords of the Senate. And therefore the Pretor was fent to examine her in her house: when as the ancient custome was, that even the Vestall virgins were examined as witnesses, in the common place of pleading and judgement. I would not recite the matters propounded thar yeere, but that the diversity of opinions, betwixt. Cn. Pifo, and Asimius Gallus in that point is worthy the knowing. For Piso was of opinion, that although Casar had promifed he would be present, that so much the rather he would profecute his cause against Vrgulania and that in the absence of the Prince, the Senators and Gentlemen might execute their charge, as a thing well befeeming the dignity of the Common-wealth. Gallus, because Pifo had first taken upon him the colour of liberty, held that there was nothing done with majerty, and answerable to the dignity of the people of Rome; but what was done in Casars presence: and therefore, the assemblies of Italy, and meetings of Provinces were to be referved untill he would be prefent. These things were debated very hotly on both fides, Tiberius giving them the hearing, and holding his peace, and in the end they were deferred. There arose another controversie betwixt Gallus and Cafar. For Gallus was of opinion, that the affemblies for creation of Magistrates, should be from five to five yeeres: and that the Lieutenant of the Legions, who had executed that charge before they had beene Pretors, should then be chosen Pretors elect: aud that the Prince should every yeere nominate twelve. "Little doubt but this advice went deep, and reached to a fecret of state. Casar ne-"vertheleffe, as though his authority should thereby be made greater, faid, that it "flood not with his modesty to choose so many, and deferre so many. And if the "election should be every yeer, hardly could it be chosen, but some would be offen-"ded, although fuch as had the repulse, might be comforted with hope to be chosen "the next yeere. And how would they hate me, which should be deferred above five " yeeres? how could it be knowne in fo long a time, what every mans minde is, what "his house, and fortune? if men grow too proud in one yeere, what would they be if "they should be continued for five yeeres? Magistrates should so be multiplyed five " for one: and lawes subverted: which have prescribed a time for suters to exercise "their industry, and to procure and enjoy dignities. With this speech, in shew plausible, he confirmed the state to himselfe: he bettered the revenewes of certain of the Senators: & therefore it was the more to be marveiled that he accepted no better of the request of M. Hortalus, a noble young man, falne into manifest poverty. This Hortalus taluswas nephew to Hortensius the Orator, and by the liberality of * tenne hundred thousand setterces given him by Augustus, perswaded to marry, and have children, left fo worthy a family should be extinguished. Standing therefore with source of his fonnes before the entry of the Senate house, in stead of his opinion, in a full affembly or the enate in the palace, casting his eyes sometimes on the image of Hortensius, placed among the Orators, and fometimes on that of Angullus, began as followeth. "Thefe children, Lords of the Senate, whose number and tender yeres ye fee, I have "not begotten of mine owne accord, but because the Prince did so exhort me : and " because my predecessors had deserved to have issue to succeed them. As for my "owne part, feeing I could neither attaine to wealth, nor winne the peoples favour

"through the alteration of times; nor yet eloquence, which is the proper ornament

of our house: I contented my self, if my small ability were neither a reproch to my "felfe, nor a burden unto others. By the Emperours commandement I took a wife; "behold the off-fpring and progeny of formany Confuls and Dictators: which i "speake not for envy to any, but to move pity. They shall enjoy, O Casar, whilest "thou doest flourish, such honors as thou wilt bestow upon them. In the mean space "defend from poverty L. Hortenfus nephewes fonnes, brought up by Augustus. Tiberius perceiving that the Senators were inclined to his speeches, was the more "ready to gainefay him almost in these words. If all such as are needy begin to come "hither, and crave for money for their children, they shall never be satisfied, and "the Common-wealth unable to supply their necessities. Neither have our prede-"ceffors permitted us to digreffe from the matter put in deliberation; and when we "fhould intreat of somewhat to the benefit of the Common-wealth, debate how to "better our private estates: & increase our substance with the hatred of the Senate, "and Princes, whether they grant or deny our requests. These are not petitions, "but unfeafonable, importunate, unlooked for craving: to rife up in this place and "with the number and age of children, when the Lords are affembled to handle o-"ther matters, to affaile the modesty of the Senate, and use the like violence unto "me, and as it were forcible to breake open the publicke treasury; which if we "waste by ambition, must be supplyed by unlawfull meanes. Augustus of famous "memory, hath given thee money Hortalus, unasked: yet not upon condition that "it should alwayes be given thee: for in so doing, industry would decay, and idle-"neffe increase: if men had not a feare and hope in them. And if all men should "carelessely expect reliefe from others, they would be to themselves unprofitable. "and to us burdenfome. These and the like speeches, although they were heard with the approbation of fuch, whose custome is to applaud all the Princes actions, be they honest or dishonest: yet many held their tongue, or secretly muttered, which Tiberius perceived, and having paused a little, said that he had answered Haralus: Nevertheleffe if it so seemed good unto the Lords of the Senate, he would give every one of his male children * two hundred thousand sesterces. The rest gave * about 1562. him thankes: Hortalus held his tongue, either for feare, or as retaining somewhat of it. 10. s. the nobility of his Ancestors, even in extremity of Fortune. Yet Tiberius had no compassion afterward on him, although the Hortensian family fell into shamefull poverty.

IX. Clemens a bondslave, counterfeiteth himselfe to bee Agrippa: and his bold ansmer.

HE fame yeere, an audacious part of a bondflave had fhaken the whole state with civill warres and difcord, had it not beene prevented in good time. A bondman of Agrippaes called Clemens, understanding of Augustus death: with a courage more then fervile, purposed to goe to the Hand Planasia, and by fraud or force bring away Agrippa to the German campe. But his enterprise was hindered by the flownesse of a ship of burden: and in the meane season Agrippa being murdered, bending his minde to greater and dangeronfer attempts; ftealeth away his ashes: and being come to Coram, a promontory of Ethruria, in unknowne places hideth himselfe, untill his beard and haire were growne out: being in favour and yeeres not unlike his Lord. This done, he whispereth it abroad, by fit companions of his fecrets, first (as in things forbidden commonly it is wont to be) by privy rumours, that Agrippa was yet alive; then openly in the credulous eares of the 46 weaker fort, or bufie headed and turbulent: and therefore most desirous of novelties. His manner was towards night to goe to finall Townes; shewing himselfe abroad, but seldome: nor stay long in a place. And because time, and the eye try out truth; and fallhood winneth credit on a fudden, and by uncertainties, he either left fome speech of him where he had beene; or prevented it, before any was begun. In the mean time it was commonly reported throughout Italy, and believed at Rome, that Agrippa by the goodnesse of the gods was preserved alive. Insomuch that being arrived at Hostia, there great multitudes, and in the City secret assemblies shewed fignes of joy: Tiberius being doubtfull and perplexed, whether he should make away his bondman by fouldiers; or fuffer that vaine credulousnesse to vanish away with time. Thus wavering betwixt shame and feare: sometimes thinking it no policy to make light of any thing: and sometime lesse to seare all things: in the end committed the matter to Sallustius Crispus. He chuseth two of his followers (or as fome fay fouldiers) and perswadeth them, as though they had fled for some of fence to goe to him; offer him money; promife him loyalty; and that they would fland to him in all dangers. They fulfilling his commandement, espying a night when he had no guard: with ayde fufficient, bound him, stopped his mouth, and drew him to the palace. And when Casar asked him, how he was made Agrippa: it is reported he answered, as thou wast made Casar. He could not be brought by any meanes to disclose his confederates. Neither durst Tiberius punish him onely but in a fecret part of the palace commanded him to be murdered; and his body privily to be conveyed away. And although many of the Princes owne house, Senators, and Gentlemen, were reported to have sustained him with their goods, and ayded him with their counfell, yet there was no further enquiry made. In the end of this yeere a triumphall arch was erected neere to Saturnus Temple, for the recovery of the enfigues loft with Varus, under the conduct of Germanicus, and Casars goodfortune. And a Temple built also ofstrong Fortune, neere Tiber in the Gardens which Cafar the Dictator had bequeathed to the people of Rome; and a Chappell dedicated to the Julian family; and an image to Augustus at Bovilles.

IX. Germanicus triumpheth : is fent to the East: The death of Archelaus King of Cappadocia.

OElius, and L. Pomponius being Confuls, the seventh Kalends of June, Ger. manicus Casar triumphed for the victories gotten against the Cherusci, Chatti, and Angrivari, and all other nations inhabiting to the River of Albis. In which triumph were carried the spoiles, and captives, and counterfeit of the mountaines, rivers, and battels, and fothe warre was taken as ended, because he was forbidden to profecure it any further. The comelinesse of his person, and triumphall chariot, loaden with five of his children, made the flew more gallant. But when they thought with themselves how unlucky the peoples favour was in his father Drusus: that his unkle Marcellus was taken from them in the flowre of his youth, & heat of the peoples love: that the affection of the people of Rome was unforumare, and of imall continuance, they were all secretly stricken into a seare. And * About 46. s. although Tiberius gave in Germanicus name, to every one of the people * three hundred fefterces a man, and made him his Coparther in the Confulthip; yet could never be accompred a fincere friend, but that he went about to remove the young man, under colour of honour, and forged pretenfes; or greedily taking hold of fuch as were offered by chance. King Archelaus had now fiftie yeeres enjoyed Cappadocia, greatly difliked of Tiberius, because that during his being at Rhodes, he had used no shew of dutie towards him: which Archelaus did not omit through pride, but because he was so admonished by Augustus familiarest friends. For whilest C. Cafar yet flourished and managed the affaires of the East, Tiberius friendship was fuspected as dangerous. The house of the Casars was no sooner extinguished, and that himself was in possession of the Empire, but he tolleth Archelaus by his mothers letters to Rome: who not diffembling her fonnes displeasure; offered him all gentle intreatie, if he would come to him with submission. He then ignorant of the treachery, or misdoubting violence if he seemed to perceive it, maketh haste to the citie: where being churlishly received, and anon after accused in Senate, not for the crimes which were pretended, but by anguish of mind, or feeblenesse of age, and because not onely base, but also things indifferent are strange and unusuall to kings. he either willingly or naturally ended his life. The kingdome was afterward reduced into a province : and Cafar declaring that with the revenewes therof, the tribute of one in the hundred might be eafed, made a decree, that from thence forward one should be levied in two hundred. At the same time Antiochus, king of the Comageni, and Philopater, king of the Cilicians being dead, those nations were divided among themselves, some desiring to be governed by the Romans, and others by Kings. And the provinces of Syria and Judæa, overcharged with taxes, made supplication that their tributes might be deminished. These things therefore, with those which I have rehearsed of Armenia, Tiberius sheweth to the Lords of the Senate: and that the tumults of the Orient, could no way be pacified but by Germanicus wisedome. As for himselfe, he was stricken in age, and Drusus was not yet of ripe yeeres. And thereupon by decree of Sanrte, Germanicus had the charge given him over all the provinces, divided by fea, and a greater command whither foever he went, then any, which either by lot or Princes fending received government. Now Tiberius had before removed from Syria Creticus Silanus, who was by marriage allyed to Germanicus, his daughter being promifed in marriage to Nero Germanicus eldest son; and in his roome had appointed Cn. Piso to be Lieutenant, a man both rash and headstrong: not knowing what it was to obey, as having that fiercenetie of courage naturally from Pifo his father: who during the civil warres, ayded in most eager manner, the sides which rose in Afrike against Casar: then following Brutus and Cassius faction, and licence granted him to returne, forbare all dignities, untill he was wooed to accept the Confulship, offered him by Augustus Cafars owne motion. But besides the hereditary courage of his fathers, the nobility and wealth of Plancina his wife made him grow so insolent, that he would scarce yeeld to Tiberius, and contemned his children as far inferiour to himfelf: not doubting at all, but that he was chosen Governour of Syria; to bridle and keep under Germanicus hopes. And some beleeved that he had had secret commandement by Tiberius fo to doe: and without all peradventure Augusta had put it into Plancinaes head, (emulation being a usuall matter amongst women) to contend and quarell with Agrippina. The court was divided, some secretly favouring Drusus, some Germanicus. Tiberius did leane to Drusus, as his owne, and of his blood: but the small affection Germanicus unckle carried him, was cause that others loved him the more: and because that by the mothers side he was more nobly descended, having M. Antonius for his Grandfather, and Augustus for his unckle: whereas Pomponius Atticus, a Gentleman of Rome, great Grandfather to Drusus, did not answer the honorable memories of the Claudians. And Germanicus wife Agrippina, did go beyond Livia

ons. A fiercer encounter then this there was never feene: nor a more doubtfull issue, the right wings on both sides being slain. And a new fight was hoped for, if

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Drussus wise, in fruitfulnesse, fame, and name. Neverthelesse the brothers did exceedingly well agree, nothing at all moved with the emulation and contentions of their kindred.

> X. The Germanes are at variance between themselves. An eart -quake in Asia.

OT long after, Drusus was sent to Illyrium to be trained up in seats of war. and to winne the fouldiers hearts. And Tiberius thought it better, that the young man luftly given, by the wanton lasciviousnesse of the Citie, should be better fashioned in the camp, and himself in more securitie, both his sonnes being commanders over the legions. But the colour was, that the Swevians did grave aide against the Cherusci: for being rid of the Romanes, and voide of forrein seare. through emulation of glory, a thing usuall in that countrey, they turned their armes against themselves. Oddes there was none in the strength of the nations, or valour of Captains, but that the name of a King, which Maroboduus took upon him, was odious to the common people: and Arminius favoured because he fought for libertie. And therefore not onely the Cherusci; and their confederates: Arminius old fouldiers took armes: but the Swevian nations also of Marobodaus kingdome. The Semnones and the Longobards took part: and joyning with Arminius had prevailed; if Inquiomerus with a strong company of his vassalls, had not fled to Maroboduus for no other cause, but onely being old and unkle to Arminius, disdained to obey himbeing but young and his brothers fonne. They pitcht their battell with like hope on both fides: not using roving incursions, or skirmishing in scattered troupes, as the manner of the Germanes in times past had been: but by long warring against us, they had accustomed themselves to follow their ensignes, strengthen and ayde one another, and obey their Captains. "Then Arminius viewing his armie on "horseback vaunted to all he met, that their libertie was recovered, the legions "flain: and shewed in the hands of many of the souldiers, the spoils and armour "which by force they had taken from the Romanes. Contrarily he called Marobo-"duus a runnagate, unskilfull in warres; that he had faved himfelf in the lurking "holes of Hereynia: and then by gifts and embassies, entreated an agreement: that "he was a traitour to his countrey, and one of Cafars followers: therefore that "they should thrust him out, with no lesse hatred then they had slain Varus Quintilius: that they should now call to minde so many battels; by successe of which, having in the end driven out the Romans, it is eafily feen who should have the upper hand. Neither did Maroboduus on his fide forget to vaunt himself, or inveigh against his enemy; but taking hold of Inguiomerus, told them that all the honours of the Cherusci consisted in that body: and that all that fellout luckily, was atchieved by his counsell. "That Arminius a fot, unexpert in matter of warre, attributed others glo-"ry to himself: because he had entrapped by guile, three unsurnished legions with "their Captain, nothing misdoubting their fraud; to the great losse of Germanie, "and his own ignominie, feeing his wife, and his fonne do yet endure fervitude. But "as for him, he had maintained the honor of Germany unstained, being affailed by "twelve legions, under the conduct of Tiberius; and in the end parted with reason-"able conditions. Neither did it repent him that it was yet in their choise; either to " make war against the Romanes, or accept of peace without bloudshed. Both parts being incented with these speeches; yet other peculiar causes did more inflame them. Considering that the Cherusci, and the Longobardi, did fight for their an-

Maroboduus (an evident token of a faint heart) had not retired to the hils: and being somewhat weakned, by the backsliding of traitors, withdrew himselfe to the Marcomans, and fent Embassadors to Tiberius to crave aid. Unto whom it was answered, that he had no reason to crave the Romanes aid against the Cherusci, seeing he aided the Romans nothing at all, when they fought against the same enemy. Yet as we have faid, Drusus was sent to make a peace. The same yeare twelve samous cities of Asia were destroyed by an earthquake in the night: a calamity so much the greater. by how much the leffe looked for. The usuall meanes of faving themselves in like cases, by fleeing to the open fields, doing them no good at all; because they were swallowed up by the opening of the earth. It is reported that huge mountains were laid flat, and plaines raifed up into high hils: and fire flashed out among those ruines. And the dyfafter being more grievous among the Sardians, then elsewhere. greater compation was had on them: for Cafar promifed them*an hundredth hun- * About dred thousand sesterces: and released them for 5. yeers space of all that they were to 78125. pay to the common Treasurie. Next unto them endamaged and relieved, were the pound, Magnetians, neare unto Sipylus. It was thought expedient for the same space, to discharge of all tributes, the Temnians, Philadelphians, Ægetians, Appolonienses. and fuch as are called Moscenians, or Macedonians, of Hyrcania, and Hierocæsarea, Myrina, Cymen, Tmolum, & to fend some of the Senators, to view and relieve their present estate. This charge was committed to M. Alet wonce Pretor; lest if one who had been once Confull over Asia, should have been deputed; there might fome emulation have risen between equals, and thereby the busines hindered. Casar did with no leffe gratefull bountie, shew his liberalitie when he bestowed the goods of Aemilia Musa, a rich woman, fallen to the fisque; upon Aemilius Lepidus, of whose house she seemed to have been. And the like when he gave the inheritance of Patuleius, a rich gentleman of Rome (albeit he was instituted heirin part) to M. Servilius, whom he found to have been written in the first not suspected testament: having declared before, that both their nobilities were to be holpen with money. Neither did he at any time take any inheritance, unles he had deferved it by friendship. He did reject all such, as being unknown to him; and for hatred unto others, declared the Prince to be their heires. And as he did relieve the honest povertie of the innocent: fo the prodigall and needy through their own behaviour, he put from the Senate, or gave licence to depart: as to Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sulla, Q. Vitellius. At the same time, the Temples of the gods, begun by Augustus, and fallen to ruine by age or fire: he dedicated to Bacchus,

Proferpina and Ceres, neare to the great Circus; which A. Posthumius had vowed.

And in the same place the Temple of Flora, built by Lucius and Marcus, Publicius,

Acdiles: And also I anus Temple, which C. Duillius had built neere the hearb mar-

ket; who first of all others, had a prosperous fight by Sea for the Romanes: and de-

served arriumph by Sea over those of Carthage. The Temple of Hope, which in

the same warre Atilius had vowed, was dedicated by Germanicus.

TN the meane feason, the law against treason grew strong: and a pickthank accused Apuleia Varilia, Augustus sisters neece; that she had reproachfully scoffed at Augustus, Tiberius, and his mother: and that nothing regarding that she was by marriage allied to Cafar, the had abused her body. But as for the adultery there was fufficient order taken by the law Iulia: yet Cafar requested that the treason might be distinguished from the other crime; and that she might be punished, if she had spoken irreligiously against Augustus. As for that which she had spoken against himselfe, he would not have it brought into examination. And being asked by a Confull, what he thought of those things she was accused of, against his mother. he held his peace. But the next time the Senate met, he intreated in his mothers name, that such words as she had uttered against her, might not be construed for a fault. Of treason also he acquited her: and intreated that the punishment of adulterie, might not be severely enforced against her: perswading her friends, that according to the example of their ancestours, they would remove her from her kindred above two hundred miles: and Manlius the adulterer was banished Italy and Africk. When Vip Janius Gallus was dead, there arose a strife in subrogating a Pretor in his roome: Germanicus and Drusus both then being at Rome, favouring Haterius Agrippa, neare kiniman to Germanicus: and some labouring to the contrary, defired that according to the lawes, among futers fuch should prevaile as had the greatest number of children: Tiberius rejoycing, that the Senate debated the matter betwixt his children and the lawes. Without doubt the law was overcome: but neither by and by; nor with a few suffrages; but after the same manner, as when the lawes were in greatest force. The same yeare the warre began in Africk, Tacfarinas being the captain of the enemies. This Tacfarinas was a Numidian born, and being an aide fouldier, received pay under the Romanes: then a forfaker of them gathered together certain wandring companions, inured to robberies, thefts, and pillage: whom he marshalled into companies, and divided into ensignes, according to the manner of service: and at the last was reckoned a leader not of a disorderly multitude, but captain of the Musulanians: which being a strong nation neere unto the desert of Africk, having no dwelling in townes, took armes, and drew their neighbours the Moores with them, under their captain Mazippa. Their army was fo divided, that Tacfarinas should encampe himselfe with chosen men, armed after the Romane manner, and train them up in discipline and obedience. Mazippa with a company lightly armed should rove up and down, burn, slay, and terrifie. They had also perswaded the Cinithians, a nation not to be despised, to the like. When as Furius Camillus Proconful of Africk, having gathered a legion, and the confederates which were under enfignes (a finall power if you respect the multitude of Moores and Numidians) and led them against the enemie: and doubting nothing more then left they should shift off the battell with feare, with a hope of vi-Ctory tolled them on, and in their hope overthrew them. Furius placed a legion in the middle, the cohorts lightly appointed, and two companies of horsemen in the wings. I acfarmas refused not to joyne battell: but the Numidians were vanquished, and the Furian name, after so many yeares recovered the reputation of warriours. For ever fince that Furius, which recovered the citie from the Galli, and his fon Camillus; the glory of being captains hath remained in other families. And this

man whom we have spoken of, not being a man of action, his exploits were the more willingly set forth by *Tiberius* to the Lords of the Senate: who decreed, that he should be honoured with triumphall ornaments; which to *Camillus*, by reason he was of a modest behaviour, could no way be a cause of envie.

XIII. Germanicus Peregrination.

He yeere following, Tiberius was the third time made Confull, and Germanicus the second. But Germanicus took that dignitie at Nicopolis, a citie in Achaia, whither he came by the coast of Illyrium; having first visited his brother Drulus, then making his abode in Dalmatia: and having had an unprosperous voyage by the Adriaticall and Ionian Sea. By reason whereof he spent some dayes in repairing his Navie; and visiting the coasts, which by the victorie of Attium were made famous; and the spoils dedicated by Augustus: with the place where Antonie had camped; by those meanes renewing the memory of his ancestours; for as I have faid before, Augustus was his uncle, and Antonie his grandfather: and therefore in that place he saw represented, things both joyfull, and dolorous. from thence he went to Athens; which being an ancient citie, and a confederate with the Romanes: he would have but one Lictor before him. The Grecians received him with most exquisite honours, and represented the ancient exploits, and fayings of his predeceffors: that their flatterie might be fo much the more gratefull and acceptable. And going from thence to Eubcca, he passed by Lesbos: where Agrippina in her last delivery, had Iulia. Then desirous to visit places of antiquitie and fame, he went to the confines of Afia, Perinthum, and Byzans, cities of Thrace: then he entred the straits of Propontis, and the mouth of the Pontian sea. Withall he relieved the Provinces, which were wearied with civill difcords, and oppreffions of Magiltrates. In his returne defirous to visit the facrifices of the Samothracians, and fundry other things; for change of fortune, and our beginning from thence worthy of honour. The northren windes drove him backagain. Then he coasted Asia, and came to Colophona, to consult with the oracle of Clarius Apollo. There is no woman, as at Delphos, but a Priest usually chosen out of certain families, and for the most part from Miletum, doth heare only the number and names of fuch as come to confult: then going down to a den, and drinking a draught of the fecret fountaine, giveth answer (being commonly ignorant in learning and verfes) in verses touching those things, which a man hath fore-thought in his minde. It is reported, that by circumftances of dark speeches, as the manner of the oracles is, he prophecied that Germanicus death was not farre off. But C. Pilo, to the end he might more speedily begin to effectuate his determination, sharply rebuked the citie of Athens, already amazed with his turbulent behaviour, indirectly carping at Germanicus, that contrary to the dignitie of the Romane name, he had used too great curtefie: not toward the Athenians which had been wasted by fo many miseries; but towards a rif-raffe of other nations: and those which were Mithridates confederates against Sulla: and Antonies against Augustus of famous memorie. Other stale matters he objected also against them; as that they had not prosperous successe against the Macedonians, & used violence against their own citizens: bearing them also a special grudge, because that at his request they would not deliver one Theophilus condemned of forgery, by the counsel of the Areopagites. From thence fayling with all celeritie by the Cyclades, and feeking out the shortest cuts, at the Hand of Rhodes, he overtook Germanicus: nothing ignorant how he

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had

had backbitten him: yet nevertheleffe fuch was his milde difpolition, that when Pifowas driven through tempest against the rocks, and that his miscarrying might have been imputed to chance, he fent gallies to fuccour him, and fo delivered him from danger. But all this did not mollifie Pifees heart, but scarce enduring one dayes stay, forfaketh and preventeth Germanicus. For being come to the legions in Syria, winning the basest of the common souldiers with gifts: he began to displace the old Centurions, and severe Tribunes: and bestow their roomes on his followers, or to the most lewdest: suffered idlenes in the camps: licentiousnes in the citie, vagrant and riotous fouldiers to range the countrey: whereby they grew to fuch corruption, that among the common fort, he was called the father of the legions. Neither did Plancina contain her felf within the bonds of womanly modefty: but would be present at the horsmens exercise, as the running of the cohorts: and use reprochfull speeches against Agrippina, and Germanicus: some of the better fort of souldiers, ready to follow her humor, in bad actions, because there was a secret rumour spread that those things were not done with dislike of the Emperour. Germanicus knew all this: but his greatest care was to prevent the Armenians. That nation was in times past doubtfull and uncertain to the Romanes, not onely through their disposition and affection; but also through the fituation of their countrey: which ftretching into our provinces, reacheth even to the Medes. And being feated betwixt great kingdomes, are often in wars, through hatred to the Romans, and envie to the Parthians. King at that time they had none, Vonones being expulsed. But the nation favoured Zeno, Polemon King of Pontus fon, because that from his infancie, he had imitated the customes and attire of the Armenians, their hunting and banquetting and other exercifes of the Barbarians greatly efteemed thereby winning the favour as well of the nobilitie, as common people. Germanicus then in the city Artaxata, the noble men approving it, in the presence of a multitude, crowned him King: and the rest doing him honour as their King, saluted him after the name of the city by the name of Artaxias. The Cappadocians being reduced to the forme of a Province; received Q. Veranius for their lieutenant: and to give them a good hope of the Romane government, some of the tributes usually before paid to the Kings, diminished: and over the Comagini, then first reduced under the regiment of a Pretor, 2. Servaus was made governour.

XIIII. Germanicus, and Pisoes jarring.

Lbeit, all the affaires of the allies were fetled in good order: yet Germanicus Awas nothing the more at his ease; by reason of Piloes pride: who being commanded either by himself, or by her sonne, to conduct part of the legions to Armenia, neglected both. At length they both met at Cirrum, where the tenth legion wintered: Pifo with a refolute countenance against feare: and Germanicus, as I have faid, the milder of the two, left he should be thought to threaten. But his friends their crafts mafter in provoking hatred, made the most of that which was true, and suggested much which was false, laying divers things to his own charge, Planeinas and his childrens. In the end, Cafar in the presence of a few of her familiars, uttered some such speech to Pi (o, as anger and diffinulation doth suggest, and Pi (o answered with a proud submission, and so they departed open enemies. After that time Pisowas seldome seen at Casars tribunall, and if he did affist at any time, heshewed himselfe froward, and alwayes diffented openly from him. In a banquet made by the King of the Nabateans, when there were presented crownes of great

weight to Cafar and Agrippina; and light ones to Pifo and the rest: He was heard to fav. that that banket was made to the fon of a Roman Prince, and not to the fon of a king of Parthia: and withall threw away his crown, urtering many speeches against the superfluity of the banket: which although Germanicus could hardly digett, yet indured all patiently. Whilest these things were a doing, Embassadours came from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, calling to minde their triendship and alliance with the Romans, and defiring that they might renew right hands: and that in honour of Germanicus, he would come to the bank of Euphrates. And requested in the mean time, that Vonones might not remain in Syria, left he should by messengers draw the noble men of the countrey round about to civill diffensions. Touching the alliance, Germanicus answered magnificently: but concerning the kings coming, and the honour done to himself, he answered civilly, and with great modestie. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis, a fea town in Cilicia; not fo much as at Artabanus request, as to spite Pife; unto whom he was most acceptable, for many benefits and gifts bestowed upon Plancina.

XV. Germanicus voyage to Egypt and Thebes. Maroboduus and Catualda, both expelled, flee to the Romanes.

7 Hen M. Silanus, and L. Norbanus were Confuls, Germanicus went to Egypt to see the antiquities of the countrey, but pretended a care of the province: where he opened their ftorehouses, and brought down the price of corne: and did other things to winne the favour of the people: as to goe without fouldiers; weare open shooes: apparell himself like the Grecians: imitating P. Scipio, whom we have heard to have done the like in Sicily, when the warre was hottest against the Africans. Tiberius having lightly blamed him for his behaviour and apparell, did most sharpely rebuke him, that contrary to Augustus order, and without the Princes licence, he had entered Alexandria. For Angultus amongst other secrets of state, had referved Egypt; and forbidden all Senators, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, to enterinto it, but with permiffion, lest Italy should be oppressed with famine: who soever should be master of that province: being the key of the sea and land: and easily defended with a small power, against a strong hoste. But Germanicus, not knowing that his voyage was misliked, went up Nilus, beginning at the towne Canopus, which the Lacedemonians built: because Canopus the Governour of their ship was buried there, when Menelaus going back to Greece, was carried to a contrary fea, and land of Libya. The next mouth of the river from thence, is dedicated to Hercules; the first of which name was borne there, as the inhabitants do report, and of whom all which come after him, of like valour and vertue, took their furname. After that, he visited the great monuments of ancient Thebes: where yet were to be feen Ægyptian letters in old buildings, which contained their ancient wealth. And one of their ancientest Priests, being commanded to interpret those letters in the countrey language; related, that in times past there had dwelt in that citie, seven hundred thousand persons, of age fit to bear armes : and that with that army king Rhamses had conquered Libya, Æthiopia, Media, and Persia, Bactria, and Scythia, and the countreys which the Syrians, and the Armenians, and the Cappadocians, their next neighbours inhabited: and that their dominion reached from the Bithynian to the Lycian Sea. There were also read the tributes imposed over nations, the weight of filver and gold, the num54

fweet favours: and what plentie of corne; what utenfils every nation was charged to furnish; which were no lesse magnificall, then are now commanded by the forces of the Parthi: or power of the Romanes. But Germanicus was yet tied to other miracles: whereof the chiefest was, the image of Memnon made of stone; when it was ftrucken with the fun-beames yeelding a found like a mans voice: and the Pyramides as great as mountaines, on the not paffable fands; built a vie by Kings in times past to shew their riches: and the ditches wrought by handie work to receive the overflowing of Nilus; fo narrow in fome places, and fo deepe in others, that the bottome cannot be found by any fearch. From thence he came to Elephantines, and Syenes, in times past the bounds of the Romane Empire, which now openeth to the red sea. Whilest Germanicus spent that summer, in visiting many Provinces, Drusus got no small honour, by sowing sedition in Germanie: and incenfing them to pursue Maroboduus already weakened, even to his utter ruine. Among the Gotones, there was a noble young man called Catualda, who through Maroboduus violence having before fled his countrey; things flanding now in doubtfull termes; ventured a revenge. And with a strong power, entered the frontiers of the Marcomans: and having corrupted the chief noble men to his confederacie, forceth the kings palace, and a castle hard by. Where he found the old spoils of the Suevians and the base rascals of our Province: and certaine Merchants: whom intercourse of merchandize, and a desire of increasing their wealth; or last of all a forgetfulnesse of their countrey; had drawn from their own dwellings to the enemies countrey. Maroboduus being forfaken of all hands, had no other refuge left, but the mercy of the Romanes. And having passed the river of Danub, where it coasteth the Province of Norica; wrote unto Tiberius, not as a sugitive and suppliant, but putting him in minde of his former fortune and estate: alleadging that when fundry nations invited him to their alliance, being fometimes a renownedking, he preferred the amitie of the Romanes before them all. C.e far answered him, that he should have a sure and honourable dwelling in Italy, if he listed to remaine there: but if any thing of greater advancement should happen unto him, that he should depart with the same safe conduct he came thither. Afterward he declared in Senate that the Athenians had no fuch cause to feare Philip, nor the people of Rome, Pyrrhus, and Antiochus, as this man. An oration of his is yet extant, wherein he extolleth his power; the firength of the nations he had under him; and how neere an enemy he was to Italy; and what plots he had devised to roote him out. Maroboduus was received at Ravenna, that if at any time the Suevian should wax in-

folent, he was in fight as it were alwayes ready to return. But he departed not Italie

the space of eighteen yeares, and grew old with losse of reputation, through over

great desire of living. The like hope had Catualda, and no other refuge: for not

long after being driven out by the Hermunduri, under the conduct of Vibilius, he

was received and fent to Forum Julii, a Colonie of Gallia Narbonensis. The bar-

barous people which followed both these, lest being mingled among others, should

disturb the quiet Provinces: were placed beyond Danubium, betwixt the rivers

Marus, and Cufus; and a King given them of the Quadian nation.

XVI. Warres betwist Rhescuporis and Cotys. Rhescuporis is fent to Rome.

TEwes being come that Artaxias was by Garmanicus made King of Armenia: the Lords of the Senate ordained that Germanicus and Drusus should enter into the citie ovant, or with a fmall triumph; and that arches should be erected about the fides of the Temple of Mars the Revenger, with the images of the two Cafars: Tiberius being more glad that he had established a peace by wifedome; then if he should have ended the war by a maine battell. Now he determined by some subtiltie to set upon Rhescuporis King of Thrace. That countrey once having beene under Rhemetalces: after his death, Angustus gave part of it to his brother Rhefcuporis, and part to his fonne Cotys. In that partition, the arable grounds, the cities and places adjoining to Greece fell to Cotys share. That which was unhabited, wilde, & lying neere the enemie to Rhescuporis. The dispositions also of those Kings were fuch, that the one was tractable and of a milde condition; this four, covetous, and impatient of a companion : and both at the first living in cunning and diffembled concord. Then Rhescuporis began to exceed his bounds; and draw that to himself, which was given Cotys, and use violence if he refifted: but not so hotly in Augustus time; whom he feared being the author of both kingdomes, would revenge if he were despised. But understanding of a change of the Prince, he sent in troupes of theeves, beat down his castles, and sought occasions of warre. Nothing did more trouble Tiberius, then that those things which were once setled, should now be diffurbed: and therefore making choise of a Centurion dispatcheth him away to fignifie to the Kings, that they should not in any case enter into armes: and thereupon Cotys difmiffed prefently the aide he had prepared. Rhefcuporis with a fained modestie, requesterhaplace of meeting, to end their controversie by conference: neither did they long doubt of the time, place, and conditions; the one yeelding to all with a facilitie of nature; the other accepting all with a fraudulent meaning. Rhescuporis as he pretended to conclude this agreement; maketha banquet: and when the night was farre spent with great mirth, much eating and quaffing of wine: he loaded uncircumspect Cosys with chaines: who perceiving the treason, befought him by the facred ceremonies of the kingdome, the gods of the fame family, and by the entertainment of his table, he would use no such violence. Having thus made himself master of all Thrace, he wrote to Tiberius, that there were conspiracies wrought against him, and the contriver of them prevented. And withall, pretending warre against the Bastarnians, and the Scythians, making himself strong with a new power of footmen and horsemen. Tiberius wrote to him coldly again, that if there were no fraud in his doing, he might trust to his innocencie: but neither he nor the Senate could difcern the right from wrong, unleffe they knew the cause: and therefore that he should deliver up Cotys, and come to them, and purge himself of the envy of the crime. Those letters Latinius Pandus Proprætor of Moesia sent with the fouldiers, unto whom Corys should be delivered. But Rhefcuporis balancing between anger and feare, and defirous to be guiltie rather of the fact committed, then only attempted, commandeth Cotys to be flain: and untruely gave it out, that he had killed himself. Yet for all this, Casar altered not his intended course, but after Pandus decease, whom Rhescupperis accused to have been his back-friend, made Pomponius Flaccus an old fouldier, and with whom the King was very inward, and therefore a more fit instrument to deceive, for the same cause especially governour

of Moesia, Flaccus being gone to Thrace, by way of great promises, perswaded him. although doubtfull, and calling to minde his owne wickednesse: to enter into the Romane garrison, where he was guarded with a strong company, under colour of honour. He had Tribunes and Centurions at hand to counfell and perswade him: and the further he went, the greater gaurd: and at last knowing in what termes of neceffitie he stood, they brought him to the citie: where being accused in Senate by Cotys wife, he was condemned to be kept far from his countrey. Thrace was afterward divided betwixt Rhamatalces his sonne, who was knowne to be an enemy to his fathers proceedings, and Cotys children: which not being offull age, Trebel. lienus Rufus, who had been Pretor in the meane season, was made governour of the kingdome: following the examples of our prede ceffours, who fent M. Lepidus into Egypt to be guardian to Ptolomeus children. Rhescuporis was carried to Alexandria, and there a going about to escape, or because it was so fathered on him, was killed. At the fame time Vonones, who (as we have faid) was confined in Cilicia, having corrupted his keepers, vnder colour of going a hunting, attempted all meanes to escape to the Armenians; from thence to the Albenians, and Heniochians, and to his Cosen the king of Scythia. And for sking the sea coastes, got into by-waies and forrests, and by the swiftnes of his horse, posted with all speed to the river Pyramus. The borders understanding the kings escape, having broken down the bridges,& he not able to passe at any foord, was taken by the rivers side, and bound by Vibius Fronto, Captain of the horsemen. Anonaster Remmius Evocatos, unto whose charge the King was first committed, as it had been in an anger, thrust him through with his fword. Whereupon it was the easier beleeved that he had so slain Vonones, as one guiltie and consenting to his escape, and therefore fearing he should be bewrayed and accused.

XVII. Germanicus sicknesse and death. The variance betwint him and Piso.

UT Germanicus returning from Egypt: and perceiving that all which he had commanded, either in the legions or townes, left undone, or changed cleane contrary, began to use grievous and contumelious speech, against Pife: and he to requite Cafar with no leffe dangerous attempts. Whereupon Pifo determined to depart Syria: but staying a time by reason of Germanicus sicknesse, when he heard of his amendment, and that the vowes were accomplished for his health: he drove away by his fergeants the beaft brought to the Altar, and diffurbed the preparation made for the facrifice, and the folemne meeting of the people of Antioch. Then he went to Seleucia, expecting the event of his ficknesse which he fell again into: the rage thereof fo much the more grievous, through an opinion that Piso had poyloned him: for there were found pulled out of the ground and walls, charmes, verses, and enchantments: and Germanicus name engraven in sheets of lead: ashes half burned, and tempered with corrupt blood, and other forceries, by which it is thought, that fouls are dedicated to the infernall powers. Some also were accused to have been sent from Piso, to espie in what state he was in. That drove Germanicus both into anger and feare, confidering with himfelfe: if his house should be besieged: if he should lose his life in the sight of his enemies: what should happen after to his wofull wife, and his young children? he saw that the poyson seemed flow in working: but Pifo hastened, that he might alone have the government of the legions and the province. But Germanieus was not so destitute of friends,

that the murderer should enjoy the rewards of the murder. And hereupon endites h a letter to him, in which he renounceth his friendship. Some adde, that hee commanded him to depart the province. Pifo made no longer delay, but loofeth anker and moderated his course to return the sooner, if Germanicus death should open him away to Syria. Germanicus being a ilttle amended, and in some hope: then growing feeble againe; when his end was at hand, hee spake to his friends about him in this manner. If I should die a naturall death, yet should I have just cause of griefe against the gods that by an untimely death, they should take me in my youth " from my kinsfolke, children and countrey. But now being brought to this paffe by " the lewed practice of Pisoand Plancina, I leave in your breasts for my last prayers : " that you fignific unto my Father and my Brother, with what crueltie torne, with " what fraud circumvented, I have ended my miferable life, with a most naughtie " death. If the hopes conceived of me have moved any; if neerenesse in bloud any: " yea, if envie towards me when I lived: they will weep, that he who hath fometimes flourished, and escaped so many battels, should now end his life by the guile and treachery of a woman: you shall have occasion to complaine to the Senate, and demaund the execution of lawes. This is not the chiefest dutie of friends, to shew their affection towards the dead, by a flow and dull complaint; but remember and execute that which they commanded. Yea, fuch as knew not Germanicus, will weepe for him: If you did rather love me then my fortune, you will revenge my death. Shew the people of Rome Augustus neece, and and the same my wife, and my children which are fixe in number: the accufers themselves will have compassion. and those which pretend wicked commandements, shall either not bee beleeved, or not pardoned. His friends taking him by the right hand, fwore they would rather lose their life, then omit revenge. Then turning to his wife entreated her by the memory of him, and by the children common between them. that shee would lay aside all haughtinesse, and submit her courage to raging fortune: left returning to the citie, shee stirred not with emulation of greatnesse more powerable then her felf against her. Thus much he uttered openly, and other things infecret, whereby it was conjectured he flood in feare of Tiberius. Not long after he yeelded up the ghoft, with great lamentation of the Province and countries about; forrein nations and Kings lamented alfo; fo great was his courtefie to his allies, and mildnesse to his enemies. He was no lesse venerable to those which faw him, then those which heard of him; and did so well temper the greatnesse of high estate and gravity that he avoided both envie and arrogancy. His tunerals although he had neither images nor pompe: yet by the commendation and memory of his vertues, were honoured of all men. Somethere were which compared his favour, his age and manner of death, by reason of the vicinitie of the places, wherein they died, unto Alexander the Great. For being both of a comely stature, noble parentage, not much above thirty yeeres of age they died in strange countries, by the treacherie of their owne people. But this man was courteous towards his friends, moderate in pleasures, & his children certain, begotten in marriage by one woman. Neither was he to be counted a leffe warrior then the other, although he were not rash, & hindered to reduce under the yoke of servitude the Germans daunted with fo many victories. And if he alone had had the supreme managing of affaires, and power, & a name of King; fo much the fooner he would have carried away the prife and renown of warfare, by how much he did excel him in clemency, temperancy, & other good vertues. His body before it should be burned, was laid naked in the market place of Antioch, which was the place appointed for his buriall. Whether he

flewed any tokens of being poisoned or not, it is unknowne: for divers did diversly interpret it; either as they were inclined to pitie Germanicus, or suspected to savour Piso. This being done, the lieutenants and the Senators which were present, confulted among themselves, whom they should make governour of Syria; and the relinot greatly contending: it was long debated betwitt Marsus and Cn. Senius; and in the end Marsus yeelded to Senius being his elder, & prosecuting the suit more eagerly. He sent to Rome one Martina, a woman infamous in that Province for empossioning, but deerely beloved to Plancina, at the suit of Viteslius and Vernaius, & others, which framed their accusations, as against one already guiltie of the fact. But Agrippina wasted with sorrow and feeble of body, yet impatient of delaying revenge; tooke shipping with Germanicus assessible with her; and her children: all men taking compassion, that a woman so noblie descended, and who not long since in regard of her stately mariage, was honoured and reverenced by all men, should now carrie in her lap, those lamentable reliques of her husband: incertaine of revenge; doubtful of her person, so oft exposed to fortunes mercy by her unlucky fruitfulnes.

XVIII. Piso is doubt full whether he should returne to Syria or not. And prepareth an armic against Sentius.

N the mean feafon a meffenger overtaketh and advertifeth Pifo, at the Hand Cous, that Germanicus was departed. Which tidings he received intemperately, offered facrifices, visited the temples, nothing moderating his joy, and Plancina growing more infolent then first, changed the mourning weede she ware for the death of her fifter into a joyfullattire. The Centurions flocking about him. told him that he had the good will of the legions at his devotion; that it was his best to returne to the province wrongfully taken from him, and now void of a governour. Whereupon taking advise what was best to be done; his sonne M. Piso was of opinion that he should make all haste to the citie: that there was nothing yet done which might not be answered: and that weake suspitions, and vaine reports were not to be feared. The variance betweene him and Germanicus, was worthie perhaps of some rebuke, but not punishment: and by taking the province from him, his enemies were fatisfied. But if he should returne, Sentius being against him, a new civill war would begin. Neither would the centurions and fouldiers continue on his fide; with whom the fresh memorie of their captaine, and the love deeply printed in their hearts towards the Casars would prevaile. Domitius Celer, " one of his inwardest friends, perswaded the contrary. That he ought to take the "time when it was offered: that Piso, and not Sentius was made governor of Syria: "unto him were the fasces, and dignitie of Pretor given, to him the legions commit-"ted. If any violence should be uttered by the enemie, who should more justly oppose "his armies against them, then he who hath received the authoritie of a Lieutenant. "and speciall commission? Rumors grow stale and vanishaway with time: and often "the innocent are borne downe with fresh envie: but if hee had a power at hand, and "his forces encreased, many things which could not be foreseene, by meere chaunce might turne to the better. Doe we hasten to come to Rome, with Germanicus ashes: "that Agrippinaes lamentation, and the unskilfull multitude, at the rumour, should "lay hands on thee, unheard and undefended? Thou hast for thee Augustaes conscier ence, and Cafars favour, though in fecret. And none bewaile more braggingly Ger-"manicus death in outward shew, then such as in their hearts are most glad. Pifo be-

ing forward enough of himself to haughty attempts, was with small adoe drawn to this opinion. And fending letters to Tiberius accuseth Germanicus of riot and pride: and that himselfe was driven out of the province, because there might be a way made open to innovation: that he had again taken charge of the armie, with the fame fidelity, as he had already governed it. Withall, he commanded Domitius with a galley to faile into Syria, and avoiding the coasting of the shoare, and letting passe the llands, take wide and open sea. Then marshalling and arming runnagates, and rascall base companions, & sailing overto the continent, he intercepted an ensigne of young and raw fouldiers, which were going to Syria. And writeth also to the Lords of Cilicia, to fend him aid: the young man Pife being nothing flack in the fervice, although he was against the undertaking of the warre. Wherefore passing by the coast of Lycia, and Pamphylia, meeting with the ships which had conveyed Agrippina to Rome, each fide hating one another; made themselves ready to fight: vet both fides fearing the one the other, they proceeded no further then to hard words. Marfus Vibius fummoned Pifo to come to Rome to answer for himselfe: who fcoffingly answered him again, that he would come and appeare, when the Pretor which was to inquire of poylonings, would appoint a day aswell for the plantife, as defendant. In the mean time Domitius being arrived at Laodicea, a city in Syria. and going to the standing campe of the fixt legion, as most fit for new enterprises, was prevented by the Lieutenant Pacuvius. Sentius openeth that by letters to Pife. warning him not to go about to tempt the army with corrupters, nor raife any war in the Province. And such as he knew to have Germanicus in minde, or were adverfaries to the enemies, he affembled together: putting them often in minde of the greatnes of the Emperor, and how the common-wealth was affailed; and thereupon gatheretha stronger power ready to fight. Yet neither Pilo, nor his side, although his enterprises fell out otherwise, then he expected, did let flip that which was of most fafetie for the present; but putteth himselse in a very strong castlein Cilicia, called Celenderis. For by forting and medling together the runnagates, the new and raw fouldier lately taken, his own and Plancinaes flaves, and the aids which the Lords of Cilicia fent, he marshalled them in form of a legion. And then affirmed that he was "C.e fars Lieutenant: but driven out of the Province committed to him: not by the "legions, for they called him thither; but by Sentius, which cloaked his private "malice with false crimes: therefore that they should stand stoutly to the battel, be-"cause the soldiers would not fight, when they should see Piso whom heretofore "they called their father. If they would proceed by order of justice the right was on "his fide: if by arms he wanted not strength. Then he displaied his companies in order of battel, before the castle on a steep cragy hils side: the rest being inviron'd wth fea. On the contrary side the old souldiers, with their supplies were marshalled into ranks. On this fide was the strength of fouldiers: on that of place. In courage and hope there was great ods also: and on their side no weapons, but rude and clownish, prepared for a present shift. And when they came to handy stroakes, there was no longer dougt who should have the upper hand, but till the Romane Cohorts could win the plain ground: which done, the Cilicians shewed their backs, and shutthemfelves in their fort. In the mean space Piso went about, but in vain, to affail the navie which waited not farre off. Then returned to the castle again, now tormenting himself upon the walls; now calling to every souldier by his name, and offering rewards: affaied to raife a mutinie, and did so much prevaile, that the standard-bearer of the fixt legion, went with his enligne to his fide. Then Sentius commanded the cornets and trumpets to found; gave an affault to the rampiers; caused ladders

to be put up; and the ablest men to follow; and the others out of engines to shoot darts, stones, and firebrands. In the end Pifees obstinacie being overcome, entreareth that having yeelded up his weapons, he might remaine in the caffle, untill Casar were consulted, who should be governour of Syria. The conditions were not accepted, nor any thing granted him: but onely, that he should have shipping and fafe conduct to the citie.

> XIX. Great bewaiting for Germanicus death: ftrange religion suppressed : loose life restrained in women of account.

DUT when Germanicus fickneffe was noifed at Rome, and as in newes it falleth Out, the farther it goeth, augmented to the worfer: all men burst out into anger, griefe, and complaints: faying, that therefore he was fent to forrein countries: that was the reason why Piso had the Province committed to him: this was the effect of Augustaes secret conference with Plancina: that the ancient men faid most truly of Drusus, that the courteous and modest disposition of children doth dislike such as reigne. Neither were they made away for any other reason, but because, libertie restored; they had a meaning to reduce the people of Rome to a certain equalitie. These speeches of the common people, the news of his death did fo much kindle, that before any edict of Magistrates, before any decree of Senate was made, vacation being taken of themselves; the places of judgement were abandoned; housesshut up; filence and mourning every where: nothing of all this counterfeited or done for oftentation. And although they did not abstain from outward tokens of mourning, yet in their hearts they mourned much more. Certain Merchants returning by chance out of Syria, Germanicus yet living, bringing joy. full tidings of his health, were presently beleeved, and spread ahroad, and as they met one another (although they had scarce heard the tale to the end) yet they reported it again, and they again to others, still making it more, and increasing their joy. They ran up and downe the citie, went about to wrest open the gates of the temples: the night furthered their credulousnesse, and in the dark every man more ready to affirm. Neither did Tiberius gainfay these false reports, but let them vanishaway with time. But then the people, as though he had been a second time taken from them, grieved more bitterly. Such was his funerall pompe done in memorie of him, as either mens love, or pregnancie of conceit could invent: as that his name should be sung in a Salarian verse, which Mars Priests were wont to sing: that in the roomes of the Augustall Priests, chaires of estate should be placed, with garlands of oak: that his image graven in Ivorie, should be carried before the Circensian plaies: and that none should be created Flamen or Augur in Germanicus place, unlesse he were of the Julian family. At Rome and at the banke of Rhene, and on the hill Amanus in Syria, were erected arches, with an inscription of his exploits: and that he died for the common-wealth: a fepulchre at Antioch where his bodie was burnt: a Tribunallat Epidaphna, where he ended his life. It would be hard to number the images and places in which he was honoured. And when some thought it convenient that he should have a shield of exquisite gold and greatnesse, dedicated him among the authors of Eloquence; Tiberius faid he should have none but such as was usuall, and equall to the rest: for neither was eloquence to be judged of by fortune: and that it was a fufficient honor for him, if he were put in the number of ancient writers. That which before was called the band of young men,

the Gentlemen called Germanicus cuneum, or appointed battell: and ordained that the fquadrons of horsemen should follow his image the Ides of July. Many of these ceremonies yet remaine; fome were prefently left off; and fome, time wore out, But whilest this griefe was yet freshin every mans memory; Livia Germanicus sifter, and Drusus wife, was at once delivered of two sonnes: which being a thing rare, and welcome, even to meane families, did fo rejoyce the Prince, that he could not containe (for even casuall things hee attributed to his glory) but must needs brag before the Lords of the Senate, that no other of the Romanes of his greatnesse, had ever before had two male children at a birth. But in such a time even that also brought griefe unto the people; as though that Drusus increase of children, would the rather depresse Germanicus house. The same yeere womens lascivious life, was punished by severe degrees of Senate; and ordained that none should put their bodies to sale, whose grandfather, father, or husband had beene a Gentleman of Rome. For Vestilia descended of a Pretorian family, had made her loofe licentious life knowne to the Ædiles, according to a received custome among the ancients; who thought it a sufficient punishment for unchaste women, if publickely they confessed their lewdnesse. And Titidius Labeo, Vestilias husband, was called into question, because he had inflicted the punishment of the law, on his wife manifestly taken in the offence. But he for his excuse, alledged that the threescore dayes given to deliberate, were not yet past, and therefore thinking it enough to punish Vestilia; she was confined in the Hand Seriphon. It was debated in Senate touching the rooting out of the Ægyptian and Judaicall ceremonies: and a decree made for foure thousand libertines of competent age, infected with that funeralition, should be conveied into the Hand Sardinia, to suppresse robberies committed there: and if they should dye through the unwholesomenesse of the ayre, the loffe were but vile and small and that the rest should depart Italy, if before a certain day they would not forfake those prophane rites. When those things were done, Cafar propounded, that another Virgin should be received in the roome of oceia; who with very great integrity, seven and fifty yeeres, had beene governesse of the ceremonies of the Vestall virgins: and gave thankes to Fonteius Agrippa, and Domitius Pollio; who offering their daughters, strove in duty to the Common-wealth. But Pollios daughter was preferred for no other reason, but because her mother had continued wife to her first husband: Agrippa having diminished the reputation of his house with divorcement. Yet Cafar in regard the other was preferred, did comfort her with 'tenne hundred thousand sesterces for her dowry. The people com- * About 78125 plaining of a dearth of corne, he put downe a price for the buyer; promifing to pay p. 10.1. of his owne in every bushell 'two nummos. Yet for all this he would not take up . This peace on him, the title of Father of his countrey, before offered him: but did sharpely of g. rebuke them, who had called his affaires divine, and him Lord. And therefore under a Prince which feared liberty, and hated flattery; all speeches ought to be briefe; and yet cannot hardly escape captious construction. I find in ancient writers of that time, that Adgandressius Prince of the Chatti letters were read in Senate, promiting Arminius death, if poylon were fent him to commit the deed. And that it was answered him, that the people of Rome used not to revenge on their enemies by treachery and privy meanes; but openly and armed. Wherein Tiberius equalled himselfe to the old Roman Captaines, which did forbid king Pyrrhus to be poyfoned, but disclosed it unto him. Now Arminius, the Romans being departed, and Marobodius expulsed, earnestly covering the kingdome, had the people as defending their liberty against him: and being affailed, and fighting with doubtfull fortune,

was flain by the fraud of his own neerest familiars. Doubtlesse the deliverer of Germanie; and who provoked, not as other Kings and Captains had done, the first springing up of the people of Rome; but when they flourished most in rule and Empire. In his battels, he had doubtfull fortune, fometimes lucky, fometimes un. lucky; but never was overcome in warre. He lived full feven and thirtie yeers, and was Princetwelve. To this day he is famous amongst barbarous nations : but in the Annales of the Greeks, which admire nothing but their own doings unknown. and not greatly spoken of among the Romanes. Who whilest we extoll ancient things, are carelesse of our own time.

THE

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THE THIRD BOOKE THE ANNALES

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. Agrippina cometh to Rome: Germanicus funerals.



Grippina although it were winter, yet still continuing her voyage by fea, arrived at last at the Iland Corcyra, over against the coast of Calabria: where as one without mean in mourning, and unable to endure, she rested a few daies to settle her minde. In the mean time, her arrivall known, her deerest friends, and especially souldiers which had served under Germanicus: and many also which she knew not, from the towns round about: fome thinking it to be their dutie towards their Prince, and

many following them flocked to Brundusium, being the neerest and fafest place of landing. And as foon as her thips were difcerned a far off; not only the haven and places, neer the sea side; but the walls and house tops, and other places, from whence a man might farthest ken; were filled with a mourning and heavy multitude of people: asking (as not knowing what was fittest for the time) one another, whether they should receive her with life, or acclamation, when she came out of her ship. But when by little and little the ships drew neere, they saw no cheerefull rowing, as the manner was wont to be: but all of them composed to sadnesse. But being come to land with her two children; holding the funerall pot with her husbands ashes in her hand, and her eyes fixed on the ground: all men began to bewaile and lament alike: Neither couldest thou have discerned the lamentation of kinsfolks from the stranger; nor the women from the men: faving, that the fresh griefe of such as went to meet her, exceeded the lamentation of her train, already wearied with long continuance of forrow. Cafar had fent two companies of his guard to meet them: and gave further charge, that the Magistrates of Calabria, the Apuleians and Campanians, should folemnize the last obsequies in memory of his sonne. The ashes were carried on the Tribunes and Centurions shoulders, the ensignes untrimmed. and the fasces or knitch of rods, turned downwards, went before: and when they paffed by any colonies, the common people in mourning weed, and Gentlemen in their attire called Trabea, according to the wealth of the place, burnt garments, fweet odours, with other accustomed funerall folemnities. Yea such whose towns were farre off, yet met them; erected altars; offered facrifice to the infernal gods. witnessing their dolour with teares and cries. Druss went to Terracina with his brother Claudius and Germanicus children, which had remained in the citie. The Confuls M. Valerius and M. Aurelius (who began then to enter into office) the Senate and a great part of the people filled up the way, fcattered hither and thither, weeping, as every mans affection was. Flattery there was none: all men knowing that the death of Germanicus, joyfull to Tiberius; could badly be diffembled, howfoever he counterfeited the contrary. Tiberius and Augusta, abstained from mourn64 ing in publike: judging it a thing under their majefty, if they should be seen openly to lament; or left the eyes of all men observing their countenance, should espie they did but counterfeit. I finde not in any authour, or diurnall register, that his mother Anionia did any thing worthy memory in that folemnitie: when as befides Agrippina, Drusus, and Claudius, the rest of his bloud, are by name written of: either hindred by ficknesse, or in minde overcome with forrow, could not endure the fight of so heavy a griefe. I should easier have believed, that Tiberius and Angusta, which kept within doores, made her do the like: that the griefe might be judged equall: and that the grandmother and uncle should seeme to have kept in, by the example of the mother. The day that the aftes were put in Augustus tombe, was sometimes with filence desolate and still; and on the sudden unquiet with weeping: all passages of the citie were full; Campus Martius shined with burning torches. There the fouldier with his weapons: the magistrates without the marks of their dignitie and calling; and the people gathered into tribes and companies cryed: that the commonwealth was fallen to ground; and no hope left: and that so openly, and boldly, that thou wouldest have beleeved, they did not remember by whom they were governed. Yet nothing went so neere Tiberius heart, as the ardent affection men bare Agrippins: calling her the honour of their countrey; the only bloud of Augustus. the pattern of antiquitie: and turning towards the heaven, and the gods, praved that her issue might long continue, and overlive the wicked. Some desired that the funerals might be celebrated with publike pompe: comparing the magnificence and honours that Augustus had used for Drusus, Germanicus father. And that he in the hardest time of winter, went as farre as Ticinum: and how never once departing from the body, accompanied to the citie. That about the coffin were the images of the Claudians and Julians: that he was bewailed in the place of publike affemblies: praifed with an oration before the people: and all honours done him, which either our ancestors or latter times could invent. But Germanicus had not so much as the usuall folemnities done for him; his body through distance of place, was in fome fort burnt, in strange lands: but by so much the more, honours should now have been bestowed upon him, because fortune had denied him the first. His brother went to meet him but one dayes journey: his uncle not fo farre as to the gate. Where arethe ancient customes become? why was not his image put before the Beere; and verses sung in memory of his vertues? why was he not praised, and bewailed, with the usuall representation of mourning? All this was well known to Tiberius; and to suppresse the speech of the common people, he admonished them by edict. "That although many notable Romanes had died for the Common-wealth: "yet none had ever been bewailed with fuch an ardent affection. Which was to "him and unto others also honourable, so as there were a mean used. For the self "fame things are not feemly for noble men, the Emperour and the common peo-"ple. It was convenient that small houses, or cities should mourne and lament, in "fresh griefe; and after their griefe take comfort again: but now it was time to con-"firme the minde, as Iulius Cafar, having loft his only daughter, and Augustus his "nephews did cast off all forrow. It was needlesse to alleadge ancient examples, "to shew how oft the people of Rome had suffered constantly the losse of armies; "death of captains, and the utter overthrow of noble families. That princes are "mortall, and the Common-wealth everlafting. Therefore that they should take "their folemnities again; and because the shew of the Megalensian playes was at "hand, return to their pleasures.

11. Piso cometh to Rome, where he is accused:
and killeth himselfe.

He vacation ended, every man returned to his busines: and Drusus went to the army of Illyrium: the people bent to demand a revenge of Pilo: complained that he in the meanetime now here, now there, in the pleafant countrev of Asia and Africke, with a proud and subtill delay, did shift off the proofes brought against his lewdnesse. For it was commonly rumored, that Martina, as I have before faid, a woman infamous for poisoning, was sent to Rome by C. Sentius and being fuddenly dead at Brundufium, had no token upon her that shee had taken her owne bane; and that the poylon was found hidden in a knarle of her haire. But Pilo having fent his some before him to the citie, with lessons how to pacifie the Prince, went toward Drusus, not hoping to find him cruell in his behalfe, for the death of his brother, but rather favourable, as being rid of fuch a concurrent. Tiberius to make a shew of upright dealing, having entertained the young man courteoufly, used the like liberality towards him as he was accustomed to doe the noble mens children of fuch as he was familiar with. Drusus answered him, that if the accufations laid against him were true, the greatest griefe should be his: and for his own part he could wish they should be false and vain; and that Germanicus death might be prejudiciall to none. These words were openly uttered, and not in secret: neither was it doubtfull at all, but that Tiberius had before hand taught him his leffon, when as being plain, simple, and young, yet shewed the cunning of the old man. Pifo having past over the Dalmatian sea, and left his ships at Ancona, went by Picenum, and after by the Flaminian way, overtook the legion which was brought from Pannony to Rome, to lye in garrifon in Africk: being common in every mans mouth, how in the campand in the way he did often flew himfelf to the fouldiers. From Namia (whether it were to avoide fuspition, or because such as stand in seare are irrefolute in their determinations) being conveyed by Nare, and anon after by Tiber, he increased the evill will of the people towards him, because he landed neer the Cafars tombe: on a day when the shore was full of people: many followers after him: and Plancina accompanied with a train of women, both pleafant and cheerefull in countenance. Among other causes of envy and heart-burning, Pises house was one, looking on the market place, trimmed to feast and banquet in where nothing could be hidden. The next day Fulcinius Trio accused Piso before the Confuls. Vitellius and Viranius, and the reft which had followed Germanicus, alleadged that that was their office, and that Trio had no part therein; and that as witnesses and openers of the cause, and not as accusers, they were to report that which Germanicus had given them in charge; Trio relinquishing the accusation, obtained licence to accuse his former life: and the Prince intreated to receive the hearing of the cause to himfelt: which the defendant refused not, as misdoubting the Senators, and peoples good will: and contrary, being well affured that Tiberius regarded not rumors, but would leane to his mothers conscience: and that the truth; or things believed and wrested to the worst, might easily be discerned by one Judge: whereas hatred and envie beare the fway where there are many. Tiberius was not ignorant, how waighty a cause he undertooke, and how diversly he was censured : and therefore calling fome of his familiar friends about him, hearing the menaces of the accusers; then the request of the party arraigned, referred the whole cause to the Senate. In the meane feafon, Drufus returning from Illyrium, although the Senators had decreed, that for receiving of Marobodius, and exploits done the sommer past, he should

66 enter the citie ovant, or with a small triumph: yet deferring that honour for the time, he entred privately. After that Pilo had demanded T. Arruntius, Fulcinius. Asinius Gallus, Aesernius, Marcellus, Sext. Pompeius for his advocates, and all of them alleadging divers excuses, M. Lepidus, L. Piso, and Liveneius Regulus undertookehis defence: the whole citie being attentive to know how Germanicus friends would sticke unto him; what hope the party arraigned had; whether Tiberius were able to mafter his affections, or would shew himselfe. All these things were greedily expected of the people: never shewing themselves more attentive, nor at any time licencing themselves a more secret speech of the Prince, or suspicious filence. The day that the Senat met, Cafar made a premeditate oration, tempered in this fort, faying: "That Piso had been his fathers Lieutenant & friend, and given by "him to Germanicus as a coadjutor, by the authoritie of the Senate, in the ad-"ministration of the affaires of the East: but whether he had there exasperated the "young Prince, through disobedience and contention: and whether he had shewed "himselfe glad of his death: or villanously had made him away; that they should "judge of that with upright consciences. For if being Lieutenant, he had gone "beyond the bounds of his office: and shaken off his dutie to his Lord generall: and "rejoyced in his death and my griefe: I will hate him, and estrange him from my "house, and revenge, not the Princes, but private grudges: If any villanous deed " be detected in him worthy of revenge, even the death of any private person, af-"foord your felves, and Germanicus children, and us his father, reasonable and just "comfort. And examine also whether feditiously and mutinously Ptso hath stirred "up the army: whether by ambition he hath fought to win the favour of the foul-"diers: whether he returned into the province by force of armes: or whether these "things be false; and made greater then they are, by the accusers: with whose over-" great affection I have just cause to be offended. For to what purpose should his "bodie be shewne naked, be handled of the common people; and bruted abroad "among strangers, as though he had been empoysoned; if these things be yet un-"certaine, and are to be enquired of? I lament truly, and am grieved for my sonne, "and alwaies shall. But I hinder not the defendant, to alleadge all he can for the "purgation of his innocency : or if Germanicus had any fault worthy of reprehension. "And I befeech you, not to take the crimes as already prooved, because "the cause is joyned with my forrow. If either his neerenesse in bloud, or his "owne faithfulnesse, hath yeelded him any to defend his cause, helpe him, as "much as in you lieth either by your eloquence or care, in this his extremity. To the "fame labour & constancie, lexhort the accusers. Germanicus this onely priviledge "we will afford above the lawes: that his death shall be rather inquired of in the "Curia, then in the Forum: before the Senate, then other Iudges. Let all the rest "be debated with like modesty, nothing regarding Drusse teares: or my griefe: "or if any flanders be forged against me. After that the accusers had two dayes given them to bring in their accusations; and after six dayes were past, the defendant had three more to justifie himself. Then Fulcinius began with stale and frivolous matters: as that he governed Spain ambitiously, and covetously. Whereof being convicted, he could not be interessed; if he could purge himself of the latter crimes: nor if he could defend himself from that accusation; yet was he not acquitted, if greater matters were laid to his charge. After him Servaus and Veranius and Vitellius with like affection; but Vitellius with greater eloquence objected that Piso, for hatred to Germanicus and desire of innovation, had so farre corrupted the common fouldier with licentiousnesse and injuries towards the confederates: that of the lewdeft

lewdeft fort, he was called the father of the legions. Further, that he had used crueltic against every good man, and especially against Germanicus followers and friends: in the end, that he had killed him with poylon and enchantments. Then, that he and Plancina used wicked ceremonies and facrifices: that he had born armes against the Common-wealth: that he would never have appeared in judgement, had he not been overcome in battell. In many things his defence was weake: for he could not deny but that he had wonne the fouldier by ambition: or that he had not exposed the province as a previto the lewdeft fort: nor the injurious speeches against the generall. Onely he feemed to have purged himfelf of the empcyfoning: which indeed the accusers did not sufficiently prove: accusing him to have empoysoned Germanicus meat with his hand, which was infected, as he fate above him at a banquet. For it feemed abfurd, that he should dare so bold an attempt, amongst other mens fervants, in the fight of fo many standers by, and in Germanicus own presence. And thereupon he offered his family, and was very earnest that his servitors might be examined upon the rack. But the Judges were implacable for divers respects, C.s.(ar because he had made warre against the province, the Senatours, because they could never believe but that Germanicus died by treachery, and that they had expostudged the matter by letters the one to the other. Which Tiberius did no leffe deny then Pifo. Withall, the outcry of the people was heard before the Senate house. that they would not temper their hands, if he escaped by sentence of the Senate. And they had drawn Pifoes images to the Gemonies; and broken them in pieces, if they had not been faved, and put in their places again, by the Princes commandment. Pilo was carryed back in a charriot, by a Tribune of the Pretorian band, diverfly rumored: whether he followed him as a guard for his fafetie, or executioner of his death. The like hatred was toward Plancina, but greater favour, and therefore it was doubted, how far Cafars authoritie would reach in her behalf. As long as there was any hope left for Pile. the promised to take part of what sever fortune with him. and if it to fell out, to be his companion in death. But the was no fooner pardoned through Augustines secret intreaty, but she began by little and little, to separate her felf from her husband, and bring her defences apart. The which when Pifo perceiyed, to aboad his utter destruction, doubting whether he should make any further triall in judgement: his fonnes perswading him he hardeneth himself, and goeth once again to the Senate. Where his accufation being renewed, and the Senators voices against him; and having endured all things adverse and cruell, he was amazed at nothing more, then that he faw Tiberius without pitie, without anger, resolute, and not swayed with any affection. Being brought home from thence, as though he had premeditated some justification for the next day; he writeth, sealeth, and delivereth some few lines unto a freedman. This done, he gave himself to the accustomed care of his body. Then the night being farre spent, his wife going out of the chamber, he commandeth the doores to be shut, and the next morning early, he was found with his throat cut, the fword lying on the ground. I remember I have heard of ancient men, that Piso was often seen to have a little book in his hands which he published not: but as his friends faid, it contained Tiberius letters, and Commisfion against Germanicus; and that he had purposed to disclose it to the Lords of the Senate; and accuse the Prince, had he not been deluded by Sejanus vain promises, and that he killed not himself, but that some one was sent to murder him. But I will not affure either of those things, although I ought not to conceale it to have been uttered by those, which lived untill I came to mans estate.

III. Pisoes letters to Tiberius: Plancina is quit.

AEsar having changed his countenance into sadnesse, perswading himself. that that death of Pilo would breed him envy; questioned of in Senate how Pife had behaved himfelf, the day before he died; and how he had paf. fed the last night. "And he answering most things wisely, and some inconsiderate-"ly; reciteth the contents of the writing made by Pife almost as followeth. Being "oppressed by the conspiracies of my enemies, and envy of a false crime; so farre, "that there is no place left to my innocency and trueth: I call the immortall gods "towitnesse, O Casar, that I have lived with all loyaltie towards thee; and no lesse "dutie towards thy mother. And I befeech you, that you would be an ayde and "flay unto my children. Among which Cn. Pifo is guiltlesse of my fortune what-"foever it be: feeing he hath lived all this while in the citie. M. Pifo did alwayes "diffwade me from returning to Syria. And I would to God, I had rather yeelded "to the counsell of my young sonne, then he to his old Father. And therefore I "befeech you most earnestly, that being innocent, he suffer not the punishment "of my demerit. By the fervice of five and fortie yeers, by the fellowship of the "Confulfhip which we boretogether, once liked of Augustus the father, and a "friend to thee; I recommend unto thee as my last request, my unfortunate "fonnes life. Of Plancina he added no word. After this, Tiberius excused the young man of the civillwarres, because the sonne could not disobey the fathers commandment: withall, he had compassion on the noblenesse of his house, and his own heavy fortune, howfoever he had deferved. Of Plancina he spake with shame and discredit: pretending his mothers intreatie: against whom every good man was incenfed, and fecretly complained, faying: "Is it lawfull then for the grand-"mother to look upon the murderesse of her nephew, talke with her, and take her "out of the hands of the Senate, that justice might not be executed? Shall not "that have place in Germanicus, which the law doth permit all other citizens? "Casar was bewailed by Vitellius and Veranius: Plancina defended by the Em-"perour and Augusta: that now she might convert her skill and poysons which she "had so happily experimented, against Agrippina and her children, and satiate "the good grandmother and uncle with the bloud of a most miserable house. Two dayes were ipent under colour of examining the cause: Tiberius urging Pisos children, to defend their mother: and when the accusers and witnesses, had spoken a vie against her, and no man answered for her, pitie encreased more then envie against her. Aurelius Cotta being first demanded his opinion (for Cesar propounding the case, the magistrates spake first) gave his censure that the memory of Pifoshould be blotted out of the Chronicles: that part of his goods should be confiscated, and part bestowed upon Cn. Piso his sonne, with condition that he should change his name: that M. Pifo being deposed from his dignitie, and recei-. thou: 30060 ving * fiftie hundred thousand sesserces, should be exiled for ten yeers: and Plancinaes life pardoned at the suite of Augusta. Diverspoints of that sentence were mitigated by the Prince, as that Pifoes name should not be wiped out of the Fasti: feeing that M. Antonius, who had made warre against his countrey; and Iulius Antonius name, who had violated Augustus house, remained: and M. Piso he delivered from infamy, and granted him his fathers goods, never, as I have often faid, greedy of money: and at that time more eafily pleased, for shame that Plancina was quit. And when Valerius Messalinus propounded, that there should an image

of gold beset up in Mars their revengers temple: and Cacina Severus analtar erected to revenge. He hindred both, alleaging that those things were to be dedicated and offered for forrein victories, and that domestical adversities ought to be buried inforrow. Messalinus added, that thanks should be given to Tiberius and Augusta, to Antonie and Agrippina, and to Drusus for Germanicus revenge, not once mentioning Claudius. And L. Asprenas asking Messalinus before the Senate, whether he had willingly omitted him? Claudius name was then first added. The more I meditate with my felfe of things done both in old and latter times; the more the uncertainties and vanities of fortune in mortall affaires come to my remembrance. for infame, hope, estimation, all men were rather destined to the soveraignty, then he, whom fortune had kept hidden for the future monarch. A few dayes after Cafar perswaded the Lords of the Senate to bestow the dignity of Priesthoud upon Vitellius. Varanius, and Servaus: and having promifed his voyce Fulcinius for the obraining of any dignity, advised him not to overthrow his eloquence with rashnes, And that was the end of revenging Germanicus death: many things diverfly reported; not onely among fuch as then lived, but in times confequent. So doubtfull are all waighty matters; whilest some take all as certaine, howsoever they heare it: others report a truth otherwise then it is; posteritie adding to both.

> IIII. Warres renewed in Africke under Tacfarinas. who is defeated by Apronius: Lepida condemned for changing

DUt Drufus being gone out of the city, once more to learne future things by the flying of birds; entreth in againe, with a small triumph. And a few dayes after, Viplania his mother died, only of all Agrippas children, of a naturall death: because it was certainely believed, that some died by the sword; others by poyfon or famine. The fame yeere Tasfarinas, who as I have faid, was the laft fummer driven out by Camillus, renueth the warre in Africke: at the first by roving pillages; unrevenged by reason of his sudden coming, then by wasting of villages; and carrying away great booties; and last of all not far from the river Pagyda he besieged a Romane cohort. One Decrius was Captaine of the fort, a luly man, and of good skillin matters of warre: who taking that befigging as a difgrace to himselfe; encourageth his souldiers to fight in open field; and marshalled his army in order of battell before the fortresse. The cohort being beaten backe at the first brunt: he runneth in among the weapons of such as fled; rebuking the standardbearers, that a Roman fouldier should shew his backe, to a few untrained raw traitors. And having received wounds, & an eye stroken out; yet put himselfe in the face of the enemy, never leaving off fighting, untill he was forfaken of his company and flaine in the place. Which when L. Apronius (who fucceeded Camillus) understood : being more perplexed with the shame of his own people; then glory of the enemie: he draweth out by lot (a rare matter in those dayes, though in old times practised) every tenth person of the dishonorable band, & beateth him with cudgels to death. Which feverity wrought fo great good, that an enfigne of old fouldiers, in number not above five hundred, defeated Tacfarinas army, going about to affault a fort called Thala. In which battell Ruffus Helvius, a common fouldier got the credit of faving a citizens life, on whom L. Apronius bestowed chaines and a speare: Cafar added a civicall crowne to them; finding fault rather then offended, that Apronius

had not given it by his proconfulary authority. But Tacfarinas perceiving the Numidians to be daunted, and refusing to befiege any longer, scattered his war, giving ground when he was pursued: and following a fresh when their backs were turned. Which manner of fight used by the Barbarian, molested and kept the Roman play to no purpose. But after that greedy of pray, he drew to the sea coasts, and there encamped: Apronius Cesianus being sent thither by his fathers appointment, with a troupe of horsemen & aid cohorts; adding unto them the readiest of the legions. had a prosperous fight, and drove the Numidian to the deserts. Lepida, who befides the honour of the Aemilian family, from which she was descended; had L. Sulla and Cn. Pompelus for her great grandfathers, was accused at Rome, for faining her selfe to have had a child, by P. Quirinius, a rich man and without children. and also of adulteries and empoisonings: and that she had consulted with the Chaldeans against the house of Casar: her brother Manius Lepidus defending her cause, Quirinius being offended, and separated from her; yet had commiseration on her, although the were both infamous and faulty. In the hearing of that cause, it was hard to guesse the Princes mind: he did so turne and wind himselfe, & interlace tokens of anger with Clemencie: having first of all requested that matters of treason should not be debated at that time. Then he drew M. Servilius, once Confull, and other witnesses to broach such matter, which he would seeme to have suppressed and sent to the Consuls Lepidues servants, whom he had guarded before with a company of fouldiers, & would not fuffer them to answer by torture, to such interrogatories as did appertaine to his house. Neither that Drusus Confull elect should first yeeld his opinion: which some construct to be a point of civility, that others should not be forced to do the like: others did wrest it to cruelty: and that he should never have given place, but to condemne the party called in question. Lepida the day of hearing, falling out when the playes were to be shewne; entring the Theater with a company of noble women: calling on her ancestours with a dolefull lamentation; and Pompey himselfe, whose monuments and images were there in a view, moved fuch great compassion, that the people gushing out in teares, began to curse Quirinius: wishing him all cruelty and misfortune: upon whom being old and without children, and of base parentage, she was bestowed, who had once been destined a wife for L. C.efar, and daughter in law to Augustus. Not long after her lewd behaviour was discovered, by torturing her slaves: and all of them condesended unto Rubellius Blandus opinion, which was that she should be banished. Drusus yeelded unto his opinion, although otherswere milder bent. Then Scaurus, who had had a daughter by her, obtained that her goods should not be confiscate. At last Tiberius declared, that he was affured also by P. Quirinius slaves that fhe fought to poison him, as being an enemy alwaies to noble houses. And so in a fhort compaffe of time, the Calphurnians lost Pifo: and the Aemilians Lepida. But D. Stlanus being reftored to the Junian family, was a comfort unto it: whose fortunes I will lay downe.

V. Decius Silanus touched with adulterie: Papias Poppæus law against single life.

A S fortune was favourable to Augullus in government of flate, fo in household matters unlucky and improsperous: his daughter and Neece which he banished the city, being both of incontinent life: and the adulterers punished with death or exile. For perceiving the offence to be common in the mouth both of man and woman; and terming it by a rigorous name, of religion violated;

violated, or treason; he passed the bounds of his auncestours clemencie, and his own laws. But I will lay down the ends of others, and what hath happened in that age: if having finished this which I have begun I shall have longer life, to undertake further matter. Decius Silanus, who was accused to have commitredadultery with Augustus Neece, although there was no severe punishment decreed against him, then that he should be deprived of Casars friendship; yet interpreting that to be a banishment, durst never intreat pardon of the Senate and the Prince, untill Tiberius came to be Emperour; and that by his brother M. Silanus credit and authoritie, for his great nobilitie and eloquence highly effeemed. But Silanus thanking Tiberius, he answered before the Lords of the Senate, that he was glad of his brothers return from a long peregrination: and that he might lawfully fo do, because he was not expulsed by decree of Senate or law: yet that the offence committed against his father, was entire: and that by Silanus return, those things were not made frustrate which Augustus had decreed. He remained after this in the citie, but as a private man without office. After this, they debated the matter concerning the moderation of the law Papia poppara, which Augustus stroken in yeers, had ordained after the Julian laws, for augmenting the punishment of fingle life, and enriching the publike treasure. Neither for all that, were marriages and education of children the more frequented: the fingle life having taken strong root: whereby the multitude of the endangered by the law, growing greater, most houses were subverted by the interpretations of enformers: and as heretofore through lewdnesse of life: so now by laws the estate of many was overthrown. This giveth me occasion to speake more at large of the beginning of laws; and by what means we are come to fuch an infinite multitude and varietie of them. In most ancient times no disordinate desire reigned: every man lived without reproch and vice; and therefore without punishment and reftraint of laws; neither was there any need of reward, when as every man defired honest things of his own will: and where nothing was demanded against custome. nothing was forbidden by feare. But after that equalitie was banished, and that ambition and violence crept in, in stead of modestie and shame, rule and dominion took footing, and continued for ever among many nations. Some prefently, or after they were weary of Kings, defired rather laws: which at the first were simple, mens mindes being yet rude. And above the rest, fame commended those of the Cretenfians which Minos gave: and those of the Sparteans, which Lycurgus: and not long after Solon prescribed more, and more exquisite, to the people of Athens. Romulus ruled us as pleased himself: then Numa bound the people with ceremonies and divine laws: fome were found out by Tullus and Ancus: but the chiefeft law maker was Scrvius Tullius, which kings themselves were bound to obey. Tarquinius being driven out, the people made many against the factions of the Senatours, to defend their libertie and establish concord. Then ten men were chosen, to collect all the best laws of other countries; out of which they composed twelve tables, the end of law and equitie. As for the laws which followed: although they were fometimes made against malefactours for their misdemeanour; yet notwithstanding for the most part, they were brought in through the differtion of the communalty and noble men: for getting of unlawfull dignities; or driving out of noble men; or other diforders. By this occasion, the Gracchi, and the Saturnini were disturbers of the people: and Drusus no lesse prodigall under pretense of the Senators name, corrupted his companions with hope; or mocked them by fundry oppositions against them. Neither did they omit in the warre of Italy, nor in

the civill warre, to make many lawes: untill L. Sulla the Dictator, the former lawes either abolished or changed: after he had added many unto them; forbare somtime for making any more, though not long by reason of Lepidus turbulent demands: and because that not long after, licence was yeelded the Tribunes to manage the people, as themselues listed. And now not in generall, but against particular men lawes were ordained: and thereby in a Common-wealth most corrupt; lawes upon lawes were multiplyed. Then Cn. Pompeius being a third time Confull, and chosen for reformation of manners; being more severe in punishing then the offence deferved; was the anthor and overthrower of his owne lawes: and loft those things by armes, which he had defended by armes. From that time forward there was continuall discord twenty yeeres together: no custome, no law observed: the most lew. dest enterprises escaped unpunished: and many undone for well doing. At length Augustus Casar being the fixt time Confull, and settled in the state abolished those things, which being Triumvir himselfe had commanded: and gave new lawes to be observed in time of peace and under a Prince. Straighter lawes were made by him, and spiesappointed to watch the transgressors: and many induced through recompenses granted by the law Papia poppaa; that if any forbeare from the priviledges of parents, ceast from marriage, and had no children: that then the people who was the common father of all, should inherit their goods. But the pickthanks went farther, and informed against many, not only in the city, but also through all Italy, and wherefoever else the citizens were: and overthrew many mens estates, and drove a terrour into all: if Tiberius in providing a remedy had not chosen by lot, five such as had beene Confuls, five as had beene Pretors, and so many of the rest of the Senators, which folving many intricate quirkes of this law, were some ease for the present time.

> VI. Nero is recommended by Tiberius to the Sonate: and marrieth with Julia, Drufus daughter.

Bout the same time, he recommended Nero one of Germanicus children, now entred into his youth, to the Lords of the Senate: and requested that he might be dispensed with for the office of Vigintivirat: and (which to all men feemed ridiculous) be lawfull for him to demand the Questorship, five yeeres sooner then the lawes did permit: pretending that the same was granted him and his brother at Augustus request. But I doubt not, but at that time, some secretly laughed at that demand. Yet these were the first beginnings of Casars rising; and the ancient custome more in every mans eyes: and a lighter band of alliance, held to be betwixt the father in law, and his wives children; then the grandfather and his nephew. The Pontificall dignity was likewise bestowed upon him: and the first time he entred the place of common affemblies; he gave the people a donative: very joyfull to see Germanicus off-spring now of fullage. Their joy was augmented by Nerves marrying of Iulia, Drulus daughter. And as these things were gratefull to the people, so went it against their stomachs, that Sejanus should be destined father in law to Claudius fon, as a disparagement to their nobility: & that at their own motion they exalted Sejanus, who conceived over great hopes in his mind. In the end of that yeere dyed L. Volusius and Sal. Crispus, two noble personages. Volusius was descended of an ancient stocke; but never higher then a Pretors roome: himselfe obtained a Confuls roome, and was made Cenfor for the chufing of bands of horsemen, and the first gatherer of riches, whereby that house rose to that greatnes. Crishus was a gentleman born, and so called and adopted by that excellent writer of the Romane Hiflorie C. Sallustins, because he was his fifters nephew. But he, although he had a ready entrance for obtaining of dignities; yet following the example of Mecanas never once being Senator, had greater authoritie and power, then many which had rriumphed and beene Confuls. Yet differed from his ancestors in maner of life : as being neat, fine, and bountifull, very neere riotousnesse; and was of a great capacitie, and in courage able to performe great matters: and so much the more lively; by how much in utter shew he seemed drousie and heavie metled. Therefore whilest Megends lived, next unto him his credit was beft: and after his death, trufted with greatest secrets of state; and privie to the murdering of Posthumus Agrippas; and growne into yeeres, held rather a shadow of the Princes friendshippe, then the Inbitance: Even so fell it out with Mecanas: either so by the course of the heavens decreed, that the Princes favour is feldome everlasting; or because both have their fill: those when they have given all they can: these when there is nothing left to defire. Now followeth the fourth time that Tiberius; and the fecond that Drulus was made Confull: a thing worthy of remembrance, that the father and the fon were fellow officers: for two yeers before, Germanicus had the fame dignitie with Tiberius: but that was no joy to the uncle; neither hee so neere in bloud unto him. In the beginning of that yeere Tiberius went to Campania, under colour of getting his health; yet indeed by little and little to absent himselfe; or else that the father being away, Drusus might alone manage the whole Consulship. It fell out by meere chance, that a matter of small moment growing to waightie contention, brought the young man to great credit. Domitius Corbulo, who had beene Pretor, complained before the Lords of the Senate on L. Sulla a noble young man, that he gave him not the place at a play of fencers. For Corbulo, made his age; the custome of the country and the favour of the ancient men: on the other fide. Mamercus Scaurus and L. Aruntius, and other of his kindred, fluck unto Sulla. Orations were made on both fides: and examples of old times brought, sharpely rebuking the irreverence of youth: untill Drufus qualified the matter with a fit discourse; and Corbulo fatisfied by Mamercus the most excellent Oratour of his time, and uncle, and fatherin law to Sulla. The same Corbulo exclaiming that many high wayes of Italy were broken, and not passable; by reason of the fraude of the undertakers of the worke, and negligence of the Magistrates in great; accepteth willingly the finishing of that bufine fe. VV hich did not fo much turn to a publike benefit, as the destruction of many whose wealth and same he tyrannized by condemning them, and setting their goods to fale.

VII. Whether Captaines and Governours of Provinces should have their vives with them.

Ot long after, Tiberius fent letters to the Senate; advertifing them that by Tacfarinas incursions, Africk was again in arms: and that with the advise of the Lordsit were needfull, that a Proconfull were chosen, skilfulin matters of war; of an able body, and a sufficient man for this war. Which entrance Sextus Pompeus having gotten, of uttering his malice against M. Lepidus; accused him to be a coward, beggerly, and a dishonour to his ancestors; and therefore not to be admitted to lot, for the government of Alia. The Senators were on his side; who thought Lepidus rather meete then a coward; and the small weath

left him by his father; and his nobility past without reproach, rather they judged a credit, then an ignominie. And therefore he was fent into Afia. And touching A. frica, it was decreed that Cafar should chuse one himselfe for that charge. Whilest these things were a doing, Severus Cacina was of opinion, that no Magistrate unto whom should fall the government of a Province, should have his wife follow him: having first often repeated the good agreement betwixt him and his wife: that he had fix children by her: and that he propounded nothing publikely to be executed. which he had not observed at home: not suffering his to goe out of Italy, although he had had commanderie in wars fourtie yeers in many Provinces. "It was not in "vaine, faid he, ordained in times past, that women should not be drawne to confe-"derates and forreine nations. For it was incident where women followed, that in "peace they were a hinderance by riot and fumptuousnesse: in warre by feare; and "made the Romane armie, like the Barbarians going to war. That fex was not onely "weak and unable to take paine; but if it got the bridle, cruell, ambitious and gree-"die of rule. To march among the fouldiers, to have the Centurions at command. "we have feen a woman of late; and to overfee the cohorts exercife, and the legions "horse-races. That they should consider, that as oft as any were accused of extor-"tion and polling, more was objected against their wives, then themselves. That "the lewdest persons of the provinces, did by & by cleave unto them. They would "intermeddle and conclude of all affairs: by this means two were courted, and two "judgement feats. Women being wilfull, command proudly; and bridled by the "Oppian and other lawes; now having gotten the reines in their hands, rule houses, "places of judgements, and armies. This was heard but with the good liking of a few: many interrupting him, and faying, "That that was not the matter propound-"ed, nor Cacina a fit censurer to sway a matter of so great importance. Valerius Mesfullinus, for unto Messala, in whom appeared the image of his fathers eloquence, aniwered immediately as followeth. "Many hard and irkefome customes of our Pre-"decessors have bin changed into the better and pleasanter. Neither was the citie "befieged as in times past, or the provinces at defiance with us: and some few things "are granted to womens necessities: which are so far from overcharging the confe-"derats; that they are not burdenfome to their husbands houses. Other things were "common as well to the husband as the wife; and no hinderance at all therein to "peace, True it is, that wars are to be undertaken by armed men: but unto fuch as "return after their labours, what more honefter folace then a mans wife? But some "have fallen into ambition and coverousnesse. What ? of Magistrates themselves, "are not many of them subject unto sundry affections? yet it cannot be, that none "should be sent into the Province. But oftentimes the husbands have bin corrupt-"ed by the naughtinesse of their wives: are therefore all single men uncorrupt? The "Oppian laws were once in use, the state of the common-wealth so requiring; but "afterward fomewhat of their rigour was remited and mittigated, because it was "then expedient. It was in vaine to cover our cowardlinesse with new names; for it "was the husbands fault, if the woman exceeded the mean. In fine, it were not well "done for the weaknesse of one or two, to take from husbands their companion in "prosperous and adverse fortune: and withal, a sex weak and fraile by nature, to be "left alone, and exposed by her own licentiousnes, to the lust of others. Matrimonie could hardly be kept undefiled, their husbands being present: what would become of them, if they should be forgotten for many yeers, as it were by divorcement? therefore they should so prevent faults committed abroad, that they forget not the dishonours of the citie. Druss added somewhat of his owne Matrimony,

and that Princes most often visite the remotest parts of their Empire. How off had Augustus of famous memory gone to the East and West, accompanied with Livia? That himselfe, had gone to Illyrium; and if it were expedient, was ready to goe into other countries: but yet not alwaies willingly, if hee should be drawn from his most deare wife, and mother of so many children, common between them both. And so Cacinas sentence took no effect.

VIII. What abuses were committed by running to the Princes images. Warres in Thrace.

THe next day that the Senate met, Tiberius having covertly rebuked the Lords of the Senate by letters, because they did cast all the cares on the Princes neck, nominated M. Lepidus, and Iunius Blasus, one of them to bee chosen Proconfull of Africk. And both of them being heard, Lepidus very earnestly excufed himfelf; pretending the feeblenes of his body; his childrens age; and a daughter marriageable:respecting also (though thereof he made no mention) that Blasus was Sejanus uncle, and therefore fure to carry it away. Blasus answered as though hee would have refused, but not with the like affeveration as the other; yet had a favourable hearing of flatterers. Then many fecret complaints were made known: for every lewd companion, if he could catch hold on Casars image, might freely, and without punishment, injury honest men without opprobrious speeches, and raise envie against them: yea, freed men, and bondslaves also, were feared, threatning with words and fills their patrons and mafters. Whereupon C. Cestus a Senator uttered these speeches: "That indeed Princes were like unto gods: but yet the gods heard "no supplications but just: neither had any refuge to the Capitol, or other temples "of the city, that they should use that as a defence against all misdemeanour. That "the lawes were abolished and utterly overthrowne: seeing that Annia Rufilla "whom he had condemned of fraud before the Judge, did threaten, and use re-"proachfullspeeches against him, in the place of assemblies and before the Curia, "hee not during to try the law with her, because she had Casars image over against "her. Others muttered the like, or bitterer speeches then these: and besought "Drus that he would shew exemplary punishment upon her : and being cal-"led and convicted, was condemned to prison. Likewise Considius Aequus, and Calius Curfor, Gentlemen of Rome, were by commandement of the Prince and order of the Senate punished, for forging crimes of Treason against the Pretor Magius Cacilianus. Both turned to Drusus commendation, because that by him who conversed in the citie with all companies, in familiar communication; the secret defigurements of his father were qualified. Neither did the young mans riot greatly diflike them, reputing it a lefter fault, to employ the day in buildings, and the night in banquetting; then given to no pleasures, alone heavily to passe the day in lewd practifes and devifes. For Tiberius and the accusers were yet not wearied. But Ancharing Priscus accused Casins Cordus, Proconfull of Creet, of polling the countrey: and added Treason, which was a supply when all other accusations failed. When Cafar perceived that Antifius Vetus, one of the chief noble men of Macedonia, was acquitted of adultery laid to his charge: having rebuked the Judges, drew him in againe, to purge himselse of Treason: as being seditious and a consederate with Rhescuporis in his counsels, when as having flaine his brother Cotys; he intended war against us. Whereupon he was banished into an Iland; neither commodious for Macedonia, nor Thrace. For Thrace, the kingdome being divided betwixt RhameThe third Book of the Annales

talces and Cosys children; unto whom by reason of their infancie, Trebellienus Rusus was made Tutor; through the strangenesse of our manners, fell to rebell a fresh: no leffe blaming Rhametalzes then Trebellienus, because they fuffered injuries done to the people to escape unpunished. The Coelaletæ, and the Odrusetæ, all strong Nations; tookearmes under divers Captaines, for basenesse of birth not unlike: and therefore could not grow to any cruell battell. For fome troubled the prefent state. fome passed the hill Hæmus to draw such to them as dwelt a farre off: most of them and those of better government, befieged the king and the citie Philippopolis, built by Philip King of Macedon. Which when P. Velleius understood, who was Captaine of the next army: he sent a certaine company of horsemen, and a band of footmen lightly appointed, against those which romed about for pillage, or to seeke more fuccour: himselfe brought his strength of footmento raise the siege: all ending prosperously; the forragers slaine, and a diffention growing among the befiegers: the king sallied out against these, the legions arrived in seasonable time, This deserved northename of any armie or battell: in which a few unfurnished straglers were flaine without any bloud shed on our side.

IX. The Galli unable to pay their taxations rebell: Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir being their Captaines.

He fame yere the cities of Gallia, by reason they were greatly indebted, began arebellion: the chiefest firebrand among the Treveri being Iulius Florus, and with the Aedui Iulius Sacrovir: both nobly descended, and whose auceftors had atchieved valiantacts; and therefore made citizens of Rome: then a rare thing, and a guerdon onely of vertue. They by fecret conferences, having drawne to them the most audacious; or such whose povertie or seare of punishments for their misdeeds, were ready to plunge themselves into any enterprise: resolved that Florus should stirup the Belgi, and Sacrovir the French neerer at hand. In their conventicles therefore and meetings, they began to cast out seditious speeches of their continuall tributes, the greatnes of usury, the crueltie and arrogancy of governours. and that the fouldiers fell together by the eares when they heard of Germanicus death. That that was a notable time offered, of recovering their liberty: if now in their flourishing estate they would weigh, how poore Italy was; how weake the city fouldier, and no ffrength in the armies, but what was in ftrangers. There was almost no city which was not infected with the feeds of that commotion. The Andecavians, and the Turonians were the first which buist out: of which the Andecavians were fubdued, by the Lieutenant Acilius Aviola; with a band of men which lay in garrifon at Lugdunum. The Turonians were overthrowne by the legionary fouldier; which Vifellius Varro, Lieutenant of lower Germany, fent under the same Captaine Aviola: and certaine of the chiefe gentlemen of Gallia, which brought him aide; the better thereby to cloake their revolt, and when occasion ferved, rebell with more affurance. Sacrovir was seene to demand battell of the Romanes bare headed, as he faid to shew his valour: but the captaines faid he did it to make himselfe the better known; thereby to be spared from their darts. Tiberius being confulted upon that point, made no reckoning of the disclosing of it; but nourished the warre by doubting. Florus in the meane time held on his purpose; enticed a wing of horfemen, enrouled at Trevers, and trained up in our fervice and discipline; that having slain the Romane Merchants, which there used trasfick . hee might begin the warre: few of the horsemen were corrupted; but most continued in their alleageance. Other rude indebted persons, or followers, tooke armes; and

went toward the forrest called Arden: but the legions from both armies; which Visellius, and C. Silius, had fent to crosse them, drove them back. Iulius Indus being of the fame citie; and an enemy to Florus (and therefore more forward to shew his valour) being fent before with a choice power; fcattered and defeated that difordered multitude. Florus escaped the conquerours hands, by uncertaine lurking holes; and at last perceiving the fouldiers to set on his places of refuge, slew himfelfe with his owne hands. And that was the end of the rebellion of those of Treveri. It was a matter of great difficultie to suppresse the Aedui; by reason their city was more wealthy; and the aide which should have subdued them farther off. Sacrovir had with certain armed cohorts, gotten possession of Augustodunum, the chiefe city of the countrey; and taken the noblest mens children of all Gallia, which there followed their studies; as a pledge to win and binde their parents and kindred; and withall, fecretly distributed weapons which himselfe had caused to be made, to all the vouth. They were in number fourty thousand; the fift part armed as the legions were: the others with hunting staves, hangers, and such other weapons as hunters use. To these were added certaine slavish sencers, covered according to the countrey fashion, from top to toe, in armour of iron, unapt and uneasse to strike: but to withstand impenetrable, whom they call Crupellarii. These forces were augmented. though not by any open confent of cities adjoyning; yet with every mans particular good will: the Romane captaine striving and doubting who should have the conducting of the warre, both desiring it. But Varro being old and feeble, yeelded to Silins, who was in his prime. It was currant in Rome, that not onely the Treveri, and the Aedui, but also that threescore and soure cities of Gallia had revolted, and the Germanes joyned with them, that Spaine was wavering: and all (as the nature of a report is) beleeved, more then it was. Every good man with the care of the common-wealth was greatly grieved: many difliking the prefent flate, and defirous of alteration, rejoyced even in their owne harmes: and blamed Tiberius that in fo great a hurliburly, he would still spend all his labour in hearing accusers libels. What (faid they) shall Iulius Sacrovir bee condemned of treason in Senate? at last fome were found, which with armes would suppresse these bloudy libels of accusers: that a miserable peace was well changed for warre. Tiberius so much the more composed to a carelesse securitie, changed neither place nor countenance, pasfed over those dayes after his accustomed wont, either through haughtinesse of courage: or because he knew the matter to be lighter then the report. In the meane time Silus marching on with two legions, having fent a power of allies before, wasteth the villages of the Sequanes, which were borderers and confederates with the Aeduans. Anonafter he marcheth speedily with his armie towards Augustodunum: the standard-bearers striving who should make most haste: and the common fouldier fretting, and chafing likewife, left he should rest the night as hee was wont : onely that they may fee the enemie, and bee feene, that would be enough for the victory. Twelve miles off, Sacrovir appeared in the champian countrey: in the front he had placed his men covered with iron: his cohorts on the wings: and those which were halfe armed in the rereward: himselfe mounted on a goodly courser, amongst the chiefest of the city; went to the souldiers and put them in minde of the ancient glory of the Galli; and how of they had defeated the Romanes. How honourable a thing libertie was to the Conquerours: and how intolerable fervitude would be, if they should be vanquished againe. This exhortation was not long nor pleafing: for the legions drew neere in battell array: the townesmen wanting discipline, and ignorant of service, did neither see nor

heare what was best for them. Silius on the contrary side, although his hope had taken away all occasions of encouraging them, yet cryed, "That it was a shame for "them being conquerors over the Germanes, to be brought against the Galli, as a-"gainst enemies: and that of late one cohort had vanquished the rebellious Turoni-"ans, one wing the Treveri: a few troupes of horsemen of this same army, had put to "flight the Sequans. By how much the richer the Aedui are in money, and abound. "ing in pleasures, the lefter courage they had. Break then in upon them, and binde "them, and fleeto those which runne away. At that all of them giving an outcry, the horsemen compassed them in: the sootmenset on the point; and the wings made fmall refiftance. Those in complete yron harnesse, ftucksomewhat to it; their plates refifting, and beating back the darts and swords: but the fouldier snatching hi hatchets and axes, as though he were to break through a wall, hewed their covering and carkaffes. Some with poles or forkes overthrew this sluggish lumpe: leaving them for halfe dead lying on the ground, not once going about to rife. Sacrovir goeth first to Augustodunum, then for feare lest it should be yeelded, to the next village, with a few of his trustiest friends; where he slew himselfe with his owne hands, and the rest one another: and the village being set on fire over them, they were all burnt together. Then at last Tiberius wrote to the Senate, that the warre was begun and ended, neither adding nortaking away from the truth. And that the Lieutenants had behaved themselves faithfully and valorously; and himselfe directed them with counsell. And withall yeelded the reasons, why neither he not Drusse went to the warre; magnifying the greatnesse of the Empire, and that it was not meet that Princes, if some one or other towne rebell, should for sake Rome; from whence all other government was derived. Now because there was no cause of feare, hee would goe see and settle the present estate of things. The Lords of the Senate decreed vowes and processions for his returne, with other convenient ceremonies. Dolabella Cornelius onely whileft he went about to exceed others, falling into abfurd flattery, thought it meet that he should from Campania enter into the city ovant. Whereupon Cafar wrote, that he was not fo needy of renowne, that having vanquished most stout and proud nations; and received or refused in his youth so many triumphs; he would in his old age hunt after a vaine reward of a voyage neere the citie.

X. Lepidus maketh an Oration in defence of C. Lutorius, accused of Treason.

A Bout the same time, he made request unto the Senate that Sulpitins Quirinim Adeath, might be solemnized with publike sunerals. Quirinim was not of the ancient patritian samily of the Sulpitians; but borne at Lanuvium a free towne, a valiant warriour, and forwards in all his charges, was Consul under Augustms of samous memory. Then having wonne by affault the fortresse of the Homonadensians in Cilicia; the markes of triumph were awarded him; then given as a guide to C. Casar in the regiment of Armenia, and when Tiberims was at Rhodes, shewed him all duties of love; which Tiberims did open in Senate, praising his dutifulnes towards him; and accused M. Lellims, to have perswaded C. Casar to sedictions and lewdnesse. But unto the rest, the memory of Quirinim was nothing pleasing, by reason, as I have said, of the danger he brought Lepida into, and miserable niggishnesse, and powerable old age. In the end of the yeera carry-tale accused C. Lutorim Prisema Gentleman of Rome; who had composed notable funerall verses upon

Germanicus death, and received money of Casar for them: objecting that he had made them in honour of Druss being ficke: to the end that if he had died, they should have beene published for greater reward. Those verses Lutorius, upon vaine glory had read in P. Petronius house, in the presence of Vitellia, his mother in lawe, and many other noble women. As soone as the pick thanke had shewed himselfe. the rest forced by seare to give witnesse, onely Vitellia stood to it, that she had heard nothing. But more credit being given to such as testified to his overthrow: senrence of death was pronounced against him, by Haterius Agrippa Confull elect. Against whom M. Lepidus began to speake in this manner. If we consider, Lords of the Senate, with what a wicked tongue Lutorius Priscus hath polluted his minde. and mens eares: neither prison, nor halter, nor any servile torments, could suffice to punish him. But if lewd and haynons facts bee without meane: yet the moderation ofa Prince; your owne and your ancestors example doe mollisse the punishments and remedies of them: vaine things doe differ from wicked; and words from villanous deeds. And therefore judgement may be given; by which neither this mans offence go scot-free; and we not repentus, either of our clemency or severity. I have often heard our prince complaine, if any by killing himfelfe hath prevented his clemency; Luter us life is yet in fafety: who being kept alive, will neither breed danger to the common-wealth, nor put to death, serve for example to others. As his studies were full of folly and without fense, so they are likewise vaine, and quickly at an end. Neither is there any cause to feare any great or serious matter in him; who bewraying his owne imperfections, doth creepe not into mens, but womens brefts. Yet let him be expulsed the city. Which I judge to be all one as if he had been convicted of treason Among all the Consuls onely Rubellius Blandus agreed with Lepidus, the rest following Agrippaes opinion: Priscus was led to prison, and immediately deprived of his life. The fact Tiberius with his accustomed ambiguitie of words, blamed in Senate: extolling the zealous affection of severe punishments of Princes injuries, though small: yet intreated them that they would not so rashly punishwords: praysed Lepidus, and rebuked not Agrippa. Whereupona Decree of Senate was made, that their orders should not be carried to the treasury before tendayes were expired: and that folong the condemneds life should be prolonged. But the Senators had no licence to repent, and revoke their fentence; and Tiberius not to be pacified by tract of time.

XI. Tiberius letter touching reformation of abuses.

The year following, C. Sulpitius, and D. Haterius, were created Confulls: all being quiet from forreine troubles: but feveritie against superfluities suspected at home: which was growne to exceeding excessed in all things, wherein money is lavishly spent. Some of their expenses, although more unreasonable; yet were cloaked, by diffembling of their prices: but gluttony and belli-cheere, every man commonly speaking of, put them in seare, lest the Prince should rigorously proceed according to the ancient provident frugality. For C. Bibulus beginning, the other Aediles shewed also, that the law concerning excesses of expenses, was nought set by, and the sumptuousnesse of moveables which was forbidden, daily increased, & that it could not be redressed by any reasonable meanes. And the Lords of the Senate being demanded their advise, referred the whole matter to the Prince. But Tiberius often pondered with himselfe, whether such exorbitant lusts could bee bridled or not; whether the bridling of them would not bring more hurt, then benefit

nefitto the common-wealth: how unfeemely and dishonourable it should be, to undertake that which could not be affected; or if it could, with the ignominie or infamy of noble men: and in the end he fent letters to the Senate to this purpose. "It would be peradventure convenient, Lords of the Senate, that in other matters. I "fhould be demaunded my opinion in your presence: and speake what I thought to " be behoveful for the common-wealth; but in this relation it was better to withdraw mine eyes: left that you noting the countenance, and the feare of every one of fuch. "which should be deprehended of this shamefull lavishing; I should also see them, "and take them as it were in the fault. If the Aediles, vigilant and carefull men, had "before-hand asked my advise; I know not whether I should rather have perswaded them, to let passe strong and rooted vices, then go so farre, that it should be knowne "how unable we be to redreffe fome kind of abuses. But they truely have done their dutie, and I wish that other magistrates would also fulfill theirs. To me it is neither ... honest to hold my tongue; nor easie to speake: because I have neither the office of "an Aedile, Pretor, nor Confull. Some greater matter is required of a Prince, and of "greater importance; and when as every man attributeth to himselse the praise of "things well done, the faults of all men in generall redounde to the dislike of the "Prince alone. What shall I begin first to forbid, and reduce to the ancient cufrome? your huge and spacious countrey houses? the number of your servitours of «diversnations? the quantitie of filver and gold? your painted tables, and brasen «images of marvellous and exquisite workemanship? superfluousnes of apparell both cin men and women? and those things which are proper unto women, as precious to from for which our money is transported to forrein nations or enemies? I am not «ignorant that these things are blamed in banquets and meetings, and a meane wished " for. But if any would make a law, or lay downe a punishment for them; those them-" selves which complaine, will exclaime that the citie is overthrowne; that the ruine a of the nobilitie is fought for: and that there is none free from this crime. But wee fee ethat old inveterate difeafes of the body cannot be cured, but by sharpe and rough remedies: the corruptor and the corrupted: the weake and burning defire, is to be "quenched with no lighter remedies, then the difordinate appetites were, which kindled the minde. So many lawes invented by our ancestors, so many made by .. Augustus, those by oblivion, these (which is a greater offence) abolished by cona tempt, have caused all superfluities to be more bold and practised. For if thou wouldest doe that which is not yet forbidden, feare lest thou be forbidden it. But if athou haft without punishment transgressed things forbidden, there is neither furother shame nor feare left. Why then in times past was provident sparing used? be-" cause every man did moderate himselse: because we were citizens of one citie: and cour dominions not reaching out of Italie, we had not the same provocations: by "victories had against strangers, we have learned to consume other mens goods; by "civill warres our owne. How small a matter is that, whereof the Aediles doe admonishus? how little to be reckoned of if we regard other things? But truely no man doth put us in minde, that Italie doth want the aide of forreine nations; that the life cof the people of Rome, is toffed with the uncertaintie of seaand tempest: and if the ftrength of the provinces should not ay de and succour the Lords. Haves, and possesfions: our woods for footh, aud our farmes, would they maintaine us? This burden, Lords of the Senate, the Prince doth fustaine: which being omitted, the commonwealth should fall to the ground. In other things, every man must give himselfe a law; let shame amend us; necessity the poore; fatiety the rich. Or if there be any of the magistrates, which doth promise us so much industrie, and severity, that he

"can prevent and redresse these things: I doe both praise him, and confesse that I "shall be unburdened in part of my labour. But if they will accuse faults, and having gotten glory thereby, raise privie hatred, and leave it on me: beleeve me, Lords of the Senate, I am not desirous of displeasures: which although I runne into a very greatly, and for the most part unjustly, for the common-wealth: yet by good "reason, I resuse them, and intreate that those be not thrust on me, which will bee neither profitable for me, nor you.

XII. Examples doe more then lawes in reformation of abuses the Flamines are hindered for being governours of Provinces.

AE fars letters being heard, the Aediles were discharged of that care: and the fumptuonfnesse of their tables, which from the end of the war at Actium untill the warres in which S. Galba got the foveraigntie for an hundred yeeres, lavishingly used, began by little and little to be left off. The causes of this change it shall not be amisse to seek out. In times past, rich and great houses of noble men fell to decay through their magnificence; being then lawfull to winne the favour of the people of confederates, and Kings, to court and be courted. And as every man was most sumptuous in his house, furniture, and provision: so he was accounted most honourable, and followed with a greater traine. But after they beganne to murder one another, for private quarels, proceeding of this pompe; and that their greatnesse was their ruine; the rest took a wiser course. And withall, new men. which were often taken out of free townes, colonies, and provinces, and chosen to be Senatours, brought in with them the frugalitie, which they had used before in their owne houses. And albeit, many of them either by fortune, or their owne industrie, grew to wealth in their age: yet they kept the same mind and custome they brought with them. But Vella sian was the chiefest authour of this strict kinde of life; himselse observing the ancient manner of living: for then a desire of pleasing and imitating the Prince, wrought more, then either punishment of lawes or feare. Unleffe peradventure, wee think that there is in all things a certaine change: and as there is an intercourse and change of time, so also an alteration of cultomes and manners. Neither were all things in ancient times better then ours; but our age hath left unto posteritie many things worthy of praise and imitation. But let such honest contentions between eus and our predecessors, still continue among stus. Tiberius having gotten the fame of moderation, by repressing the accusers: sent letters to the Senate, requesting the Tribuniciall authoritie for Drusus. That terms of highest dignitie Augustus invented, to avoide the name of King or Dictator: and yet under another title fignified a soveraignty above other Magistrates. After this he chose M. Agrippa, as an affociate of that dignitie: and after his death Tiberius Nero, left the fucceffor should be unknown: thinking thereby to cut off others unlawfull hopes: trufting to Nerves modesty, and his own greatnesse. By which example, Tiberius did then affare the foveraigntie to Drusus, when as whilest Germanicus lived, he held his judgement indifferent between them both, not preferring the one before the other. But in the beginning of his letters, having humbly prayed unto the gods, that they would prosper his counsels to the good of the common-wealth: hespake some few words, and those truely of the young mans behaviour; as that he had a wife and three children; and was of the age that he himselse was called by Augustus of famous memory to undertake the same charge. Neither could it be faid that hastily, but after eight yeers triall; having suppressed seditions, and setled the warres, and triumphed, and been twice Confull; he was taken to be an affociat of a known labour. The Lords of the Senate conceived the drift of his oration, whereby their flattery toward him was the more artificiall. Yet notwithstanding there was nothing newly invented: but ordained onely, that the images of the Princes. the altars of the gods, Temples, and arches, and fuch usuall honours should be erected for him. Saving that M. Silanus demanded and opened that in publike and private monuments, the Confuls name should not be prefixed; but theirs who had Tribuniciall authoritie: a thing greatly dishonouring and debasing the Consulary disnitie. 2. Haterius, who had counselled that the decrees made that day in the Senate. should be written in letters of gold, was mocked for his labour: that an old man should use to his infamy such filthy flattery. Whilest these things were a doing the government of Africawas continued in Iunius Blasus. Servius Maluginesis a Flamen Dial, or Inpiters Priest; sued that he might draw lots for the government of Asia: faying, "That it was vainely spred abroad, that it was not lawfull for Iupiters Priests "to goe out of Italy. And that they had no other law then the Priests of Mars and " Quirinus. And if these had governed the Provinces, why was it unlawfull for the Diales? that there was no law of the people, touching that matter, found in the "books of ceremonies. The high Priest had often celebrated Iupiters sacrifices: if "the Flamin had been hindered by ficknesse or publike affaires. Seventy aud two "yeers, after that Cornelius Nerula was murdered, no man was put to supply the "place; and yet the ceremonies never ceased. And if his creation could be omitted "for fo many yeers, without any hinderance to the facrifices: how much eaflier "might a man be absent, with the Proconsulary dignitie for a yeere? In times past "they were forbidden to go out of the Provinces, through the private grudges of "the high Priest: now through the favour of the gods, the high Priest was the so-"veraignabove all men: not subject unto emulation, malice, or private affection. Against which when Lentulus the Augur, and others had diversly spoken; in the end they resolved to expect the consure of the high Priest. Tiberius having deferred the hearing of the Flaminsright, moderated the ceremonies which were decreed in honour of Drusus Tribuniciall dignitie: in rebuking by name the insolency of that sentence, which would have had the decree written in letters of gold, against the custome of the Countrey. Drusseletters were also read: which although they seemed to tend to modeftie, yet were reputed most proud. "They complained that things "were growne to that passe; that the young man having received so great honour, "yet vouchfafed not to visit the gods of the Citie: nor shew himselfe in Senate; or "begin at least his authoritie in his owne countrey. But for footh, he is let by warre, "or hindered in some strange countrey: when indeed he solaceth himself at his plea-"fure, in the shores and lakes of Campania. This lesson had the ruler of the world "taught him; this did he first learne of his fathers Counsels. Although the old Em-"perour should disdaine, to come and shew himselfe to the citizens: and pretend "his yeers, and travell for an excuse: yet what impediment hath Drusus, but onely " his arrogancy?

XIII. A reformation of Sanctuaries.

BUT Tiberius strengthning in himselfe the soveraignty: lest the Lords of the Senate a shadow of their ancient estate, by sending the requests of the provinces to their examination. The licence and impunitie of ordaining Sanctes

aries, and priviledged places increased throughout the cities of Greece. The temples were filled with most lewd bondslaves: in the same refuges, were received debtors against their creditors; and suspected of capitall crimes. Neither was there any authoritie able to bridle the fedition of the people; protecting all villanies, no leffe then the ceremonies of the gods. Whereupon it was concluded, that the cities should send their Embassadours with their priviledges, which some left off of their owne accord as falfly usurped: many trusted to old superstitions or pleasures done to the people of Rome. The pompe of that day was great in shew: in which the Senators confidered of the prerogatives of their predecessors; the agreements of confederates; the decrees of Kings, which had been before the Romans had gotten fuch great power & authoritie: and the religions of the godsthemfelves, being vetin the disposition of the Senate, to confirme or alterall; as in times past they could have done. The first which shewed themselves in Senate, were the Ephesians: declaring that Diana and Apollo, were not born in the Iland Delos, as the common people did believe: and there was in their countrey a river called Cenchrius: and a wood called Ortygia, where Latona being great with childe; and leaning against an Olive tree which is yet in the place, brought forth these two gods: and that by the commandement of the gods, that wood was made facred. And that Apollo himselfe did in that place flee from Iupiters anger, after he had slaine the Cyclopians. After that Bacchus the conquerour in warre, pardoned the Amazones, which humbling themselves there, caught hold on the Altar. And that the ceremonie of that temple increased by Hercules permission, when he enjoyed Lydia: which was not diminished when the Persians had dominion over it. After that the Macedonians then we had maintained the fame priviledges. Next unto those came in the Magnefians, building their reasons on L. Scipio, & L. Sullaes constitutions: the one driving out Antiochus; and the other Mithridates: and extolled the loyaltie and vertue of the Magnesians; and commanded that Diana Leucophrynes priviledges should not be violated. Then followed the Aphrodifienfes, and Stratonicenfes, alleadging an order made by C.e far the Dictator; and another latter decree of Augustus of famous memory, for the pleasures done them, in taking part with their side, during the time of their faction, praising them that they had fulfained the affaults of the Parthians; nothing at all changing their constancy towards the people of Rome. But the Aphrodisienses maintained the priviledges of Venus temple: and the Stratenicenses supiter and Trivias ceremonies. The Hierocæsarienses fetcht their matter from a farther beginning, inducing their Diana Perfica, and a temple dedicated by King Cyrus; and told a tale of Perperna, of I (auricum, and many other Emperours; which granted that holinesse not onely to the temple, but to two miles compaffe. Then follow the Cyprians, declaring that they had three temples: whereof the most ancient was builded by Aerias, and consecrated to Venus Paphia, the second by his sonne Amathus, and dedicated to Venus Amathusia: the third to Iupiter Salaminius, built by Teucer, when he fled from his father Telamon. The Embassadours of other cities were heard likewise; with whose multitude the Lords of the Senate being wearied, some favouring one side, some another, and because they contended which had merited most, they referred the matter to the Confuls: that looking into the right of the cause, if they contained any secret abuse, they should bring the whole cause agains to the Senate. The Consuls befides those cities, which I have above named, spake of another priviledged place for malefactors, dedicated to Aesculapius at Pergamum: affirming that the rest were grounded upon obscure beginnings, in respect of their antiquitie. The Smyrnæans alleaged

84 alleaged an oracle of Apollo, by which they were commanded to dedicate a temple to Venus Stratonicis: the Teneans a verse of the same Apollo, commanding them to offer an image and Templeto Neptune. The Sardians brought in matters of latter memory: that to be Alexander the conquerers gift: and the Milesians did the like. using king Darius name for their franchise; but both of these did worship Diana and Apollo. The Cretensians made request that the image of Augustus might have some priviledge; and decrees of Senate were made, by which with great honour, vet moderation was prescribed unto all; and commandement given in those very temples to erect altars for a facred memory: yet fo, that under colour of religion, they should not fall into ambition.

XIII I. Julia Augusta falleth sick : Sejanus called into question.

Bout the same time, a grievous sicknesse which Iulia Augusta fellinto, caused the Prince (perfect amity being yet betwixt the mother and the son, or else efecret hatred) to haften his return to Rome. For not long before, when Iulia had dedicated an image to Augustus of famous memory, not far from Marcellus theatre, she had set Tiberius name under her own: which he (as it was thought) taking as an under-valuing of the majesty of a Prince, smothered up with a great, but a fecret heart-burning against her. But when the Senate had decreed, that there should be processions made to the gods, and the playes called Magni, exhibited by the chiefe Priests, the Augurs, the fifteene together with the seven, and those of the fellowship of Augustus, called Augustales; L. Apronius was of opinion, that the Heraulds should be overseers of those playes: which Casar spake against, making a difference in the rights of the Priefts, alleaging examples for it. For the Feciales or Heraulds never had fuch high authoritie; and that therefore the Augustales were put to them, because it was a peculiar Priesthood of that house, for which the vowes were made. My meaning is not to lay downe any other opinions, but fuch as are either notable for their honeftie, or shamefull for their infamie: which I suppose, to be the chiefest point belonging to Histories; that vertues be not slightly passed over with silence, and that men have a feare of bad speaking and doing, left they become infamous with posteritie. But those times were so corrupted with filthy flittery: that not only the chiefest of the city were forced in that servile maner to keepe their reputation; but all fuch as had beene Confuls; the greatest part of fuch as had bin Pretors: & also many pederay Senators rose up & strove, who should propound things most base and abject. It is written, that as Tiberius went out of the Curia, hee was wont to fay in Greeke, O men ready to servitude! as though hee, who could of all things leaft suffer publike libertie, did yet abhorre such base and fervile submission: falling by little and little from unseemely flatteries, to lewder practifes. C. Silanus Pronconfull of Afia, being accused for polling the Province; was also profecuted by Mamercus Scaurus, who had beene Confull; by Iunius Otho Pretor, by Brutidius Niger Aedile: all of them laying to his charge, that he had violated Augustus divinitie, and set nought by Tiberius majesty. Mamercus alleaged old examples, how L. Cotta had beene accused by Scipio Africanus: S. Galba by Cato the Cenfor: and P. Rutilius by M. Scaurus, A matter very unlikely, that Scipio and Cato should use any such revenge: or Scaurus great grandfather to this Mamercus, the dishonour and reproach of his ancestors, by so dishonourable and infamous a trade. Innius Othors old occupation was to keepe a Schoole: then made a Senator by

Scianus authoritie, brought his obscure beginning; into obloquie by impudent enterprises. Brutidius, a man well qualified; and if he had taken a right course, likely to have come to honourable preferment; over much hast pricked forwards: and ar the first went about, to out-go his equals; then his superious; and last of all to flee above his own hopes, which hath been the overthrow of good men; who contemning that which by a little patience, is had with securitie; hasten to that which gotten before his time, breedeth their ruine and destruction. Gellius Puplicala, and M. P.sconius, increased the number of informers: the one being Silanus treasurer; the other his Lieutenant. Little doubt but Silanus was blame-worthy for his crueltie, and ravenous dealing: but many other matters came together, dangerous even to the innocent: for befides that he had fo many Senatours against him; he was to answer alone, the eloquentest of all Asia: and for that cause chosen to accuse: being himfelf unskilfull, and appaled with his own danger; cause sufficient to have dasht the best practised out of matter. Tiberius himself not refraining to presse him with words and countenance, asked him many questions; not giving libertie to refell or reply: yea oftentimes he must confesse, lest Tiberius should seeme to have asked in vain. And withall, the publike actor had bought Silanus boudmen, to the end they should be examined by torture. And because none of his kinsmen nor friends might help him in his danger, accusations of treason (a bond and necessitie to stop every mans mouth) were thrust among. Whereupon certaine dayes of delay being demanded; he let fall his defence: and taking courage fent letters unto Cafar, interlaced with intreatie and odious termes. Tiberius, that the causes he charged Silanus with, might have an example of excuse; commandeth Augustus records, touching Volefus Meffalla, Proconfull of the fame Afia, to be recited, and a decree of Senate made against him. Then demanded L. Pisses opinion; who making a preamble of the Princes elemencie; was of advise that he should be banished to the Iland Gyarus. Therest gave the like verdit: saving that C. Lentulus thought it meet, that the goods which came by Silanus mother (for he was by another mother) should be separated from the rest, and given the sonne: Tiberius according thereunto. "But Cornelius "Dolabella, having rebuked Silanus for his behaviour; followed the vain of his flat-"tery further, and added; That none who lived a reproachfull and infamous life, "should draw lots for the government of any province; and that the Prince should be "judge thereof. The laws did punish crimes committed; but how much better "would it be for us, and our confederates, if we did provide that no offences should "be committed? Against weh, C.esar himself spake, and said; That he was not igno-"rant what the speech had been of Silanus; but that no judgements ought to be gi-"ven at the rumour of the people. Many had behaved themselves in the Provinces, "better then was hoped for and others not so bad as it was feared: for some by man-"aging of waightic matters, have been stirred up to a better carriage and behaviour; "and others have become more flouthfull and lafie. And that a Prince could not "comprehend all things in his own knowledge; neither was it expedient that he "should be drawn to this and that, by others ambition. That laws were ordained "against facts already committed, because future things are uncertain. So it was "ordained by our ancestors, that when the offences had gone before, punishment "fhould follow; therefore they would not alter those things, which were invented "by wifedome, and alwayes observed. That princes had charge sufficient, and power "enough, if their power grew great, the laws grew weake. That absolute authoritie was not to be used; as long as the laws were open. By how much the seldomer Tiberius shewed any popular behaviour, by so much the more joyfully it was accepted.

of Cornelius Tacitus.

And being wife (if he were not carried away with anger) in moderating the rigorous censures of others: added that the lland Gyarus was barbarous, and unhabited, and therefore that they would shew so much favour to the Junian family; and to one who had been of the same colledge with them; that he should rather be sent to the Iland Cythera: which was also the request of Torquata, Silanus fifter, a virgin of good life: unto which cenfure they all condescended.

> XV. More accusations prosecuted. A decree touching Jupiters Priests. Tacfarinas driven by Blæsus out of Africk.

Fter this the Cyrenenses were heard: and Cessus Cordus condemned of pol-Aling the provinces, at the fuite of Ancharius Priscus. L. Ennius a Gentleman of Rome, accused of Treason, because hee had converted the image of the Prince, to common uses in plate; Casar forbad to be received amongst the criminall persons. Ateins Capito openly complaining, and by a kinde of libertie saying: 'That power of determining such a matter, ought not to be taken from the Senate, "nor so hainous a crime passe unpunished. That the Emperor might be as slow as he "lilted, in punishing injuries done to himself, yet that he ought not to pardon such "as were done to the comon-wealth. Tiberius understood these things as they were indeed, rather then as they were spoken: and so persisted in opposing himselfe. Capito was fo much the more noted; because that knowing what appertained to divine and humane lawes; discredited the common good: and the commendable arts hee had learned at home. Then there grew a feruple: in knowing, in what temple the gift should be placed, which the Gentlemen of Rome had vowed to fortune Equa Itris, for the health of Augusta. For although there were many temples in the City, of that goodnesse: yet there was none which bare that surname. In the end there was one to called found at Antium: and all the ceremonies in the townes of Italy, and temples, and images of gods, to be under the right, and Empire of Rome: and therupon the gift was placed at Antium. And feeing the matter was debated touch. ing the religions, Cefur declared the answer: which not long before he had deferred, against Servius Maluginensis: and recited the decree of the chiefe Priests; which was, "That as oft as the Flamen, Dial, or Jupiters Prieft, tell into any licknes, "he might be absent from the Citic, with licence of the chief Priest: fo as it were " not above two nights; or in dayes of publike facrifice; nor oftner then twice in one yeer. Which being ordained in Augustus time, did manifestly shew, that the abfence for a yeer, or administration of Provinces, was not granted to the Diales. And the example of L. Metellus the high pontife, was alleadged, who in the like case hadkept Anlus Post humas the Flamen in the citie. And thereupon the lot of Asia was bestowed upon him; who of the Confuls was next unto Maluginensis. At the fametime Lepidus made request unto the Lords of the Senate, tha the might at his owne charges, reedifie, and adorne Paulus AEmilius Temple, the ornament of his memorie: for at that time publike munificence was in use: neither did Augustus blame Taurus, Philippus, Balbus, for bestowing spoiles taken from enemies: or the overplus of their wealth to the ornament of the citie, and glorie of the posterity. By which examples Lepidus although he had no great store of money, did renew the honour of his ancestors. Pompeius theatre, consumed by casuall fire; because their was none left of the family, of abilitie to performe it; Cefar promised to build at his owne charges, and leave it still the old name. And withall he highly extolled Sejanus as though through his labour and watchfulnesse, the violence of that fire had been

flaied: from hurting any more then that one thing: and the Senate ordained an image to be erected in honour of Sejanus in Pompeius theatre. And not long after when Cafar had honored Iunius Blasus, proconsull of Africk, with the ornaments of triumph: he faid that he attributed that to Sejanus honour, whose uncle he was. Yet Blefus owne acts deserved that honour. For although Tacfarinas had been often put to the worst: yet renewing his aide in the middle of Africk, he grew to that arrogancie, as to send Embassadors to Tiberius, and require a place for himselfe. and his army to inhabit: or else threatned an endlesse warre. It was reported that Ca-Car never more grieved at any difference done unto himselfe, or the people of Rome: then that a traitor, and thiefe, should deale like an enemy. There was never so much granted Spartacus; after he had defeated fo many armies of Confuls; and burnt Italy unrevenged: yea when the common-wealth was greatly weakned by Sertorius and Mithridates great warres: that he should be received by covenant into fafe conduct: and therefore much leffe that Tacfarinas a thiefe; the Romane Empire being in most flourishing state, should be hired with a peace and lands to inhabit. He committed the whole matter to Blefus, with charge that he should induce the rest, to lay down their armies; with warrant that they should sustain no hurt, yet that he should lay hold on the Captaine by all means possible: through which pardon many came in. Not long after they used the same maner of fight against Tacfarinas; as he had used against others: for because he, inferiour to the Romanes in strength. though better in theeverie; made many inrodes; by scattered company deceived his enemie: and laid many traines to intrap him. Their companies were therefore fet in order, and marched against him: of which the Lieutenant Cornelius Scipio was the chiefe: who lay in waite in that coast where Tacfarinas did waste and trouble the Leptins, and the Garamantes, places of refuge: On another fide Bl.e sus sonne lead his owne power; lest the Cirtensian villages should be entised to take part with Tacfarinas. In the middle, placing fortresses and strong holds, in convenient places with choice fouldiers: the Captaine himselfe brought the enemy to a narrow straight, and disadvantage: because that which way soever he should bend; fome of the Romane fouldiers were in his face; fome in his fide; and often fome in his back, and so, many slaine and intrapped. Then divide the three armies again into many other companies, with Centurions of known valour over them. Neither did he as the custome was, retire his forces in the end of summer; or put them in ftunding cumpes of the old province: but as it had been in the beginning of warre: his fortresses well manned, by light-horsemen, and skilfull in those deserts; he gave Tacf. win. s often changing his cabbins small rest: untill his brother being taken, he retired in the end with more speed, then was for the allies profit: such being left behinde, by whom the warre might rife againe. But Tiberius taking this to be an end of this warre, gave Blasu that honour, that he should be saluted Emperour by the legions: being an old custome towards such Captaines, as had shewen valour for the common-wealth, with joy and acclamations to be faluted by that name by the conquering armies. There were many Emperours at one time; but none above another. Augustus had granted that name to some; and Tiberius at that time to Blasus. That yeer died two notable men, Asinius Salonius, nephew to M. Agrippa; and Pollio Asinius, and brother to Drusus: and destined to be Casars neeces hulband; and Capito Ateius of whom we have spoken before; by the studies of the civill lawes risen to the highest dignity in the city: but his grandfather Sullanus was but a Centurion, and his father Pretor. Augustus hastened the Consulship upon him; that by the dignitie of that office, he might be preferred before Labeo Antistius

skilfull in the fame study: for that age had at once two ornaments of peace. But Labee was more defitous of incorrupted libertie; and therefore held in great estimation: and Capitoes pleasing humour better accepted of Princes. To him, the injury offiot being higher then a Pretor, was a commendation: to this, because he got the Confulinip, grew of envy harred. And Iunia, whole uncle was Cato, and was C. Cassius wife, and M. Brutus fifter, died threescore and foure yeers after the Philippennsi warre. Her Testament was much talked of among the people; because that being very wealthy, when she had named all the Peeres and Noble men, and bestowed some legacy upon them, she omitted Casar: which he took in good part: not hindering but that her funerals should be solemnized with an oration before the people affembled, with other ceremonies. The images of twenty noble houses. were carried before her; and the names of the Manlians, the Quinctians, and others of like nobility. But Cassins and Brutus did shine above the rest, because their images were not feene.

THE

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FOVRTH BOOKE THE ANNALES OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. of Sejanus beginning; his qualities; and by what means he aspired to the Empire.



Alinius, and C. Antistius being Confuls; Tiberius had nine yeers managed the affairs; and advanced his house to a flourishing estate: (for the death the affairs; and advanced his houle to a flourishing effate: (for the death of Germanicus he reckoned among this prosperities) when as fortunable began on a sudden to work alteration: in him waxing cruell; or giving an horizing to such as were. The beginning proceeded from Adjust Section 1981. authoritie to fuch as were. The beginning proceeded from Achus Se-

janus Captaine of the guarde; of whose power and authority I have before spoken. I will now lay downe his beginning, and qualities: and by what finister meanes hee went about to clime to the Soveraigntie. He was borne at Vullinium, sonne of Seius Strabo, Gentleman of Rome; and in his first youth followed C. Cafar, Augustus nephew: not without a rumour, that for money he had fuffered his body to be abused by Apicius, a rich man and a prodigall. Then by many flights he had so wrought Tiberius, that being close and secret towards others: yet to himselfe had made him open and uncircumfpect. Not so much by his cunning and fraud (for such devises were his owne overthrow) as by the anger of the gods against the state of Rome; by whose ruine and rising it fell alike. He was of body able to endure labour; of minde bold; in his owne actions fecret; an informer against others; as proud as flattering; in shew modest; but inwardly greedy of aspiring: for which cause he used sometime largesse and lavishing; but more oftner industrie and diligence; meanes dangerous alike, when they are diffemblingly used to winne a kingdome. His forces, which at the first were small, he augmented by reducing the cohorts into one campe, which before were feattered abroad in the citie; that they might receive their charge together, and by their number and strength, and feeing one another, breede a confidence to themselves; and a feare to others. He pretended that the fouldiers living scattered, grew riotous: and if any sudden attempt should be enterprised, their strength would be greater united, then separated, and that they would live more feverely, if their garrison were lodged farre from the wanton allurements of the citie. As soone as his trenches were finished, he began to creepe into the fouldiers mindes by going unto them, and calling them by their names; withall made choice himselfe of Centurions and the Tribunes. Neither did heabstaine from ambitiously courting the Senators; advancing his followers with honours, and rule of Provinces; Tiberius being so facile and prone to allow of his doings; that not onely in private speeches; but in Senate also and before the people, extolled him as an affociate of his labours: and fuffered his image to be fet in the Theatres, and publike places of affemblies, and enfignes of the legions. But Casars house being full; a young sonne; nephewes of full age; hindered his plots: And because it was not safe making away of so many at once by violence; his treachery required time to accomplish his wickednesse. He resolved then to use the covertest way; and begin with Druss; against whom through fresh quarels hee was greatly incenfed. For Drusu being impatient of a concurrent, and therefore easily mooved: a contention rifing by chance between them, bent his fift to strike Sejanus. and he is to fave himselfe; Dru/w dasht him on the mouth. Hereupon leaving no thing untried, he thought it the readiest way to addresse himselse to Livia Drusus wife. She was Germanicus fifter, in her youth of a hard favour, but afterward excelled in beauty. Her Sejanus, counterfeiting an ardent and burning love, enticed to adultery: and after he had obtained the first breach of honesty (for a woman having once loft her chastitie, what will she refuse to do?) put her in hope of marriage. and fellowship in the Empire; and perswadeth her to kill her husband. Thusshee who was Augustus neece, and Tiberius daughter in law; and had children by Drusus; defiled her felfe, her ancestors, and posteritie with adultery by a meane man; leaving an honest and present estate for the hope of a wicked and uncertaine. Endemus a friend and Phyfician of Livias, was made privie to these plots; who under colour of his art was often used in secret conferences. He putteth away Apicata his wife, by whom he had three children, left his lemmon should have her in jealousie. But the greatnesse of the enterprise drove them into seare; bred prolongings; and fometimes divers forts of counsels. In the meane space in the beginning of the yeer, Drusus one of Germanicus children was come to mans estate; and those things renewed upon him, which the Senate had ordained for Nero his brother. Tiberus made an Oration tending to the great commendation of his fonne, because he tendered his brothers children with a fatherly affection. For Drusus (although it be a hard matter for rule and concord to dwell together) shewed himselfe indifferent to the young men; or at least, was not an enemy to them.

II. A survey of the legions and souldiers: Drusus poysoned by Sejanus.

**Iberius old, but fained determination of going to the Provinces, is put on I foot againe: pretending that there were a great number of old fouldiers; and that the armies were to bee supplied with a new muster. For voluntary men now wanted: or if there were any; they were not of fo vertuous and modest a carriage: because that for the most part, they were needy and vagrant persons which voluntarily follow the warres. Withall, he took a short view of the legions, and what Provinces they defended: which giveth me occasion to declare, what strength the Romanes had then in armes, what kings their confederates; and how much lefte the Empire then was. Italy had in both Seas two navies; the one at Mifenum, and the other at Ravenna, and certain Gallies called roftratæ to defend the coast adjoyning to Gallia: which Angullus had taken in the victory at Actium, and fent to Forojuliense, well appointed with Sea-men. But the principall strength consisted of eight legions neere unto Rhene; a stay as well to the Germanes, as Galli. Spaine newly fubdued had three legions. King Iuba had the Mauritanians, as a gift given him by the people of Rome: the reft of Africk had two legions: and Egypt the like number. Then all from the beginning of Syria unto the River Euphrates which containeth a great countrey, receiveth foure legions: Hybero, and Albanus, and other Kings being borderers, which by our greatnesse are protected against forrain kings. Thrace was under the government of Rhametacles, and Cotys children: and the bank of Danubium, two legions guarded in Pannonia; and two in Mæsia. The like number was in Dalmatia, which by the fituation of the countrey lye behinde them: that if on the fudden Italy should need aide, they were at hand. Albeit the citie had her proper fouldiers, three citie cohorts, and nine Pretorian; almost all chosen out of Etruria, Imbria, old Latium, and old Romans, fent thither to dwell. The galleys of confederates lay in the most commodious places of the provinces: the companies of horsemen, and ayds of cohorts, not much inferiour in strength, though not eafily layd downe, through their uncertaine flitting hither and thither; fometimes moe, fometimes leffe, as time and necessity required. I thinke it also expedient to discribe the other parts of the common-wealth, and how they had beene governed untill that day: being the yeere, in which the state began to decline, by Tiberius growing worse and worse. In the beginning, publique and private affaires of greatest importance, were handled before the Lords of the Senate: and the chiefest licenced to opine and debate matters. Tiberius himfelfe rebuking them if they fell to flatterie. In bestowing of offices he had regard to their ancestors merit in service abroad, or laudable acts at home: such onely preferred; due authoritie referved unto the Confulls and to the Pretor: the meaner officers, each one exercifing his owne function: and the lawes, (matter of treason excepted) duly executed. But for provision of come, and levying of tributes, and other publike conmodities; certaine focieties of gentlemen of Rome had charge of. Cafar committed his owne affaires to honest and tried persons: and to fome unknowne, if they were well spoken of: and such as were once chosen, continued still, and grew old in the same charge. The people were distressed with a great dearth of corne; yet no fault thereof in the Prince: but with as great care and diligence as he could, remedieth the sterility of the ground, and rough palfages of the fea: and gave order that the provinces should not be oppressed with new taxations; and the old be borne, without coverousnesse and crueltie of magistrates. C.efar had finall possessions in Italy; and a reasonable number of servitors; and in his house a few freed men; and if he had a fuit against any private person, he tried it by law in the place of judgement: all which he maintained, not with any courreous and mild course, but sternely and seared, untill by the death of Drusus all was turned upfide downe. For whileft he lived there was no alteration; because Sejanus beginning to rife, fought means to winne credit, and feared least Drufus would revenge, who never diffembled his hartburning, but often complained: That his some being alive, he had another coadjutor in the Empire: and what wanteth that he is not his companion? That the first steps to soveraigntie are hard, but once entered into, there will want no favourers, nor followers: forts he had built as he liked beft: charge given him over fouldiers; his image was placed amongft C. Pompeius monuments, and that he should have his nephewes common to the Drusian familie: that heereafter Modesty must be prayed unto that he would be contented with his greatnesse. He did not utter these speeches seldome or to a few, and his wife being corrupted, his secrets were bewrayed. Sejanus therefore thinking it time to make haste chooseth a slow working poison: the better to father his sicknesse upon fome cafuall difease: which was given Drusus by Lygdus an Eunuch, as eight yeers after it was knowne.

111. Germanicus children are in Senaterccommended to the Lords by Tiberius. Drufus funerals, and how hee was empoyfoned.

But Therius all the time of Druss fickenesse, shewed no signe of seare; perhaps because he would shew his constancie: yea being dead, but not buried; he entered into the Senate, and put the Consults which sate on a low seate, as

atoken of their forrow, in mind of their honors and calling. And having maftered his owne griefe, comforted the Lords of the senate, which powred downe teares with a continuall speech, saying: That he knew well he might be blamed, for shew "ing himselse in Senate, in forselha griese: when the communication of deerest friends and kinssolks was scarce seene, nor hardly the day, by many which lamented and mourned. Neither were they to be condemned of weaknesse, yet he for his part "had fought for stronger comforts, out of the bosome of the common-wealth. And "having compassion on the Empresse old age, and tender yeeres of her nephewes, and of his owne decaying age, intreated that Germanicus children, the onely comfort of present miseries, might be brought before them. The consuls went out and emboldening the young men in that which they should say, brought them before "Tiberius, who taking hold of them, faid, Lords of the Senate, I delivered these fa-"therleffe children to their unkle; and befought him, although hee had iffue of his "owne, that he would bring them up and cherish them, as if they were his owne · blood: and make them worthy for himselfe and posterity. Drusus being taken from "among us, I turne my prayers to you, and befeech you in presence of the gods, and "our countrey, that you would receive, and governe Augustus nephewes sonnes. "descended of worthy progenitours; and accomplish therein my duty and your "owne. These Nero and Drusus, shall be in stead of fathers unto you. You are so borne, that all your good and evill appertaine to the common-wealth. With great weeping were these words heard, and prayers made that the young men might profper: and if he had then ended his oration, he had filled the hearts of the hearers with compassion towards himselfe, and glory. But being fallen into vaine discourses; as fuch as had beene often laughed at, of yeelding up the government: and that the Confulls or fome other should take the care upon him, he discredited that which was both honest and true. The same solemnities which were ordained for Germanicus were appointed for Drusus; and as the manner is of the last flattery, somethings added. His funerall in pompe of images was very magnificent: having beforehim in a long procession Aeneas, the beginning of the Julian family: all the kings of the Albani: and Romulus the founder of the Citie. After him followed the nobilitie of the Sabines, Appius Clausus and the images of the rest of the Claudians. Indelivering Drusus death, I have followed that which many true Writers have uttered; but I will not omit a very strong report of those times, yet current in every mans mouth, which is, that Livia being already corrupted to all dishonesty of body by Sejanus: he was faid to have abused Lygdus body likewise: in age and beauty highly pleafing his mafter, and of all his fervitors of best credit; who being made privie to the practife, the place and times agreed when the poyfon should be given, grew to that audaciousnesse, that hee turned all upon Drusus head: and by fecret advertisement, accused him to have gone about to poison his father; and gave Tiberius warning, to take heed of the first drinke his sonne should offer him at the Table. Whereupon by that fraud, the banquet being begun, the old man presented Druss the cup which he had received; who ignorant of the practise, like a raw young man dranke it up, increasing thereby the suspition, as though for feare and shame, hee had swallowed that death which hee had prepared for his father. This was the common rumour, which wanting a ground, and certaine author, thou maiest easily resute: for who is he though but of meane wisdome, much lesse Tiberius, experienced and beaten in waighty affaires, not hearing his defence, would have offered his sonne his death, and that with his owne hands; athing remediles if he should repent it? Why had he not rather tortured the minister of the poyson? fought out the author, and used that delay; which usually he did even against strangers toward his owne sonne; never before detected of any level fact? But because Sejanus was thought to be the inventer of all bad actions, through the great good will Cafar bore him, and the hate which the rest bore; things were believed although fabulous, and uncredible; report speaking alwaies the worst of Princes deaths. The order of this fact hath been otherewise discovered by Apisata Sejanus wise, and by torturing of Eudemus and Lygdus: and no writer sound so great an enemy to Tiberius, although all hath beene sought that may be said, and inforced against him, that hath objected any such matter. The cause why I laid downe and blamed the common rumor, was, that under a manifest example, I might discredit salfe reports; and pray such into whose hands our labours shall come; that they would not esteeme more of common, uncredible tales, greedily received, then of truth not fallsfied into miracles.

IIII. Sejanus practifes to destroy Aggrippina, and Germanicus children: stage-players expulsed Italy.

Ut whileft Tiberius praised his sonne before the people assembled; the Senate and the people rather for a show, then from the heart, put on a mourning countenance: yet in their minds rejoyced, that Germanicus house began to flourish againe : which beginning of favour, and Agrippina their mother not well diffembling her hope, haftened their overthrow. For when Sejanus perceived that Drulus empoisoners escaped unpunished; and no publike mourning of the people for his death: emboldened in wicked actions, because his first attempts had good successe. began to cast with himself, by what means he might extinguish Germanicus children the undoubted fucceffors to the Empire. For all three poison he could not, by reafon of their keepers faithfulnesse, and Agrippinas invincible chastitie. He beganne therefore to inveigh against her obstinacie, and stirre Augusta hating her of olde, against her; and incensed Livia with the memory of her late fact; suggesting that her pride; bearing it selfe upon her fruitsulnesse in children, by the favour of the people gaped after the foveraigntie. This plot of his he profecuted by the helpe of crafty accusers; amongst whom he had chosen Iulius Posthumus a man noted of infamous life with Mutilia Prisca, a principall favourite of the grandmother, and fit inftrument for his practices, being highly in Augustus bookes: an old woman of her owne disposition desirous of rule, and therefore easily estranged from her daughterinlaw Agrippina. He had likewise inveigled Agrippinas neere kindred, to puffe up her haughty spirits; and use hard speeches of Augusta. But Tiberius intermitting no care of publike affaires; and embracing bufineffe for folace; heard the causes of citizens, and the suites of confederates: and by his perswasion, decrees of Senate were made, that the city of Cibyratica in Asia; and Aegiris in Achaia, damnified by an earth-quake, might be relieved by remitting them three yeeres tributes. And Vibius Serenus Proconful of farther Spaine, being condemned for publike violence, through the crueltie of the time, was banished into the Hand Amorgus. Carfins Sacerdos accused, as though he had helped the enemie Tacfarinas with corne, was quit: and C. Gracchus for the same crime. This Gracchus being very young, was carried by his father Sempronius to the Iland Cercina, as a companion of his exile: where growing to mans estate among banished men, and ignorant of liberall Artes, by turning and winding base marchandise in Africa and Sicilia, he gained his living: and yet he escaped not the dangers of greater fortune. And if Ac-

lius Lamia, and L. Apronius, which governed Africk, had not defended his innocency: through the noblenes of his unfortunate stocke, he had tasted of his Fathers calamities. That yeere came Embassadours from cities of Greece: reque. Ating that the ancient right of priviledged places, might be confirmed at Iuno's Temple at Samium, and Aesculapius Temple, at Cois. The Samians grounded themselves on a decree of Amphytions: to whom belonged the principall examination of all matters: when the Grecians building cities through Afia, were Lords of the Sea coafts. The antiquitie of the Coi was not unlike: having with all the merit of the place: for when by King Mithridates commandement, all the Romans were flaine throughout all the cities and Ilands of Afia: they faved in the Temple of Aesculapius as many as they found. After this the Pretors having made many complaints, though in vaine, against the stage-players, at last Casar spake of their unrulines and immodest behaviour; as having seditionsly attempted many things in publike, and many undecently in private houses. And the Oscian play, a light sport pleasing the peoples humour, grew to such insolency, that the Lords of the Senate were faine to interpose their authority, for the suppressing of it: & then the stage-players were expulsed Italy. Casar had further griefe in the same yeere, partly by the death of one of Drusus children, and partly by the death of Lucillus Longus his friend, and partaker of all his fortunes, prosperous or adverse: and among the Senators, his onely companion, when he withdrew himselfe to Rhodes. In regard wherof, the Senate ordained, that although he were but of meane parentage, yet that he should have the funerals of a Censor, and an Image in Augustus forum, at the charge of the common purse. For at that time the Senate managed all the affaires, in so much, that Lucillius Capito, Procurator of Asia, the Province accufing him, was forced to purge himselse before them; the Prince affuredly avouching that he had given him no authority: but over flaves, and money matters betweene party and party. But if he had usurped the authority of a Pretor, or used the strength of souldiers, he had therein contemned his commandment. & therefore that they should heare the allies: and so the matter being heard, he was condemned. For which cause, and by reason that the yeer before C. Silanus was punished: the cities of Asia decreed that a Temple should be built in honour of Tiberius his mother, and the Senate, which they performed after they had licence. And for the same cause Nero gave thanks to the Lords of the Senate, and to his grandfather: with the joyfull acceptance of the hearers; as reprefenting Germanicus, yet freshin memorie, to their mindes: thinking that him they had both heard and seen. The young man was of great modesty, and comelinesse, worthy of a Prince; the more gratefull, through the danger he was in; by Sejanus known hatred against him.

The third Book of the Annales

V. How Jupiters Priests were chosen: Tiberius small affection to Germanicus children.

Bout the same time of chusing a Flamen Dial, in Servius Maluginensis place, who was dead; and of making a new law, Cafar himselfe spake. For the old custome was, that three patricians should be named together; borne of parents which had been married with a folemnitie called confarreation; of which one should bee chosen for the Priest. And it fell out that that just number could not be found; the use of confarreation, or marriage with a cake of Wheate, either not used, or onely of a few: whereof he alleadged many reasons, though the

chiefest was, the carelesnesse of men and women: and withall the difficulties of the ceremonies, which were wilingly let flip. And when should he goe out of his fathers authoritie, which should obtaine that priesthood, or shee who was married unto him) therefore that was to be redreffed by decree of Senate, or by a law, as Augufus himfelfe had changed somewhat of that rude antiquitie, and reduced it to the present use. Those things therefore being debated which touched the ceremonies. it was determined that nothing should be altered in the makings of those Priests: but a law was ordained, that shee who was married unto a Flamen, by reason of the facrifices, should be under the power of her husband: and that in other cases shee stould be as others were: And Maluginensis sonne was chosen in his Fathers place. And that the Priestly dignitie should better be regarded, and they the readier to undertake the ceremonies; it was ordayned that Cornelia the virgin, who was chosen in Scantias place; should be given * L. L. S. x. x. sesterces: * About Coven and that as oft as Augusta entered the theatre, she should fit among the Vestals, some and sixand that as oft as Angula entered the thearte, the mound in among the vertains, term pound, and Cornelius Cethegus, and Visellius Varrobeing Confuls, when the pontites, and follo-five flictings. wing their example, the other Priefts, made certaine vowes for the health of the Prince, they commended Nero and Drusus to the same gods: not so much for love of the young men, as for flattery, which in corrupt times is dangerous alike : either not at all, or too much. For Tiberius never a friend to Germanicus house, grieved impatiently that the young men should then be equalled unto him in his olde age: and fending for the chiefe Priests, asked them whether they had done that at Agrippinaes intreaties or threats; and although they denied it, yet were somewhat rebuked; the greatest part being his neerest friends, and kin, or chiefe gentlemen of the city. Nevertheleffe in Senate he admonished them in an oration, that none should hereafter puffe up the fickle minds of the young mento pride, by untimely and over-hafty dignities. Scianus urged eagerly, that the city was no leffe divided into factions, then in time of civill warres, some terming themselves to be of Agrippinaesfide; and more would if they were not prevented: and no way to redreffe a waxing division, but by cutting off some one or two of the forwardest. Hereupon hebeginneth with C. Silius, and Titus Sabinus, Germanicus friendship being dangerous to both: to Silins, because that having had charge of a great army seven yeerestogether, and vanquished Sacrovir in Germany, and obtained the ornaments of triumph, the higher his fall, the greater the feare in others would be. Many were of opinion that Tiberius was the more vehemently incenfed, by reason of his owne lavilhing tongue, overmuch vaunting that his fouldiers had alwaies continued dutifull, when as others had growne to mutinies: and that Casars state had beene shaken, if those legions had beene desirous of innovation: which Casar construed as an enbasing to his greatnesse, and disabling him of abilitie to requite: for good turnesare no longer well taken, then they may be recompensed; when they grow greater, then hope of requitall, in flead of thankefulnes they breed hatred and ill will. Sofia Galla was Silius wife; badly thought of by the Prince, because she loved Agrippina. It was therefore thought convenient to begin with these two, and not meddle with Sabinus for a time. The Confull Varro being thrust in, to accuse them, under colour of a quarell betwixt his father and Silius, became an instrument to gratifie Sejanus with his owne discredit. The desendants intreating some delay, untill the accusers Consulship were expired, Casar denied it, affirming it to be a usuall matter for magistrates to call private persons into question: and that the authority of the Confull was not to be infringed, through whose watchfulnesse the common-wealth was kept without danger. That was a common tricke with Tibe-

96 rius, alwaies to cloake new coyned mischiefe with old words. Therefore with great protestation, as though he had proceeded with Silius by order of law; or the matter belonged to Varro as Confull; or therein confifted the fafety of the common-wealth: the Senate was called, the party accused not once opening his mouth; or if he be. gan to purge himselfe, stucke not to utter by whose malice he was oppressed. He was accused to have had intelligence with the beginners of the war: that he had discredited his victory by his covetousnes; and other things against Sosia his Wife, nothing a long time spoken of Sacrovir. And doutlesse the accusation of polling the province, could not have served their turne, had they not prosecuted all under treason: but Silius prevented his imminent condemnation, by his owne voluntary death. Ne. verthelesse that contented not, but were greedy his goods should be confiscate, not to pay the stipendaries, for none of them damanded ought: but because Augustus liberalitie was at an end, he tooke a particular account of all that was due to a publicke treasure: which was the first time that Tiberius shewed himselfe greedy of other mens money. Sofia was driven into banishment by Asinius Gallus Consull; who also advised, that part of the goods should be confiscate, and part left unto his children. But Lepidus contrarily, that the fourth part of the goods should be given to the informers, according to the law; and the refidue to his children. I find that this Lepidus was in those dayes a grave and wife man: who altered into the better many things which others by cruell flattery had ordained: which he did with fuch moderation, that he kept in with C.e far in no leffe favour then authority. Which causeth me to doubt, whether it happen as in other things by fatall destinie and na tivity, that princes are favourably enclined to some, and to others hardly bent or whether anything confift in our counfels, to fingle out a course free from ambition and danger, betweene felte-will stubbornesse, and filthy flattery. But Messalinus Cetta being no leffe nobly descended, differing from Lepidus, was of opinion, that by decree of Senate it should be ordayned, that governours of provinces, though faultleffe themselves, yet should be punished for their wives crimes, no lesse then for their owne.

> VI. Calphurnius Pifo accused and condemned. The last warre with Tactarinas, and his death.

Fter this, they debated Calpharnius Pifoes cafe, a noble man and of a fierce courage. He, as I have faid, seeing what credit pickthanks were in, openly protestedin Senate that he would depart the city: and little regarding the authoritie of Augusta, was so bolde as to summon Vrgulania, out of the Princes house: which Tiberius for the prefent feemed not to take in evillpart. But bearing it in minde, although the heat of displeasure was cooled, yet he forgat it not. Granius alfo accused Pilo of secret speeches, used against the majesty of the Emperour: adding that he had poyfon in his house, and that he entered the Senate house with a weapon. This of the weapon was past over as not credible: but for other things aggravated against him, he was arraigned, but not convicted, because he was prevented by death. Afterward Cassius Severus cause was handled; a banished man of base parentage and lewdlife, but a great Oratour. Who had raifed fo many enemies against him, that by the judgement of the Senate sworne, he was confined to Creet: where following the like practifes, drew on his head old and new hatred: and at last being deprived of all his goods, and banished; spent the rest of his life in the Iland Seriphium. About the same time, Plantins Silvanus Pretor; the cause why, not

knowne; threw his wife Apronia downe headlong from a high place. And being brought before Cafar by L. Apronius his father in law, as a man troubled in minde. answered as though she had killed her selfe, when he was a sleepe, and wholly ignorant of the matter. Tiberius goeth forthwith to his house, and searcheth the chamher; where he perceived by the print of her feete, tokens of her striving against him. and the thrusting of her forward: which he reported to the Senate: and Judges appointed to examine the fact. Vrgulinia Silvanus grandmother, fent her nephew a poniard to dispatch himselfe: which some thought to have been done by the Princes counsell; by reason of the league of friendship betwixt Augusta and Vrgulania. silvanus having tryed in vaine to kill himselfe with the poniard, in the end caused his veines to be cut. Not long after, Numantina the first wife accused, by charmes and witchcrafts to have put her husband out of his wits, found innoceut, is quit by the Prince. That yeer the people of Rome was delivered of a long warre against Tacfarinas the Numidian. For the Captaines which till then had been fent against him, having obtained the marks of triumph: fought no further how to extinguish the enemie. For there were now three images in the citie crowned with baies: and Tackfarinas still continued spoyling and forraging Africa; and augmented his forces by the aide of the Moores: which under Ptolomey, Iubaes fonne, a carelesse youth changed their fervile state, and government of freed men, into war. The king of the Garamantes was a receiver and partaker of his booties, and pillages: not that hee marched with an army, but onely by fending light horsemen, which a farre off were thought to be more then indeed they were. And in the Province it felfe; fome for need; and fome of a turbulent humour joyned with him: because Casar confidering how well Blefus had bestirred himselfe, called home the ninth legion; as though there had beene no enemies left at all in Africa. And Dolabella Proconfull for that yeer, durft not fray them, fearing more the commandement of the Prince, then the incertaintie and danger of the warre. Upon this, Tacfarinas gave it out, that the Romanes had their hands full; were diftracted with other Nations: and therefore purposed by little and little, to retire out of Africk. And then that the rest might eafily be overcome, if all which preferred libertie before fervitude, would joyn and couragiously bend their forces against them: and gathering more strength, encampeth before Thubuscum, and layeth fiege to it. But Dolabella drawing all the forces he could make into one: partly the name of the Romanes striking a terrour into their hearts; partly because the Numidian is not able to endure the force of the footemen: at the first encounter, levied the fiege fortified the most convenient places; and withall, beheaded the chiefest of the Mesulani, which began to revolt. In the end taught by experience of fo many battels, that this fleeting enemy was not to be purfued with a maine campe; Dolabella fent for King Ptolomey with his countrey men; and divided his forces into foure companies; under the charge of severall Lieutenants and Tribunes. The out-riders and forragers were conducted by certaine chosen Moores: himselse at hand to give direction to all. Not long aftertydings came that Tacfarinas had encamped and erected cabins at an old ruinous fort, which himselfe had once burnt, called Auzea: trusting to the place being invironed with mighty great woods. Then the light horsemen and wings; not knowing whither, were led away with all speed. And at the dawning of they day, with the found of trumpets, and a dreadfull noise set on the enemies, halfe sleeping, halfe waking; their horses unready, or dispersed abroad at pasture. The Romanes sootemen were close ranked; the troopes of horsemen in good order; all things in a readinesse for battell. The enemy on the other side in all things unprovided; had

98 neither weapon, order, nor counfell among them: but were haled, taken, and flaine like beafts. And every fouldier irked with the remembrance of his labours. and how oft defirous to cope with the enemy hee had beene deluded; fil'd himfelse with revenge and bloud. Advertisement was brought from one company to another, to pursue Tacfarinas well knowne to them all; and that there would bee no end of that warre, if the Captaine were not flaine. But he with a chosen guard about him; feeing his sonne already taken, and the Romanes on every side of him, rushing in among their weapons, with the loffe of his life, escaped captivitie. And that was the end of that warre. Dolabella desiring the honour of triumph, Tiberius denied it him : and gave it to Sejanus, left his uncle Blasus commendation should be obscured. But Blasus was never the more esteemed; and the denying of the honor to Dolabella, augmented his honour: because that with a lesserarmy he had taken many notable prisoners; flaine the Captaine, and carried away the fame of ending the war. The Embassabours of the Garamantes, a people seldome seene in the city. came after the death of Tacfarinas, all aftonied, as being of the conspiracie to satisfaction fie the people of Rome. After this, Tiberius understanding of Ptolomaus diligence in his warres, renuing the old custome, sent one of the Senators to him with an Ivory staffe, and embroidered or wrought gowne; which were wont to be the ancient gifts of the Lords of the Senate; and to give him the greater honour called him king, companion, and friend of the people of Rome.

VII. Arebellion of bond-flaves suppressed: Serenus accufed by his owne fonne.

■He fame fommer beginnings of warre attempted in Italy by bond-men, were suppressed by meere chance. The beginner of this tumult was T. Curtissus, fometimes a fouldier of a Pretorian band; who at the first in secret conventicles, in Brundusium and towns adjoyning, then by writings publikely spred abroad, tolled to libertie, the rude and fierce bond-flaves dispersed in the woods: when by the favour of the gods, there arrived three Gallies for the use of passengers in that sca. And Curtius Lapsus rent gatherer in those countries; unto whom by lot fellthe Province Cales; according to the ancient custome, shaving in a readinesse a power of sea souldiers, discomfitted the conspirators, who then did but begin their enterprise. Casar sent out of hand Statius a Tribune, with a strong Power; who brought the Captaine himselfe, and the ringleaders of this bold attempt to the citie; greatly afraide of the multitude of bond-men, which increased to a huge number; the free borne decreasing daily more and more. The same men being Consuls, there hap pened a bloudy example of calamitie and crueltie, the fonne accusing the father: both called Q. Vibius Serenus; both brought before the Lords of the Senate: the father out of banishment deformed, poore and unhandsome, bound in chaines; and his fonne pleading against him: who finely and feately attired with a cheereful countenance, affirmed that secret practises had been wrought against the Prince; and certaine firebrands of warre fent into Galliato raise a rebellion, himselsebeing both acculer and witnesse. He charged Cacilius Cornutus once Pretor, to have furnished them with money: who through the wearisomnesse of trouble account ing the danger his bane, haftened his owne death. And contrarily the defendant, floutly turning towards his sonne; shaking his irons, called the gods to revenge; praying that they would fend him to exile againe; to leade his life far from such costomes; and instict condigne punishment upon his sonne. And affirmed constantly

that Cornutus was innocentt, and frighted with a false accusation, which should eafily be perceived if some others were appeached also; for himselfe could not practife the death of the Prince, and an innovation with one onely companion. Then the accuser named Cn. Lentulus, and Seins Tubero: Casar himselfe being ashamed to heare the chiefe of the citie, and his dearest friends, Lentulus very aged, and Tubero of a weake body, accused of raising a rebellion, and disturbing the commonwealth: and therefore both were incontinently acquitted. The fathers bondmen were put to the racke, which made against the accuser: who through the wickednes of his fact, growing halfe frantick, and terrified with the speech of the people, which threatned either to cast him headlong from the Robur *, or draw him in peeces; or * 4 piaco in: be punish him as a paricide, departed the citie: but brought back from Ravenna, was where making forced to end his accusation; Tiberius nothing at all diffembling the old grudge he & the state was bare Serenus the banished. For after Liboes condemnation, by letters he up braided thrown headlong. Cafar, that his fervice onely was recompensed; with some other things, more peremptorily, then fafely, to proud eares, and ready to take offence. Eight yeeres after, Cafar cast this in his dish, many waies carping his actions in the meane space: although contrary to his expectation, through the constancie of his bondmen, the tack could extort nothing against him. When all had given sentence that Sevenus should be punished according to the ancient custome; Tiberius to bleare their eyes and diffemble his grudge, would not allow of the fentence. Gallus Asinius was of opinion that he should be confined in Gyarum or Donusa; which he misliked also faying, that both those Ilands wanted water: and that to whom life was granted, thingsneceffary for life ought to be granted: whereupon Serenus was carried backe to Amorgum: And because Cornutus had flaine himselfe, it was propounded in Senate whether the informers should lose their rewards; if any arraigned onely of treason and not condemned slew himself. Which they had all followed, if Casar had not sharply and openly, contrary to his accustomed manner, complained in defence of the informers, faying: that by that meanes the lawes would be brought to nothing, and the common-wealth run to ruine, and that it were more tolerable to abolish the lawes themselves, then take away the keepers of them. By this meanes the promoters, a race of men found out for a common overthrow and destruction and never duely punished, were allured with rewards. These continual causes of forrow, were fauced with fome small contentment: for C. Comminius a Gentleman of Rome, convicted of scandalous verses against Tiberius, was pardoned ar the intreatie of his brother a Senator. A strange case, that knowing what was best (for fortishor senceles he was not) and what same followed elemency; yet he defired rather cause of heavines and sorrow. Neither is it a matter of deepe in fight to know the peoples affection, when they extoll Princes actions from the heart; and when from the teeth outward. And Tiberius himselse at other times, cunningly premeditating his words, and with staggering and stammering delivering his minde: yet when he meaneth good indeed unto any, findeth his tongue ready and loose. But when P. Suilius fomtimes rent gatherer to Germanicus was convict for taking of money for giving judgment, & therefore expulsed Italy: his opinion was that he should be banished into some lland, and that with such vehemency, that he bound it with an oath to be profitable for the Common-wealth. Which for the prefent time was taken for a rigorous sentence; but after Suilius returne, turned to his commendation; whom subsequent times saw mightie, but a slave to money; a long time as he lusted, but never as he ought using Prince Claudius friendship. The same punishment was ordained against Catus Firmius a Senator, as falsely accusing his lister of treason.

treason. Catmas I have already fayd, had inveighled Libo, then betrayed him and brought him to destruction. Which service Tiberius not forgetting, , though pretending other causes; intreated that he might not be banished; but that he should be deposed from the Senate, he hindred not. I am not ignorant that many of those things which I have rehearfed, and which I shall rehearse hereafter, will seeme of fmall moment, and not worthy the writing. But I wish not that any should compare our Annales with the writings of the ancient Historiographers of the people of Rome: for they reported with a free discourse, of mighty great warres, winning of townes, of Kings taken and flaine: or if they come to domesticall affaires, they recorded the discords betwixt the Consulls and the tribunes; lawes concerning distribution of lands among the common people; and jarres betweene the communaltie and nobilitie. But the scope of our discourse is streight, and our labour inglorious: the times I write of being peaceable and quiet, or no greater warres: the state of the Citie dolefull, and the Prince carelesse in dilating the Empire. Yet it shall not be lost labour to looke into those things which at the first sceme light; oft yeelding instruction of great matters. For all nations and Cities are governed by the people; or Peeres; or alone. A forme of common-wealth conflituted of one of these, may better be praised, then found: or if it chance to be found, it can. not long continue. Therefore as in times past the people bearing sway, or the Lords of the Senate; the humour of the communaltie was to be knowne: and the meanes how with greatest discretion they were to be dealt withall: and they judged most wise and experienced; who had deepeliest entred into the disposition of the Senators and Nobilitie: fo the state being now changed; and the regiment confifting in one alone, it shall be convenient to note those things, which unto that forme of government doth best appertaine. For there are but few, which by wildome diftinguish honest things from dishonest; and profitable from hurtfull: but most men are taught by others events. And my writings bring more profitthen delight; for lituation of countreys; varietieof battells; the death of famous Captaines doe feed and recreate the readers mindes. But wee heape up bloodie commandements; continuall accusations; deceitfull friendships; the overthrow of innocent persons; and causes bringing the like end; matters tedious for want of varietie. The old writers had also this advantage, that they had no detractors of their writing, or few: not being materiall to any; whether he had praised African or Roman armies. But many are yet alive, whose predecessors suffered punishment or infamie under Tiberius gouernement. And although their family be extinguilhed; yet thou shalt finde many, which for conformitie of manners, thinke that others middeds are objected against themselves. Glory and vertue have enemies likewife, according to the disposition of every mans minde; framing reasons contrary to that which his owne inclination is neerest unto. But I will returne to my first purpose.

> VIII. An Oration of Cremutius in defence of his Annales: Tiberius would not suffer the Spaniards to build a Temple in his honour.

Ornelius Coffos, Afinius Agrippa being Confuls; Eremutius Cordus was accused of a new crime never before heard of, that in certaine Annales by him published, he had praised M. Brutus, and faid that C. Cassius was the last of the Romans. Hisacculers were Satrius Secundus, and Pinarius Natta, Sejanus cli-

ents, which was his overthrow. Cafar had a sterne look hearing his purgation which Cremutius being affured to lose his life, began in this manner. "I am accused "for words (Lords of the Senate) because in deeds Iam innocent. But they were " neither against the Prince, nor his father, whom the law of treason doth compre-"hend. I am faid to have commended Brutus and Cassius; whose acts many have "written, and all in honourable termes. T. Livius an excellent writer, as well for e-"loquence as truth, did fo much extoll Cn. Pompeius, that Augustus called him a "Pompeian; yet that no breach of friendship at all. Scipio Africanus did never call "this selfe same Cassius, this Brutus, theeves and patricides, as now a daies they are "termed, but often worthy and famous men. Afinius Pollioes writings do deliver an "honorable memory of them. Messala Corvinus extolleth Cassius as his Captain: and "both flourished in wealth and honour. When M. Cicero had in a book extolled Cato "to the heavens; what did Casar the Dictator, but answer him in an oration as if he "had been before the judges? Antonies epiftles, Brutus oration, have, I confesse, "many untrue and bitter speeches against Augustus. Men read Bibaculus and Catullus "verses, which are stuffed with reproches against the Casars. But yet Iulius and Au-" gullus of famous memory winked thereat, whether with greater moderation or "wildome, I know not: for things of that quality neglected vanish of themselves. "but repined and grieved at, argue a guilty conscience. The Grecians, whose not "onely libertie, but unrestrained license escaped unpunished, I speak not of; or if "any felt himselfe grieved, he revenged words with other words. It hath bin alwaies "a matter of free liberty, and least subject unto detraction, to speak of those whom "death had exempted from hatred and favour. Do I incense the people by orations "to civill war, with Cassius and Brutus already in arms, and masters of the Philippian "fields? Do not they (who ended their lives above feventy yeers agone) as they are "knowne by their images which the Conqueror himselfe hath not pulled down, so "retain some remembrance of them by writings? Posteritie doth render unto every "man the commendation he hath deserved. Neither will there want some if I be "condemned, which will make mention, not onely of Cassius and Brutus, but of me "also. Having thus said, he went out of the Senat, and ended his life by abstinence. Order was given by the Senators; that the Aediles should burn his books, which notwithstanding were still extant; some secretly, some publikely: which maketh mee the willing lier to laugh at the withesse uncircumspection of such as think with the power and authoritie they have in their owne time, they can also extinguish the memory of future times. But it falleth out contrary, that when good wits are punished, their credit groweth greater, neither have forrein Kings, or fuch as have used the like crueltie purchased any other thing, then discredit to themselves, and to such wits, glory. This yeer accusations were so hotly pursued, that even on the festivall dayes of the Latines, Calphurnius Salvianus went to accuse Marius before Drusus, Provost of the city; as he was entring into the Tribunall to begin his charge: for which cause Salvianus being publikely blamed by Tiberius, was sent into banishment. Great negligence was openly laid to the Cyzicenians charge, in not folemnifing Augustus facrifices; and that they had used violence against the Citizens of Rome. For which cause they loft the freedome which they had gotten in the warre when they were befieged by Mithridates, chafing way the King, no leffe by their owne manhood, then Lucullus aide. But Fonteius Capito who had beene Proconfull of Afia, was quit of the accusation fallly forged against him by Vibius Serenus. And yet Serenus escaped unpunished, being odious generally to all, and therefore in greater fafety. For the more bitter an accuser he was, the leffe touched, and as it

were a facred person; but the light and base were punished. At the same time sarther Spaine fent Embassadours to the Senate, requesting that by the example of Asia they might build a Temple in honour of Tiberius and his mother. Tiberius taking hold of this occasion, though otherwise not greedy of honours, thought it convenient to answer those who had rumored abroad that he was carried away with ambition, as followeth. "I know (Lords of the Senate) that many will accuse me of unconstancy, for not denying the same request unto the cities of Asia. I wil therefore "now declare unto you the defence of my former filence, & what I would have done "hereafter Seeing that Augustus of famous memory did not hinder those of Perga-"mumto erect a Temple in honour of himselse, and the city of Rome: I who ob-"ferve all his deeds and words in stead of a law, did the willinglier follow that ap-"prooved precident, because the honour done unto me, redounded likewise to "the Senate. But as it deserveth pardon, lonce to have accepted that honour: fo "throughout al the Provinces with images like unto gods to be reverenced, favour-"eth of ambition and pride: and Augustus honour would come to nought, if it should by flattery used every where be made common. I for my part (Lords of the Senat) " protest before you all, and defire that posterity know, that I am mortall and do like "unto men, and take it for honour enough to be Prince. And they shall attribute e-"nough to my memory, which will believe that I have not degenerated from my "ancestors; that I have been carefull in your assairs; constant in dangers; not seareful "of displeasure for the profit of the common-wealth. These things shall be for me "temples in your mindes; these beautifull and lasting images: for those which are "built of stone, if in judgement of posterity they become odious: are contemned for "sepulchres. Therefore I prayyour allies, citizens, gods and goddesses, these that "they would give me until the end of my life, a quiet minde with the understanding "of divine and humane laws , those, that whensoever I shall depart out of this life, "they would have me in remembrance with an honourable memory of my deeds, "and renowne of my name. And in private places afterward difliked fuch adoration, which some interpreted to proceed of modesty; many of distrust; and some for basenesse of minde and want of courage, because of mortall men the best aspire higheft: so Hercules and Bacchus among the Grecians; Quirinus among us, were added to the number of the gods. Augustus had done better in hoping to be one. Princes have all other things at will: one thing they should insatiably seek for, which is to leave a happy memory after them; for by contemning of fame, they contemne the vertues which engender it.

> IX. Sejanus requested of Tiberius that he might marry Livia, Drusus widow. And perswadeth Tiberius to withdraw himselfe from the City.

Ut Sejanus fottishly mad with over great fortune, and enflamed with a burning defire of Livia: importunately demanding a performance of a promised marriage, inditeth and sendeth letters to Cafar: because the custome was, that although the Prince were prefent, yet to prefent their petitions by writing; the contents were as followeth. "That the good will of his Father Augustus was such "towards him, and Tiberius also by divers signes did shew him such favour, that he "would not sooner offer his hopes and vowes unto the gods, then unto the eares "of Princes. That he never thirfted after high and eminent dignities, but chose ra-"ther to watch and travell like a common fouldier for the fafety of the Emperour: notwith"notwithstanding that he had obtained that which seemed to be of all other the "greatest honor: that is, that he should be thought worthy of Casars alliance; from "whence sprang the beginning of his hope. And because he had heard that when Au-" austus in the bestowing his daughter, had thought even of gentlemen of Rome; "To he befought him, if a husband were thought upon for Livia, that he would have "him as a friend in minde, who would be content with the glory only to be allied to "him, never purposing thereby to give up the charge imposed upon him, nor relin-"quish his usuall care: but would hold himselfe satisfied, if his house might be assured against Agrippinas wicked malice, and that in regard of his children: and as for "himfelfe he defired to live no longer then he could employ himfelfe in the fervice " of his Prince. Tiberius having praifed Sejanus great love and zeale, and chiefly run over the benefits that he had received of him, demanding time as it had been fully to deliberate on the matter, added; That other men confulted of that only which " was for their profit: but the conditions of Princes was of different quality, whose " fpeciall drift was to direct their actions to fame: and therefore would not fall into "that which was easie for him to have written. That Livia could detetermine with "her felte whether she would marry againe or not, or remaine in the same family: "that the had a mother and grandmother as neerer counfellers: he therefore would " deale more simply, and speak first of Agrippinaes enmities, which would be farre "more incensed, if Liviaes marriage should divide Casars house as it were into parts, and breede emulation between the women; and consequently the overthrow of "his nephewes. What if any variance arise in that marriage? Thou art deceived Se-"janus, if thou thinkest to continue in the state thou art now in, if thou marry Livia, "who hath been wife unto C. Cufar, and afterward to Drufus, and imagine that she "beareth the mind to passe the rest of her life with a Gentleman of Rome. And is I " should agree unto it, dost thou think that they would suffer it, who have seene her "brother, her father, our ancestors in greatest dignities? Thou wilt continue in the escalling thou art now in; but those magistrates and noble men which maugre thy "teeth mount to authority, and determine of all matters, do report it, and that not "in hugger mugger, that a long time fince thou hast climed higher then the degree of a gentleman, and gone beyond my fathers friendship; and for the hatred they "beare unto thee, blame me. But Augustus thought once to marry his daughter to a "gentleman of Rome. Truely it was to be marvelled, that being diftract with fo "many cares, and foreseeing that he who should match in that place, should by that "alliance rife to great advancement, he would in familiar conference think upon " Proculeius and some others, which lived a notable quiet life, not medling at all with "matters of estate. But if we be moved because Augustus did doubt, only whether he "should bestow her upon a gentleman, how much more ought we to consider that "he gave her to M. Agrippa, and then after unto me. These things I would not hide "from thee for the friendship which is betwixt us: but I will not be against thine nor "Liviaes defignements: and will forbeare at this time to speak what I had cast in "mind, and how neerly I purposed to linke the cunto me. I will onely say, that there "is nothing so excellent, but thy vertues and good will towards me doth deferve it: "and when opportunity shall serve, I will utter it either in Senate, or before the "people. Sejanus hearing this answer was nothing pleased, not so much in regard of the marriage, as because he feared Tiberius secret suspitions; the rumour of the people; and envy which grew fast upon him. Yet fearing if he should cast off those great troupes which daily came to court him, he should weaken his authority; and by entertaining them, minister matter of crime: the marke he shot at was to perswade Tiberius to leade his life in some pleasant place far from Rome; wherein hee forelaw many things, as that there could be no accesse to the Prince but by him. that all letters being conveighed by fouldiers which were at his devotion, should p fle through his hands: that Cafar declining now to age, and growne flothfull and effeminate through the quietnesse of the place, would disburden himselfe of cares of state, and committhem to another: and that the envy borne to himselfe should bee diminished, accesse to the Prince being lesser: and by that meanes all vaine shadows removed, he should grow mighty in true power and authoritie. There. fore by little and by little he findeth fault with the busines of the citie, the concourse of people, the flocking together of multitudes; extolleth highly a quiet and folitary life; a life without anguish of minde, and free from envie, most fit to think on important and waighty affaires. And falling out by chance that Votienus Montanus cause was to be heard, a man of a ready wit; Sejanus perceiving Tiberius not resolved to leave the citie, perswaded him to be a very inconvenient matter to be present at the assemblies of the Senate; lest hee should hearerailing and reprochfull speeches, but yet true, uttered of himselfe in his owne hearing. For Votienus being accused of contumelious words against Casar, whilest Aemilius a witnes and a fouldier laboured earnestly to prove his affertion, rehearsed from point to point, though the hearers buzzed and made a noise about him, all Votienus words: in which Tiberius heard many spightfull and reprochfull speeches backbitingly uttered in secret against himselfe: which so moved him, that he cried he would either prefently, or when the cause was heard, purge himselfe; and was hardly pacified either with intreaty of his neerest friends, or flattery of all; and so Votienus was punished as for treason. Casar persisting stifly and using hard and rough dealing, though that was one of the crimes objected against him, condemned to exile Aquilia, for adultery with Varius Ligur: although Lentulus Getulicus Confull elect, had already condemned her by the Julian law: and put Apidius Merula from his Senators roome, because he had not sworne to observe Augustus acts.

X. A controversie betwixt the Lacedemonians, and Messenians touching the rights of the Temple of Dana: Piso,
Pretor of Spaine, slune by a villagois.

Fter that were heard the Embassies of the Lacedæmonians and Messenians concerning the right of the Temple of Diana Limenetidis; which the Lacedæmonians avowed by the records of their Annales, and prophecies to have beene dedicated by their predecessions in their countrey: but taken from them by Philip of Macedon, with whom they warred; and afterward restored unto them by the sentence of C. Casar, and M. Antonius. The Messenians on the contrary side al. leadged an old division of Peloponne [us between Hercules successions; and that that territory Dentheliate wherein the Temple was, fell to their King, whereof there remained ancient monuments engraven in stones and brasse. And if it were neceffary to produce the testimony of Poets and Chronicles, they had more then they of good credit: neither had Philip to done by force, but according to equitie. King Antigonus, and the Captaine Mummius gave the like judgement. So the Milesians being publikely made arbitrators of the cause; and last of all, Atidius Geminus Pretor of Achaia determined the same. Whereupon judgement was given on the Messemans side. The Segestani likewise demanded that Venus Temple built on the hil Eryce, and falne down with age, might be reedified; calling to remembrance many things of her beginning pleafing unto Tiberius eares, which moved him to undertake willingly the charge, as being of her blood. After that the Massiliens requests were heard, and the example of P. Rutilius allowed, who, having by law been expulsed Rome, the Smyrnæans received and made a Citizen in their citie. By which right also, the Muffiliens received Vulcatius Moschus a banished man, who left all his goods to their Commonwealth, as to his countrey. Two noble men Gn. Lentulus and L. Domitius dyed the same yeere. It was to Lentulus a great honour. over and besides that he was a Consul, and triumphed over the Getuli, that he endured his povertie patiently; then that having gotten great riches without injuring of any, he used them temperately. Domitius credit grew by his father, who was lord of the sea in the civill wars; untill he thrust himself into Antonies faction, and after that into Cafars. His grandfather was flaine in the Pharfalian battell, taking part with the nobilitie: and himselfe chosen to marry Antonio, Octavius youngest daughter. After that he passed over the river Albis with his host, and entered farther into Germany, then any other before him; for which cause he obtained the honour of triumph. L. Antonius of great, but unfortunate nobilitie died likewise; for his father Inlines Antonius being put to death for committing adultery with Iulia: Augustus fent him being very young, and his fifters nephew, to Marfilles, where he cloaked the name of banishment with the pretence of study. Notwithstanding he had great honour done him at his funeralls, and his bones buryed in the tombe of the Octavians by decree of the Senate. The same men being Consuls, a bloody fact was committed in hither Spaine by a pefant of Termestine, who assailing upon the way L. Pilo Pretor of the Province, at unawares and unprovided, as being carelesse by reafon of peace, killed him with one stroke; then fled in post to the woods, and forsaking his horse, stealing by dangerous by-wayes, beguiled his followers, though not long: for his horse being taken and brought to the next villages, it was knowne whose he was. And being found and put to the racke to bewray his complices, cryed aloud in his countrey language, that that was a vaine question to aske him; and that his companions might boldly come, and behold him on the torture, for no torment or griefe should be able to draw the trueth from him. And being the next day brought againe to the torture, by violent force breaking from his keepers, fo daint his head against a stone, that immediately he yeelded up the ghost. Some were of opinion that Pifo was flaine by the treachery of the Termestines, by reason he exacted more of those barbarous people, then they were able to beare.

XI. Poppæus Sabinus defeateth the Thracians: and their obstinacie.

Entalus Getulicus and C. Calvisus being Confuls, triumphall ornaments were awarded Poppeus Sabinus for defeating certaine Thracians, which wildly lived in high mountains; and therefore more savage and fierce. The cause of their rebellion, besides their naturall dispositions, was, because they would not that any muster should be made of their strongest and ablest men for service: never accustomed to obey their Kings farther then themselves listed; or if they did send any ayde, they appointed the conductor of them; and would make no warre but against the borderers. There was also a rumour then spred, that they should be dispersed and brought into other nations and mingled with them. But before they began to be are armes, they sent Embassadors to Sabinus declaring their amitie and obedience to the people of Rome; and that they would so continue if they were not oppressed with

new taxations: but if like vanquished menthey should live inservitude, they had both weapons and youth, and a refolute courage either to die or live in libertie. And therewithall, shewed their fortresses built on rocks, whither they had conveyed their parents and wives, and threatned an intricate, hard and bloody warre. But Sabinus giving milde answers, untill he had gathered his forces together; and when Pomponius Labeo was come with a legion out of Mocha, King Rhamatalces with the ayde of his countreymen, which continued still in their allegeance; with the forces he had at hand, he marched toward the enemy possessed of the straights of the woods; fome of the forwardest shewing themselves in open place; which, the Remane captaine having stole upon, were easily put to slight, with small bloudshed of the barbarians, by reason of their refuges at hand. Then fortifying in the same place, feaseth on the mountaine, which was narroward even ridged unto the next fort: guarded with great, but unorderly and confuse strength; and immediately sendeth before of his choise archers against the siercest of them before the trench, as the manner of the countrey is, finging ditties and verses. They wounded many with shot a farre off, and drawing neere, by a fudden irruption of the enemy had been driven to the worst, if the Sugambrian cohort which lay not far off, in dangers venturous, and no leffe fierce and dreadfull innoise of songs & clattering of arms, had not received themat a pinch. After this, Sabinus encamped neerer the enemy, leaving the Thracians, which (as I have already faid) came to our fide at the first fort, with warrrant to waste, burne, carry away booties, so as they took no longer time then the day, and returne at night to fet a fure watch and a vigilant over the camp. Which at the first was observed, but afterward through riot, wantonnesse, and defire of riches, neglecting their wardes, hunting after belly cheere, and overtaken with wine, fell heavily all to fleep. The enemy understanding their retchlesse negligence, divided his men into two squadrons; the one to set on the forragers, and the other to affaile the Romane camp; not with hope of any furprise, but by their clamors, and clashing of weapons, every manintentive to his owne danger, they should not heare the noise of the other skirmish: choosing the night withall to make the seare the greater. But those which affayed the trench of the legion were easily repulsed: the aid of the Thracians in the other fort terrified with a sudden assault; part of them lying afleep within the trenches; and part feeking provision and stover abroad, were so much the more cruelly flain, because they were reckoned to be as fugitives and traitours, which bare armes to bring themselves and their countrey into servitude. The next day Sabinus sheweth himselfe in a place without advantage to either side to see whether the barbarians, glad of the nights successe, durst venter a battell. But feeing they went not out of their fortreffes or hils adjoyning, he began to lay fiege to them with a ftrong company, casting a trench, and a parapet four miles compasse about them: after that by little and little, to barre them of water and forrage, ftraightned his enclosure, the first environing the last; and raising up a bulwarke in neere the enemy, that from thence they might throw stones, darts, and fires into the enemies camp. But nothing annoyed the enemy more then thirft, a huge multitude of raw fighting fouldiers, having but one fountaine left them for their use: withall, their cattell (as the custome is among barbarous people) shut up with them, died for want of itover: dead carcaffes of men lay along, as well with wounds as thirst, all corrupted with putrefaction, stench, and infection. And to make their troubled offate more miserable, they fell at discord among themselves: of all calamities, the full measure: some ready to yeeld, some to die, some to strike and kill one another: fome perswading couragiously to fally out, and not perish without re-

venge; and these not of the basest alloy, though divided in opinions. But among the captaines, Dinis, a man strucken in yeers, and who by long experience had tried as well the strength as clemency of the Romanes; counselled them to lay downe their armes, as the onely remedy in their diffresse: and was the first which yeelded himselfe with his wife and children to the conquerors: the rest which were weake, either through age or fexe, and defired rather life then renown, did the like. But the youth betweene Tarsa and Turesis, both resolved to die with libertie, were doubtfully distracted but Tarsa crying that death was to be hastened, and hope and seare to be cut off at once, and giving example unto others, thrust himselse through the breast, many following the same death. Turesis with his company expected the night: our Captaine not being ignorant thereof, and thereupon reenforced the watch. The night being stormy and tempessuous, the enemy now making afierce outcrie, and on the sudden using a marvellous silence, drove the besiegers into uncertainties; when as Sabinus went about from one place to another, exhorting them not to lay chance open to such as by their doubtfull clamours, and fained filence, laid traines to intrap them; but that every man should keepe his standing, and take heede he threw no dart in vaine. In the meane space the barbarians clustering together by troops, now threw handstones against the rampier, javelins burnt at the end, and troncheons of oake, now filled up the ditches with shrubs, hurdles. and dead carkaffes. Some of them having before made bridges, and ladders, planted them before the bulwarkes, catched hold of them, laboured to pull down the defence, grapled, fought hand to hand with fuch as refifted: contrarily the Romane fouldier beate them down with spears, thrust them back with the pikes of their bucklers, lanced darts, and rowled heapes of stones from the wall upon them. The hope of victory already gotten, and that if they should now faint and be overcome, shame and reproach put life and courage into our, in them desperate hope of life; many having their mothers and wives bewayling and lamenting about them. The night animated some to boldnesse, drove some into seare: blowes slew on all hands, wounds given and taken unlooked for no man knowing his fellow from the enemy, and the found of the voyces as if it were an eccho rebounding behinde them in the turning and winding of the mountaine, brought such a confusion, that the Romanes abandoned their standings and holds, as though they had beene battered and broken downe: howbeit, a small number of the enemies escaped alive; the residue, (the most couragious either slaine, or wounded) at the opening of the day, were chased to their fortresses, and at length forced to yeeld, willing to accept the first conditions the winter would offer: to the rest, a cruell and timely winter by reafon of the hill Hæmus was a safeguard, that they could neither be subdued by force: nor siege.

> XII. The sharpe words which Agrippina used to Tiberius for accusing Claudia Pulchra her cousin: what good will was borne the Smyrneans above the other towns of Asia, and the cause.

Butat Rome, the Princes house being greatly troubled, to begin the course of Agrippinaes stuture ruine; Claulia Pulchra her cousin german was called into question by Domitius Afer: who having been lately Prætor, of small reputation, and eager by what meanes soever to winne credit, laid to her charge that sheeled an unhonest life with Furnius, and practised to poylon, and used inchantments.

ments against the Prince. Agrippina being of a fell and haughty disposition, and then more then ever kindled through the danger of her neere cofin, halteneth to Tiberine, whom by chance hee found facrificing to his father: and taking hold of that occasion, told him: "It was two mens office to offer facrifice in memory of "Augustus, and persecute his posteritie: that the divine spirit was not transfused into "dumbe statues and images: but the true image descended of celestiall bloud selt "the fmart of his posterity: and therefore she would take upon her the person of the "party accused: that it was in vaine to take exceptions against Pulchra, whose onely "ruine was, that unconfiderately she had loved and reverenced Agrippina: forget-"ting what had falne to Sofia, for the fame cause. Those words provoked Tiberius. although feldome using to open the fecrets of his breast: and rebuking her in a Greeke verse, said, that therefore she was displeased, because she could not reigne. Pulchra and Furnius are condemned: and Afer, the excellency of his wit knowne. and Cafar attributing unto him praise of eloquence, held among the chiefe orators, After this practifed in accusing and defending of parties; he was better knowne for eloquence, then honesty of life: faving that when his eloquence in his latter age decaied, and his spirits failed; yet was never quiet when his tongue walked not. But Agrippina frowardly perfifting in anger, and incumbred with ficknesse, when Calar went to visit her, powring downe in a long filence many teares, at last burst into envie and intreatie; that he would redresse her solitary life; and being yet but a young woman, provide her a husband: Marriage being the only comfort of minds honeftly given; that there were some in the citie which would vouch safe to receive Germanicus wife and his children. But Cafar not ignorant of what importance this request was to the common-wealth; yet lest he should openly seeme to displease or feare her, gave her, though most earnestly demanding, no answer at all. That I finde not in the Writers of Annales, but in the Commentaries of Agrippina her daughter, who being Neroes mother, had delivered to posteritie her life and calamities which fell to her friends. But Sejanus in this dumpe, fent her a message unlooked for, and under colour of friendship, which was, that there was poison prepared for her; and that she should avoide to eate or drink with her father in law. But shee not knowing how to diffemble, fitting by him at table could not be wonne to looke cheerefully, or speak a word, or touch any meate: untill at last Tiberius marked it either by chance, or because he had had some inckling of it. And to trie that more certainely, prayling certaine apples as they were ferved in, gave of them with his owne hand to his daughter in law, which augmented Agrippinaes suspicion, and not once tasting of them, delivered them to the waiters. Yet openly Tiberius spake not one word, but turning to his mother, faid, that it was no marvell, if he had proceeded severely against her, seeing she had an opinion, he went about to poison her. Thereupon a rumour was spread, that her destruction was fought for; and that the Emperour durst not openly attempt it; and therefore fought fecret meanes to compasse it. But Casar to stop that rumour shewed himselse often in Senate, and gave the Embassadours of Asia audience many dayes together, when they doubted in what citie they should erect a Temple in honour of him. Eleven cities of different power streve with like ambition for that honour; alleadging that there was not any great difference betwixt them; in antiquitie of time; love and affection to the people of Rome; in the warres against Persus and Aristonicus, and other Kings. The Hypæpeni and Tralliani, together with the Laodiceni, and Magnetians were fent away as not sufficiently grounded. No, nor the Ilienfes producing that Troy was the mother of Rome, had any foundation of their reason saving onely antiquitie. But

some doubt was made of the Halicarnassi; because that for the space of a thousand and two hundred yeeres; their cities had never been shaken with any earthquake: and that the foundation of their Temple was built upon lively strong stone. The Pergamini were answered that they had received honour enough, in that they had Angultus Temple amongst them; feeing that thereon they grounded, their reason. It feemeth that the Ephesians and Milesians had their cities occupied, the one in the ceremonies of Apollo, and the other of Diana: In fo much that all the contentionsrefted betwixt the Sardinians and Smyrnæans. The Sardinians recited a decree of the Etrurians, as being of their bloud: for Tyrrhenus and Lydus King Atyes fons, divided the land betwixt them, by reason of the increase of the people. And Lydus remained in his countrey, and Tyrrhenus went to seeke new countries to inhabit: which were called by the names of their Captaines: they in Asia, and these in Italy: and in progresse of time the Lydians growing to farther wealth, sent people into Greece, which were afterward called Peloponnessas. They told us also of letters sent them by our Captaines, of treatife made with us in the warre of Macedon of the number of rivers, the temperature of their countrey, and what a rich territory they had round about them. But the Smyrn ans fetching their antiquitie a farre off. either that Tantalus from whence they came, was descended from Inpiter; or from Theseus, iffued also from the stock of the gods; or else that some one of the Amazons had founded them: alleaged further the service they had done to the people of Rome; in which they most of all relyed, and that they had given them succour by fea: not onely against forreine wars; but also the wars of Italy. And that they first of all had dedicated a Temple in honour of Rome, M. Portius being confull. The people of Rome indeede then flourishing; but yet not lifted up to the height of their oreatnes: the Citie of Carthage yet frandieg, and many strong Kings living in Asia. They brought in L. Sulla for a witnesse, whose army being fallen into great danger through the roughnes of the winter, and want of apparell, when newes was brought thereof to the Smyraans as they were affembled upon occasion; all which were present sent the apparell from their own backs unto our legions. Thereupon the Lords of the Senates opinion being demanded, the preferred the Smyrnæans. And Vibius Marsus counselled farther that over and above his charge, M. Lepidus unto whom the government of that Province fell, should have a deputie appointed to take care of that Temple. And because Lepidus through modesty resused to accept it, Valerius Naso who had been Pretor, was by lot chosen and sent.

XIII. Why Tiberius absented himselfe from the Citie.

Hileft these things thus passed, Casar having deepely thought upon, and after protracted his determination, at last goeth into Campania, under colour of dedicating a temple to supiter at Capua, and another to Augustus at Nola: but indeed resolved to lead his life farre from the Citie. The occasion of his departure although following some authors, I have attributed unto Sejamus wiles, yet because that after Sejamus death he continued fixe yeeres in the like retired life. I am often induced to doubt, whether the cause be more truely to be referred to himselfe, as going about to cloake by the place, his crucltic and loose behaviour. Some were of opinion, that being through age, slender, tall, and crooked, bald headed, and his face spect with plainters and ointments, was therefore ashamed to shew himselfe in publike. And at Rhodes he was wont to shun company,

live fecretly, and hide his lascivious diffolute life. Some gave out that his mothers insupportable insolency drove him away, whom as a companion in state he could not endure; nor yet be rid of her, because the soveraignty it selfe was her gift. For Augustus was determined to leave the Empire to Germanicus his sisters nephew, who had a good report of all men: but being overcome by his wives importunate in. treatie, he adopted Tiberius; and Tiberius, Germanicus; which Augusta did upbraide unto him, and demanded the Empire againe which she had bestowed upon him. He departed with a finall traine with him: one Senator who had been Confull, which was Cocceius Nerva, skilfull in the lawes; one gentleman of Rome besides Sejanus. and of noble men onely Curtius Attious. The rest were men indued with liberall sci. ences, most of them Grecians, with whose conference he purposed to passe the time. Some Astologers gave out that Tiberius departed Rome under such a constellation. that he should returne no more; which was cause of manies overthrow, which conjectured and divulged that he had not long to live: for they could not foresee so incredible a matter, as that he should want his countrey willingly eleven yeers together. Wherein did appeare not long after how neere cousins their art and falsehood are; and how truth is disguised and hidden under obscuritie. For it was not spoken at a venture that he should not return e againe, although they were ignorant of other things which should happen unto him: or whether he should quickly die, or not, which was not fignified by those words of theirs; because hee ended his latter yeers in some village not farre off, or on the sea-shore, or neere unto the walles of the citie. At that time a doubtfull and dangerous perill, which by meere chance Casar fell into, augmented the vaine rumour already sowne; and gave him occasion to put more truft in Sejanus friendship and constancy, then ever hee had done before. For as they were eating in a countrey house called Spelunca, between the sea Amuclanum, and the hills of Fundani, in a naturall grot or cave, certain ftones falling fuddenly from the mouth of it, flew some of his servitors, which so affrighted the rest, that they sled all away. But Sejanus with his knees, his face and hands leaning and hanging over Cafar, fet himselfe against the other stones which were falling, and in that plight was found by the fouldiers which came to fuccour them. This made him greater then he was: and although he should have given most pernicious counsell, vet should have had favourable audience, as one nothing caring for ought which might happen to himselfe. He took upon him the office of a judge against Germanicus issue, suborning some to play the parts of accusers, and inveighespecially against Nero next in succession; although a modest young man, yet oftentimes forgetfull of that which was requifite for the present time, pricked forward by his freed men and followers, which thought it long till he were Emperour, to shew himselfe bould and stout of courage: perswading him that the people of Rome defired, the armie coveted, and that Sejanus durit doe nothing to the contrary; though now hee infulted alike over the patience of the old man, and floth and coward line fle of the young. Nero hearing these or the like speeches, yet dreamt of no bad practice: although some wilfull and unconsiderate speeches flipt now and then from him: which when the spies set over him had augmented and carried to Casar, and Nero not suffered to purge himselfe; drove many into fundry doubts. Some shunned to meet him; some having saluted him, turned presently from him; many brake off abruptly their talke. Sejanus favourers on the other fide laughed in their fleeves to fee it. Tiberius, whether the young man spake unto him, or held his tongue, cast a malicious eye, or smiled diffemblingly upon him: and whether he spake or held his tongue, it was alwayes a crime in him. Neither was he secure from treason in the night; his wife bewraying his watchings; his dreames; his fighes to Livia her mother, and she to Sejanus: who drew Drusus Nerves brother, to his side with hope of the Empire, if he could remove his elder brother which was already downe and out of credit. Drufus was of acruelland fell disposition; and besides the desire of rule, and hatred which usually reigneth betwixt brothers: he was incenfed with envie to fee Agrippina their mother readier bent to doe Nero good, then himselfe. And yet Sejanus did not so much tender Drusus, but that he projected in his minde some meanes of his ruine : knowing well that he was very fierce and headstrong; and therefore easily entrapped. In the end of this yeere two famous men died, Asinius Agrippa, rather of a renowned then ancient stocke, himselfe not degenerating from them; and Q. Haterius defcended from Senators, whileft he lived greatly esteemed for eloquence: but monuments of his wits there are none; because he was esteemed rather for vehemencie and quicke delivery, then diligence and premeditation. And as others industries and labours are had in estimation after their daies; so Haterius fluent vaine was extinguished with him.

> XIIII. The falling of an Amphitheatre, and the hurt which ensued: Tiberius reedifieth certaine houses; burnt in the hill Calius.

7 Hen M. Licinius, and L. Calphurnius were Confuls a fudden and unlooked for mischance as soone ended as begun, might have been compared to the calamity of mighty wars. For an Amphitheatre begun at Fidena. one Atilim a freed man to fet forth a play of fencers; as one having neither abundance of wealth, nor ambitious in winning favour of the people; but by niggardly sparing to make a base gaine in the workmens hire; did neither lay a found foundation, nor fasten the timber frame erected upon the same. Thither slocked many, very desirous of fuch shewes, both men and women of allages; partly by reason it was so neere unto them; and partly because that, during Tiberius Empire, they were barred from such pastimes; whereby the mischiefe was the greater. For the pile being great, and filled full with the throng of people, then falling a funder, whether it fell inwards or spred outwards, it carried downe headlong, and overwhelmed a huge multitude of people, intentive on the shew within, or gazing round about. Those which at the beginning were crushtto death by that hap, escaped languishing torment. They most of all were to pitied, which being bruised and broken, yet lived and in the day knew their wives and children by fight, and in the night by lamentable howling & crying. Those which were absent moved with this report, one lamented his brother; another his neere kinfmen, another his parents: yea they were afraid if their friends and cosens were out of the way, although for other occasion; doubring still they had been ethere; and because it was not certainly knowne whom that violent ruine had beaten downe, the uncertaintie spread the feare the farther. As soone as they began to remove the frame, they flocked about the dead bodies, some kiffing, fome imbracing them; and fell often at debate, in mistaking one for another, by reason they were disfigured, through some resemblance of countenance, and likenesse of yeeres. Fifty thousand persons were slaine or maimed by that mischance: and a decree laid downe by the Senate, that from thence forward no man should *About 3130. exhibit the play of Fencers, who was leffe worth then * foure hundred thousand pound. sesterces: nor that any Amphitheatre should be built but in a firme and sound place:

place : and Atilius was banished. After that fresh calamity, the houses of the chiefe Gentlemen were open; medicines and Physitians appointed for the bruised and mangled : and the Citizens, although heavy and fad, yet then were like their ancestors, which after great battels, did relieve and comfort the wounded with all care and liberalitie. That misfortune was scarce past, but the rage and violence of a fire confumed the City more then ever, and burnt the hill Calius. That was reported to be an unlucky yeere, and that the Princes absence was begun in a dismall houre; as the manner of the people is, to draw casuall mishaps to blame, if Casars had not prevented them, by bestowing of money to every man according to his loffe. For which liberality, thanks in Senate were given him by the noble men: and the people gave him a good report, because that without ambition or intreaty of friends, he had of his owne motion helped and called ftrangers unto him. And divers were of opinion, that the mount Calius should after that be called mount Augustu. , because that when all was wasted with fire round about; onely the image of τ_i . berius which was in Innius a Senators house, remained untouched. The same "happened in times past to Claudia Quintia; and therefore her image twice escaping violent rage of fires, our ancestors did consecrate in the Temple to the mother of the gods: an argument that the Claudians are accounted facred, and received among the number of the gods: and therefore the ceremony ought to be augmented in the place, where the gods have shewne so great favour towards so mighty a Prince. It shall not be amisse to shew, how that hill was in old time called Querquetulan, because it was fertill and abundant with oakes: then Calius of Cæle Vibenna, who being Captaine of the Etrurian nation, and fuccoured the Ro. mans, obtained that seat of Tarquinins Priscus, or of some other King; for in that point writers doe vary. As for the rest, it is without controversie, that those great companies of fouldiers did inhabit also the plaines, and places adoyning to the place of affemblies: and thereupon that was called the Thuscian street, of the name of the strangers which came thither to inhabit. But as the benevolence of noble men, and largesse of the Prince, was a great comfort to their adversity; so the credit and authoritie of informers more and more increasing, wrought the overthrowof many. Domitius Afer accused Varro Quintilius, a wealthy man and neere kinne to Casar, having before condemned Claudia Pulchra his mother: no man marvelling that being long a needy companion, and having wastfully confumed his late recompense, should arme himselse to farther mischiese. But that P. Dolabella was his sellow pick thank iffued of noble kinred, and allied to Varus, was a miracle, overthrow ing by that action himselse, and distained his nobilitie and bloud. Yet the Lordsof the Senate would not agree thereto, but thought it convenient to expect the Emperours coming: which for the time was the onely shift against imminent mischiefes. But Cafar having dedicated histemples in Campania, albeit he had given warning by edict, that no man would disturb his quietnes; & hindred the concourse of townsmen by placing of souldiers in the way: yet being aweary of townes & colonies, and all places situated in the continent, withdrew himselfe to the Iland Capreas, three miles diffant by fea from the farthest part of the promontory of Surrentum. I eafily beloeve that Iland did fit his humor, having neither haven nor commodities, & those conveied in very little vessels: no man landing but the watch was presently acquainted withit. The temperature of the aire is in winter milde, by reason that a hill opposite unto it, beateth backethe force of the winds. In the summer feason it is open to the westernwind, and hathvery pleasantly thesea on every fide, and a goodly prospect towards the hill Vesuvius, until by fire the face of the place was changed. The report goeth that the Greeks did possessed in that the Theleboians inhabited the Iland Capreas. But at that time Tiberius occupied the place, and seated himsels in twelve countrey houses of pleasure: and how much more in former times he was earnestly bent upon the publike good, so much the more now secretly he abandoned himsels to loose life and naughtie idlenesse. He was never more suspicious and credulous then now: a qualitie which Sejanus whilest he was abiding in the citie whetted on; and which did now more then ever disquiet him: and no longer using secret treachery to intrap Agrippina and Nero, put over them souldiers as it were to record in Chronicles what messages they received, who reforted to them, what they did either secretly or openly. Farther there were others suborned to counsell them, to sty to the armie of Germany; or when the place of assembles was best replenished with people catch hold of Augusus and cry for succour of the people and Senate. And albeit, they gave eare to those devises; yet they were laid to their charge, as though they had intended them.

XV. A treacherous practife of three Senators to intrap Sabinus a Gentleman of Rome, and Agrippinaes friend: the death of Julia, Augustus neece.

Vnius Silvanus, and Silius Nerva being Confuls, the yeer had a foule beginning ; by reason Titus Sabinus an honourable gentleman of Rome was drawn to prison, A onely because he was a friend to Germanicus: never omitting to shew all tokens of dutie to his wife and his children; and of all Germanicus followers the onely man which visited them at her house, and accompanied them abroad and therefore commended by the good, and difliked by the bad. Against him Latinius Latiaris . Porcius Cato, Petitius Rufus, and M. Opsius, who had beene fometimes Consuls, bent their malice, through a greedinesse of the Consulship; which they could not obtain but by Sejanus means; and Sejanus liking could not be purchased, but by some notable peece of villany. They had so complotted betweene them, that Latiaris, who was iomewhat allied to Sabinus, should lay the suare, and the rest be present as witnesses; and then begin the accusation. Hereupon Latiaris, at the first began to cast out speeches at randon; then to extol his constancie, that he did not as others did, fawne in prosperitie, and shrinke from a house in adversitie; with other honourable speech of Germanicus, and bewailing and pitying Agrippinaes estate. And seeing Sabinus (as mens minds are soft and tender in calamitie) to powre downe teares and complaints, Latiaris began more boldly to touch Sejanus cruelty, pride, & the hope he gaped after: not forbearing unreverent speeches against Tiberius. These speeches as though they had beene fauced with some what which durst not bee avouched made shew of straight friendship betweene them: so far that Sabinus often times fought out Latiaris; frequented his house; uttered his griefes unto him, as to a most trustie and faithfull friend. Those whom I spake of before, consulted of some meanes how these speeches might be heard of many, for the place of their two meeting must be private: and if they should stand behinde the doore they were afraide of being feene, or of a noise; or lest some suspicion should grow by some chance. Betweene the roofe and the feeling, the three Senators (the place poleffe unseemely then the treason detestable) hid themselves, and laid their eares close to holes and chinkes to liften what was faid. In the meane space Latiaris having found Sabinus in the market place, as if he had some new matter to tell him, draweth him home, and into his chamber; beginneth to rip up things past and present, which yeelded store of matter; and inforceth new occasions of feare. Sabinus doth as much. and more at large: the nature of griefes being fuch, that when we once enter into them hardly can we finde an end. This done, they began immediatly their accusation, and sent letters unto Casar, declaring the order of their owne lewd practise, and shamefull act. The citie was never in greater perplexitie and feare, then at that times every man estranging himself even from his necrest kindred and acquaintance: they avoydedall meetings, conferences, eschewing as well known friends, as strangers: yea they have an eie to mute and fenfelesse things, and searched the roofes and wals of ther houses. But Tiberius requesting by writing that the solemnities of the new veer might be celebrated in the Kalends of January; turned his talke to Sabinus. charging him that he had corrupted some of his freed men, to attempt somewhat against his person; and therefore boldly demandeth a revenge, which without delay was granted; and being condemned, he was drawne and haled with his garment turned overhis head, and almost throtled, cried aloud; "Is this the begin. "ing of the new yeer? be these thesacrifices which are slaine in Scianus honour? "which way foever he did cast his eies, or unto whom foever he directed his speech. "they all fled: the place of affemblies and the streets were empty, some came back "and shewed themselves againe, afeard for that they were seene to bee afeard. For "what day was past free from executions, if betwixt the facrifices and the vowes, at "what time the custome was to abstaine from prophane speeches, fetters and cords "are spoken of? And it was said that Tiberius could not through ignorance incurre "this hatred; but contrary, that he fought to have it known, that without any let, "new Magistrates might as well open the prisons, as Temples and Altars. After that he sent letters of thanks giving, that they had punished an enemy to the State; adding with all, that he stood in feare of his life, and was jealous of his enemies practifes. though naming none: yet no man doubted but he aimed at Nero and Agrippina. If I had not purposed to declare the occurrents of the yeers as they fell out. I could willingly in this place have fet down before his time, what end's Latinius, and Opfius, and the other contrivers of that lewd practife had come unto; not onely after that C. Cesar was come to the Empire, but whilest Tiberius was yet alive: who, as he would not fuffer the ministers of his wickednesse to be punished by others . so oftentimes having had of their fervice his fill, and fresh offered to continue the trade. hee fought all means to extinguish the old, as persons odious unto him. But what punishment these, and others of the like conditions endured, shall be declared in his place and time. Then Asinius Gallus whose children Agrippina was ant unto, thought it convenient that Tiberius should utter unto the Senators of whom he stood in fear, and suffered them to be removed. But it was thought Tiberius of all his vertues was fond of none so much as of his dissimulation; and therefore disliked much that he should be urged to disclose that which he went about to conceale. But Sej anu, tempered the matter; not for any love he bare Gallus; but because he would have the Princes lingring delayes come to light, knowing well that he was flow in his deliberations: but if he had once fet them abroach, that his bad speeches were joyned with cruell deeds. The same time Iulia died, whom Augustus having convicted of adultery, had exiled into the Iland Timerus, not farre from the Apulian shores: where the endured twenty yeers exile, fuftained by Augusta; whose manner was by fecret practifes to subvert her fons in law when they were in prosperitie, and openly shew them pity when they were in misery.

XVI. The Frisans rebell against the Romans: Agrippina, Germanicus daughter is married to C. Domitius.

HE same yeere the Frisians beyond Rhene for sooke their obedience, rather through our covetousnesse, then impatiency of living under our subjection. Drusus in regard of their small abilitie, had imposed a small tribute on them which was a certaine of oxe hides for the warre, no man respecting what strength or largenesse they were of: untill Olennius a Captaine of a principall ensigne and governor of the Frisians made choice of the skins of the beast called Urus, and of that bignes. As that had beene a heavy burden for other nations; fo the Germans could leaft of all others endure it: whose woods although full of huge savage beasts; vet at their houses have but small heards; first therefore they delivered these oxen; then their possessions; and lastly the bodies of their wives and children into bondage. From hence grew their griefe and complaints: and feeing that no man relieved them, they fought a redreffe by warre; layd hands on fuch fouldiers as received the tribute, and hanged them up. Olennius escaped the fury of the enemy by flying to a Castle called Flevus, strengthened with no small power of citizens & confederates. which held the coafts of the Ocean in Subjection. Which when L. Apronius Propretor of low Germany, understood, he sent for the chiefest ensignes of the legions of higher Germany, and aids as well of the horsmen as footmen, & brought both the armies over Rhene, into the Frisian land: the rebels for saking the siege of the castle to defend their own. Then Apronius maketh causeys and banks, & strong bridges over the next arme of the sea, for the huge army to passe over. And in the mean time having found some toords, commandeth the wing of the Caninefates, & such footmen as served under us, to hemme in the enemy behind. Who ranged into battell aray to fight, drove back the confederates, and legionary horsemen sent as an aide. After that were fent three cohorts lightly armed, then two more: and a little after a ftrong company of horsemen. Strength sufficient, if they had charged couragiously together; but coming some after some, and dropping in by companies; they neither gave courage to the fearefull, but carried away themselves with like feare, ran all away for company. The refidue of the aides he committed unto Cethegus Labeo. Lieutenant of the fift legion: who perceiving things to go doubtfull on his fide, sent to demand more ande of the legions. The fift legion couragiously issuing first out with a hot skirmish, put the enemy to flight, received into them the wounded and wearied cohorts. The Romanc Captaine fought neither to revenge, nor bury the dead bodies; although there had beene flaine many Tribunes, Prefects, and divers Centurions of marke and fame. It was after known by the fugitives, that the fight held on untill the next day, and that there were nine hundred Romanes slaine in a wood called Baduhenna: and that another power of foure hundred which had taken the village of Cruptorix, (which sometime had received pay of the Romanes) fearing treason, flew one another. This got the Frifians great renown among the Germanes: Tiberius diffembling his losses, lest he should commit the charge to some other: and the Senate, being possessed with domesticall seare, regarded not much whether the remote part of the Empire went dishonourably to wrack or not: butstrucken (as I have faid) into a feare, fought a remedy by flattery. And albeit they had propounded many matters to deliberate on, yet they decreed, that all laide afide, there should bee two Altars erected, one unto Clemency, and another unto Friendship: and that Casars and Sejanus images should bee set about them: and intreated most earnestly they would vouch safe them so much favour as that they might fee him. Nevertheleffe they went neither to Rome, nor any place thereabout, but thought it sufficient if they went out of the Iland, and bee feenein Campania next adjoyning unto it. Thither reforted the Lords of the Senate, Gentlemen, and many of the common people, heavie for Sejanus, unto whom accesse was hardliest obtained; and that with great crouching, by approving and participating his designments. It well appeared his arrogancy grew greater, seeing he blufhed not to fee such open, base, and filthy servilitie used. For at Rome it was a usuall matter for men to walke the streets, and by reason the city is great, no man knew anothers businesse: but there somelying night and day in the field, some on the seashore, without any difference, endured either the pride of the porters, or had favour as pleafed them, untill that that was also denied them. Then they returned to citie with discontented feare, and Casar not having vouchfased either to looke. orspeake unto them: and some, whose unfortunate friendship with Sejanus porten. ded their imminent death, were glad in an ill time. Tiberius having publikely given his neece Agrippina Germanicus daughter unto Cn. Domitius: commanded that the marriage should be solemnized in the city. He made choise of Domitiua, as well for the antiquity of his stocke, as neerenesse in blood to the Casars: for Octavia was his grandmother, and by her, Augustus his unkle.



THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. The death of Julia. Tiberius crueltie increaseth his practises to make away Nero, and Agrippina.



Hen Rubellius and Fusius, both of them surnamed Geminus, were Confuls, Iulia Augusta died; being very aged, and of the noble samily of the Claudians; and besides, into the house of the Livians and Iulians adopted. She was first married unto Tiberius Nero, and had children by him; who being driven out of his countrey in the warre of Perusium, and a

peace after confirmed betwixt Sext. Pompeius and the Triumviri returned to the Citie again. After that Augustus ravished with her beautie (whether against her will or not it is uncertain) took her from her husband, shewing himself so luftful of ber, that not giving her time to be delivered of her first husbands childe, brought her great as she was to his own house. After that she had no issue, but being united to Augustus bloud, by the marriage of Germanicus and Agrippina, they had nephewes children common to them both. Her behaviour was, according to the carriage of ancient times; yet more courteous then women of former ages could well allow; an untolerable mother, a tractable wife, with the subtletie of her husband, and dissimulation of her sonne, well medled and composed. Her funerals were not sumptuous, her testament long voide. She was praised in a funerall oration before the Rostra by C. C.e far her nephews sonne, who not long after succeeded in soveraigntie. But Tiberius omitting no part of his pleasures, excused by letters his absence from his mothers obsequies, as though he had been hindred by important affaires; and under colour of modesty, cut off many honourable ceremonies, which the Lords of the Senate had decreed should be done in memory of her; and especially that no divine ceremony should be ordained for her, because (faid he) such was her will. And in part of the same letters he found fault with such as went about to win womens favour and good will: therein covertly carping the Confull Fusius, a man highly in Auguflus grace, and his crafts-mafter in winning of womens favour, a jefting mate, and oft accustomed bitterly to scoffe at Tiberius; a thing which great potentates kept long in memory. But now Tiberius began to grow worfe and worfe, and his rule tyrannous: for whilest his mother lived, there was some refuge left, because he had a long time accustomed to shew himself dutifull unto her; and Sejanus durst not crosse her: but then having as it were the bridle in their own hands, they brake loofe at once, and letters were fent against Agrippina and Nero; which the common people judged to have been sent before, but kept backe by Augusta: for not long after her death they were read in Senate, containing bitter and sharp words; yet never objected that he had born armes, or stirred any rebellion against him, but only unnaturall loves to young men, and incontinent life. But against his daughter in law he durst not object to much, but onely her arrogant and proud speeches, and obstinate minde. The Senators were stroken into a feare and silence, untill some few whose hopes depended

pended not an honest meanes, but made publike calamities occasion of private benesits; demanded that the matter might be referred to voices: Cotta Messalinus shewing himself most forward with a cruell sentence. But the other chiefe Gentlemen, and especially the magistrates were afraid; for although Tiberius had angerly inveighed against them, yet he left other things in doubt. There was in the Senate one Innius Rusticus, chosen by Casar to set down the acts of the Senators (and there. fore was thought to know beit his intent and purpose) who either by fatall destiny (for before he had given no token of his constancie) or subtile device, forgetting imminent perils, whilest he feareth uncertainties, thrusteth himself among the Consuls yet wavering and doubting what to do; and adviseth them not to put the matter to deliberation, faying: that greatest matters might be turned in a moment: and that some space of time ought to be given the old man to repent himselfe: and the people withall carrying Agrippinaes and Neroes images with them, environ the Senate house, and wishing all prosperous fortune to Casar, cry, that those letters were false; and that the overthrow of the Princes house was intended against the Princes will: and so there was nothing concluded that day in prejudice of the parties. Certaine counterfeit judgements were spread abroad against sejanus under the Confuls names. Some men secretly, and therefore the more saucily practiling their wits as their fancy led them, which yeelded Scjanus farther matter of calumnia. tion, and kindled his anger: faying that the Princes displeasure was nothing regarded: that the commons were at jarre with the Senate: that new orations and new decrees of Senate were heard and read now adaies. What remaineth butto take armes in hand? and choose those of their Captains and Emperours, whose images they had followed for their enfignes? Whereupon Cafar reiterating his injurious speeches against his nephew and daughter in law, and rebuking the people by edict; complained to the Senate, that the imperial majesty had been openly deluded and fcorned through the fraud of one of the Senators: and therefore required that the hearing of the cause might be reserved wholly unto himself. They consulted no farther on the matter, but condemned the parties, but not to death. because they were forbidden: and protested they were ready to execute revenge, if the Prince had not hindred them *.

* There wanteth very much of the story in this place, which hath perished through time.

II. The death of Sejanus; of his friends and children.
One faineth himselfe to be Drusus
Germanicus sonne.

Hether it be a more lamentable case to be accused for breach of friendfhip, or to accuse his friend, I cannot well judge: * no mans crueltie or
clemencie will Itry: * but free and bearing my selfe on my owne confecience, I will prevent danger. I be seech you, that you would not have mein remembrance rather in mourning and sad then joyfull manner and cheerefull, reckoning me in the number of those which have escaped publike calamities by an honorable end. Then talking now with one, now another, as by chance the were neere
unto him, he spent a great part of the day either in entertaining, or taking leave of
them. And having many about him, which noted how resolute and assured he was in
countenance, no mandreaming any such matter, with a sword which he had hidden
under his garments, slew himselfe: and after he was dead, Casar used no such reprochfull

prochfull and injurious speeches, nor objected any such hainous matter against him, as he did against Blefus. Afterthis, P. Vitellius, and Pomponius Secundus cause was heard. Vitellius they accused, that he had offered the coffers of the publicke treasury whereof he had charge, and the money which was in them for fouldiers pay, to stirrers up of new broiles. The other Considius, who had been once Pretor. accused for having had great friendship and amitie with Velius Gallus, who after that Sejanus was punished, fled to Pomponius gardens, as to a place of fafe refuge: both of them in their diffresse having no other comfort left but the constancy of their brothers; who became baile for their life. Shortly after, Vitellius through many delayes betwixt hope and feare wearied out, under colour of using it in his ftudie, asking for a penknife, lightly prickt a veine, and ended his life with griefe and anguish of minde. But Pomponius being a Gentleman of agallant carriage and excellent wit, bearing adverse fortune patiently, overlived Tiberius. Then was there order taken though the peoples anger were mitigated, and many others pacified with the former punishment, that the rest of Sejanus children should be punished. Whereupon they were carried to prison, the son having some feeling of the danger which hung over his head; but the daughter was fo simple, that she often asked, whither they would leade her, and for what? that she would do no more so and that it was fufficient to chastife her with the rodde like a childe. The Writers of that time affirme, that because it was never heard of before, that a virgin should be put to death according to the custome of the Triumviri: that she was deflowed by the executioner immediately before the haltar was put about her neck; and both strangled. The bodies of these young and tender children were cast into the Gemonies, a place where condemned persons were thrownedowne headlong. About the same time, Asia and Achaia were put into a very great fright, though it continued not long, with a rumour that Drusus, Germanicus sonne, had been seene first in the Ilands Cyclades, and afterward in the continent. But it was a young man of like age, whom some of Casars freed men by a subtile practise followed, bearing men in hand, they knew it to be him. Such as knew him not, were drawne by the fame of his name, and the Greeks especially, prone to all new and strange wonders. It was reported he had escaped out of prison and fled to his fathers army, fome both fayning and beleeving withall that he would invade Egypt or Syria. Youth flocked already to him very cheerefully; many fignes of love publikely shewne him, feeding themselves with the present vaine hope of what might happen. When as Poppaus Sabinus had tydings thereof, who was then occupied in the affairs of Macedonia, had charge also over Achaia: he therefore, were the report true or false, to prevent all things, hastening over the Toronæan and Thermean cut, and passing by Euboea, an Iland of the Ægean sea, and Piræum a coast of Attique, the Corinthian shore, and the straights of Isthmus; by another sea came to Nicopolis, a colonie of the Romans: and there after a carefull examination understandeth who heeshould bee. Hee said he was M. Silanus sonne, and that many of his followers having forfaken him, hee embarked himfelfe, as though he meant to travell into Italy. These things he signified to Tiberius by writing: neither have we found anything more of the beginning or end of this matter. Towards the end of the yeer a quarell of certaine Confuls burst forth, which had been a long time a breeding. For Trio little regarding what enemies he procured, and well practifed at the barre, under hand carped Regulus, as being carelesse in oppressing Sejanus ministers. Regulus, unlesse greatly provoked, of a temperate and cold humour, did not onely answer and quaile his fellow Confull, but brought him within the compasse of conspiracie, and to be examined for it. And although many of the Lords of the Senate intreated them that they would furcease their quarell, which would grow to their owne overthrow; yet they continued their grudge and menaces one against the other, untill they went bothout of office.

The end of the fifth Booke.

THE

SIXTH BOOKE THE ANNALES

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. of Tiberius lascivious life. Pursuing of Livia and Sejanus. Cotta accused.



V. Domitius and Camillus Scribonianus entered the Confulship, when Cafar having passed the straight betwixt Capreas and Surrentum, coasted Campania, doubtfull whether he should enter into the Citie or not: perhaps because he had otherwise resolved in his mind, though making shew he would come: oftentimes approaching neere the Citie, and to

the gardens along Tiber, and returning back againe to the rocks, and defarts of the Sea, to cover the shame of his lascivious life: which so unstayedly hee wallowed in, that, as the manner of the Kings was, hee defiled and abused noble mens fons under age; and not onely the welfavoured and comlicit, but the modest and well nurtured, and whose modest behaviour shewed the stock from whence they grew, ferved him for provocation of filth. Then first of all were those unknown words of Sellaries and Spintries found out of the filthinesse of the place, and fundry forts of sufferance of abuse. Some of his flaves had charge to seek them out, and bring them to him; alluring fuch by gifts as shewed themselves willing and readie. and threatning fuch as refused: and if either their neer friends or parents went about to detaine them, and used violence, and carried them away perforce; and exercifed their wils on them as if they had beene captives. But at Rome in the beginning of the veer fevere judgements were given against Livia, and against her images, and other memories confecrated in her honour, as if her lewdnesse had then first come to light, and had not bin already punished. The Scipioes gave their opinion that Sejanus goods should be taken from the publike treasury, and put in the Princes private cofers. The Silanians and Cassians were of the same opinion, and urged it with the same termes, or not greatly changed: when on the sudden and unlooked for, Tozonius Gallus among those Noblemen, thrusting himselfe forward, being but of base and low calling, had the hearing given him, as a matter to laugh at: for he defired the Prince to choose twentie by lot out of a certaine number of Senators, to guarde and defend his person with weapon, as oft as he went to the Senate. Hebeleeved peradventure that Tiberius had meant good earnest when he required that one of the Confuls might conduct and aide him from Caprea to the Citie. Tiberius neverthelesse accustomed sometimes to interlace serious matters with skoffes, thanked the Lords for their good will: yet demanded whom hee might omit? or whom he might choose? whether alwaies the same, or sometimes others? in their flead? fuch as had borne office, or young men? private persons or Magi-" strates? what a goodly fight it would be to fee them take a sword in hand at the en->> trie of the Counfell house? neither would he make such account of his life, if hee? were to maintaine it by armes. This he answered to Togonius, tempering his words, "? and perswaded no farther the disallowing of that opinion. But he rebuked Iunius? Gallio very bitterly, who propounded that the fouldiers of the guarde after their

fervice was ended, might have a roome in the fortieth ranke of feats: and asked him as it had been in their presence, "What he had to do with fouldiers? for whom "it was not lawfull either to receive commandement or gift, but of the Emperour. "or whether he had found out that which Augustus of famous memory could not "provide for? It was rather a matter of discord and sedition, sought for by one of "Sejanus followers, to stirre up rude mindes under title of honour to corrupt the cu-"Rome of service. This was the reward which Gallio received for his artificiall flatterie; and anonafter was driven out of the Councell-house, and then out of Italy. And because it was objected that he could easily indure exile, having made chovce of the famous and noble lle of Lesbos, he was recalled to the City, and kept in the Magistrates houses. In the same letters, to the greet contentment of the Lords of the Senate, Casar touched Sectius Pagonianus, who had been sometimes Pretor, to the quick: audacious, malignant, and prying into all mens fecrets; beloved of se. ianus, and by him employed to lay snares to intrap C. Casar: which being once laid open, all the hatred along time hatched against him burst forth; and fentence of death decreed against him, if he had not promised to bewray the complices. But when Acreus had accused Latinius Latiaris hated both alike, it was a most gratefull spectacle unto all. Latiaris, as I have rehearsed before, was the principall agent of circumventing Titius Sabinus; and then the first that received punishment for it. Among these accusations Haterius Agrippa setteth upon the Consuls of the latt yeer, asking them why they are now fo still, and cease from the accusations begunne the one against the other? it was feare, and guilt of conscience which made them friends; but the Lords of the Senate would not so put up that which they had heard. Regulus faid, he would ftay for a time of revenge, and that he would profe. cute the matter before the Prince. Trio answered, that emulation and envie betwist collegues were better forgotten, and injurious words, if any had passed. Agripps urging on still, Sanquinius Maximus one of the Confuls, defired the Senators that they would not increase the Emperours cares by hunting after matter of dislike. and that he himselfe was able to redresse these things; and so Regulus life was saved, and Trices ruine deferred. Haterius was fo much the more odious, because that withered and unlufty with fleepe, or lafcivious watchings, and through his dull droufie disposition, nothing fearing the Prince, though cruell, even in his brothell houses, and loosest lasciviousnes, dreamt of nothing but how to subvert the nobilitie. Afterthat, Cotta Messalinus, the author of every cruell sentence, and hated of old, as foone as occasion was offered, was accused to have uttered certaine things against Casar: and among others, that he was in his secret parts both man and woman, and after a banquet on the birth day of Augusta among the Priests, he tearmed that a Novendinall supper, or belonging to a mortuary: and that repining at M.Ltpidus, and L. Aruntius power and authoritie, having a fuite depending against them for a money matter, he should say, that them the Senate would defend, but me my little Tiberius will support. The chiefe of the citie convicted him without any delay, and pursuing him eagerly, he appealed to the Emperour. And not long after letters were brought from Tiberius, in which in manner of a defence, calling to minde the beginning of friendship betweene him and Cotta, and his many good turnes and services, requested that words might not be hardly wrested, and that the simplicity of table talk might not be imputed to him as a crime. The beginning of these letters of Casars was worth the noting, which was this: "What Ishall write unto you Lords "of the Senat, or how I shal write, & what I shal not write at all, at this time the gods "and the goddeffes confound me worfe then I feel & know my felfe daily to perilh, "if I know. So farre his villanous demeanour turned to his own scourge and punishment. And therefore that most deepe wise man did not say without cause, that if Tyrants minds were layd open, a man should see them torne and rent in sunder: for as the body is rent with stripes; so the mind is tormented with cruelty, wanton as ections, and evil counsels. For neither his great fortune, nor solitary places could lesend Tiberius, but that himselfe confessed the torments and punishment which lay idden in his breast. Then the Senators having received authority to determine serious according to their wills, who had uttered many things against Cotta: heir judgement was that he should receive the same punishment, that Aruseius and sanguinius had, who were L. Arrustius accusers. Then the which nothing ever, appened more honourable to Cotta: who being indeed of noble birth, but through iot needy, and infamous for his vices, in honourable punishment is made equall to Arrustius, a man of sincere and honest life.

of Cornelius Tacitus.

II. Terentius defences, why he should not be punished like unto others of Sejanus friends,

Vintus Sirveus afterthis, and Minutius Thermus were brought in. Servaus had beene Pretor, and Germanicus companion. Minutius a Gentleman, and who in Sejanus friendship had carried himselfe modestly, and therefore both the more pitied. But Tiberius contrariwise blaming them as principall agents, commanded C. Castins an old Senator, to report unto the Senators what he had writtenunto him: whereupon C.estim undertooke the accusation: a miserable calamitie of those times that the chiefest of the Senators, some openly, some secretly played the part of base promooters: and further, no man able to know the stranger from the kinsman; nor friends from fuch as he never faw before; nor things lately committed from fuch as through continuance of time were almost forgotten. They were accused of all they had spoken wheresoever, either in the place of assemblies, or at their table; every man making hast to prevent, and be before another in carrying of tales; fome of them to fave themselves; other some infected as it were with adifease gotten by conversing with others. But Minutius and Servaus were condemned, and their goods given the accusers. Iulius Africanus borne at Santon atowne in Gallia, and Seins Quadratus were drawne into the like mishap; but the occasion why, I have not found. I am not ignorant that the dangers and punishment of many have beene omitted by writers being over-wearied with multitude; or fearing left those things should be tedious to the Readers, which seemed superfluous and lamentable to themselves in rehearling. There have come many things to our eares worthy the knowledge: although other have not once touched them. For at the felfe-fametime that the reft colourably feemed to shake of the amitie they had with Sejanus, M. Terentius a Gentleman of Rome, although arraigned for his labour, durst avouch it, beginning his speech for his defence before the Lords of the Senate in this manner. It would be peradventure leffe behoovefull for my estate to acknowledge then deny the crime I am charged with: but hap what hap may, I will, confesse that I have beene Sejanus friend, and that I desired so to be; and that after, I had obtained his friendship I was glad of it. I had seene him joynt Officer with ,, my father in the government of the Prætorian Cohort, and not long after in mana., ging of citie affaires and matters c. war. His kinsmen and allies were advanced to honor: as every man was inward with Sejanus, fo was he graced by Cafar. And con-,, trariwile, such as were not in his favour, lived in feare and distressed with povertie.,, Neither doe I alleage any man for an example of this: all of us who were not privy, to his last attempts, with the danger of my onely estate I will defend. Not Seja-,, " nu the Vuliniensis: but a part of the Claudian and Julian family, which by alliance "he had entred into; thy fonne in law Cafar, thy companion in the Confulfhip, and "him who tooke upon him thy charge of administring the common-wealth, wee did "reverence and honour. It is not our parts to judge of him whom thou doeft exalta-"boyethe rest, nor for what considerations. To thee the highest judgment of things "the gods have given; and unto us the glory of obedience is left. Wee looke unto "those things which wee see before our eyes; whom thou doest inrich; whom thou "doest advance to honours; who have greatest power of hurting or helping; which "Sejanus to have had no man will deny. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he goe "abourany fecret drift, it is not lawfull to found, and dangerous: neither shalt thou "in the end reach unto them. Thinke not onely (Lords of the Senate) of Sejanus last "day but of sixteene yeeres; in which we did likewise fawne upon, and court Satrius "and Pomponius; and to be knowneunto his freed men and partners, was reckoned as a "high favour. What then? Shall this defence be generall, and not diftinguished, buta "confusion made of times past, and his latter actions? No: but let it, by just bounds "and termes be devided. Let the treasons against the common-wealth, the intenti-"ons of murdering the Emperour be punished: but as for the friendship, duties, plea "fures and good turnes; the same end shall discharge and quit thee (O Casar) and "us. The constancy of his Oration, one being found to deliver that, which they all thought in their minds: preveiled fo much, that his accusers by ripping up their old faults, were punished, either with exile, or death.

III. The cause of making a Prefett at Rome: an examen of some of the Sibyls bookes.

Fter that Tiberius sent letters against Sext. Vestilius sometime Pretor, and welbeloved of Drusus his brother, & chosen to be one of his gard. The cause L Sof displeasure against Vestilius; was either because he had composed certaine writings against Casars uncleane life, or falily fathered upon him, gave credit to the reporters: & thereupon being banished the prices court & familiarity, having first gone about with his owne old feeble hand to flay himselfe bound up his veines: and in the meane space having intreated the princes favour, and received a rigorous answere, did at last open them. Then at once were accused of treason, Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Scaurus Mamercus, Sabinus Calvisius, and Vienianus also brought in with his father for company, all of them well descended and some in authority. The Lords of the Senate quaked for feare; for how many was there which was not either allied, or a friend of one of those noble men? But Callus Tribune of the citie cohort, and then an informer delivered Appius and Calvi sus from danger. Casar deferred Pollioes, Vicinianus and Scaurus cause, that himselfe might have the hearing of it with the Senators: having given out already tokens of heavy displeasure against Scaurus. Not so much as women but were partakers of danger: and if not attainted for attempting to aspire to the Empire; yet brought in question for their teares: and Vitia an old woman Fusius Geminus mother was put to death, because she bewailed the death of her fonne. These things were done in Senate. And where the Prince was, the like was practifed: Vescularius Atticus, and Iulus Marinus two of his most familiar friends, which accompanied him to Rhodes, and at Capreas never departed from him, were put to death. Vescularius was the messenger to and fro when the treacherie was wrought against Libo. Marinus was of Sejanus counsell when he put Curtius Atticus to death; most men being glad to see them taken in the snare they

faid for others. About the fame time L. Pifo high Priest died a natural death, which was a rare matter in those times in a man of so great nobility: He never of himselfe propounded any matter which smelled of flattery or base mindes; and if he were forced thereto, he used great moderation in doing it. His father, as I have already said. had been Cenfor; he lived to the age of fourescore; having in Thrace deserved the triumphall ornaments. But his greatest credit rose in that, that being newly created Provoft of the Citie, he did governe exceeding moderately all the time of his conrinuall rule: irksome through unwontednesse of obedience. For in times past when the Kings or Confuls went out of the City, left the should be left without governement, there was one chosen for a time able to give every man right, and provide for all fudden accidents. And it is faid that Dentres Romulus, had the fame charge given him by Romulus; after that, Numa Marcius by Tullus Hostilius, and Spurius Lucretus by Tarquinius Superbus. Then that the Confuls had the charge of committing this office and a shadow of it continueth unto this day: as oft as the Latine feasters are folemnized, one is appointed over the rest to exercise the room of a Consult. But Augustus in the time of civill warres, made Cilnius Meanas a Gentleman, Provost over Rome and all Italy. Then being Lord and master of the Empire by reason of the greatnes of the people, and flow aide which the Laws afforded; he chose out one, of fuch as had beene Confuls, to bridle the bond-men and fuch Citizens as through audaciousnesse would grow troublesome, unlesse they stood in awe. The first that received that authoritie; but kept it but a while, was Messalla Corvinus, as unable to discharge it. Then Taurus Statilius, although he were very good, went through it with great commendation. After that Pifa was well liked for the space of twenty yeers, and by order of the Senate honoured with publike funerals. It was afterward propounded before the Lords of the Senat by Quintilianus Tribune of the people, concerning the Sibyls book, which Caninius Gallus one of the fifteene, requested might be received among other books of the same prophetesse; & demandedit might be so established by decree of Senate: which being given by common consent, Casar sent letters somewhat reprehending the Tribune, as ignorant of the old custome by reason of his youth; and upbraided Gallus that being old and practifed in the science and ceremonies; neverthelesse had demanded the opinion of the Scnators not fully affembled; the authour being uncertain and before the Colledge had yeelded their judgement; neither as the custome was, the verses having beene read and waighed by the Matters. Withall he advertised them, because that many vaine things were published under the name of famous men, that Augustus had under penaltie fet down a day, within which fuch books should be brought to the city-Pretor; and that it was not lawfull for any to have them in their private possession. The like decree was established by our Predecessours also, and after that the Capitoll was burnt in the civill warre, their verses were sought in Samum, in Ilium, Erythrum, through Africkalfo, Sicily, and the Colonies of Italy, whether they were one or many: the businesse being committed to the Priests to distinguish the true Prophecies from the false, as weer as might be by the judgement of man. And then also the book was referred to the examination of the fifteene. When the same men were Confuls, through a dearth of corne and other provisions, they grew almost to a commotion: and many things for many dayes together were in the Theatre more licenciously demanded with greater eagernesse, then the manner had beene to demand things of the Emperours, Whereat being moved, heblamed the Magistrates and Senators that they had not by publike authoritie bridled the infolencie of the people: and added withall, how far greater quantity of come he had earsed to bee brought then Augustus, and out of what Provinces. Whereupon a decree of Senate was enacted, to reftraine the people, according to the ancient severitie, the Consuls being no lesses forward to publish it: his owne silence in the cause was not construed to be a point of civilitie as he looked it should be, but was imputed to his pride. In the end of that yeer, Geminius, Celfus, Pompeius, Gentlemen of Rome, were put to death for conspiracies; among which, Geminius through prodigalitie and loosenesses of life, and a friend to Sejamus, was a man of nothing. And Iulius Celsus a Tribune, loosing the chaine he was bound with at large; then winding it about and forcing himselfe a contrary way, brake his owne neck. But Rubrius Fabatus des spaining of the Romane affairs, and sleeting to the Parthians, and brought back safe from the straights of Sicily by a Centurion, had keepers appointed him, not able to alleadge any probable causes of his long voyages; yet he escaped unpunished, rather through forgetfulnessee here comency.

IIII. Tiberius marrieth his neeces. V surers accused, and the inconvenience that ensued.

Er. Galba, and L. Sulla being Confuls, Tiberius having a long time bethought himselse what husbands he should provide his Neeces, whose age now came on, made choise of L. Cassius, and M. Vinicius. Vinicius kindred came out of a fmall towne, himselfe borne at Calles: but his father and grandfather were Confuls: the rest of his kindred were Gentlemen: he was of a milde disposition, and very eloquent. L. Cassius was descended of one of the common people at Rome, but ancient and noble, and brought up under the severe discipline of his father, and oftner commended for his courtefie then industrie. To him he giveth Drufilla to Finicius Iulia, both Germanicus children: and writeth to the Senate touching that matter, with a light commendation of the young men. Then having yeelded fome causes of his absence, but very extravagant, came to matters of greater moment, and the displeasures and dislikes he had incurred for the Common-wealth: and requested that Macro the Provost, and some few of the Tribunes and Centurions, might as oft as he came to the Senate, enter into the Curia with him. And albeit the Senate made a decree very generall, without prescribing any number, or qualitie of persons, he was so farre from coming to any private Counsell, that he never came so much as to the Citie; coasting about it, and for the most part in bywayes, and still avoiding his Countrey as much as he could. In the meane feafon, a great rabble of informers rose up against such Usurers as took more for consideration of their money, then they might by the law made by Cafar the Dictator concerning the manner of lending, and holding possession within Italy, long neglected heretofore, because the publike good is lesse set by, then private commoditie. Usurie in very deede hath beene an old disease in the Citie, and often a cause of feditions and discords; and for that cause hath been restrained in ancient and lesse corrupt times. For first it was ordained by the law of the twelve tables, that no man should take above one in the hundred; when as before that time, it was as pleased the monied men. After that, by a Tribunitian law it was brought unto halfe one in the hundred; and in the end Usury was wholly forbidden: and many lawes made by the people to cut offall fraude, which often repressed, revived againeby strange slights and devises. But then Gracchus being Pretor, unto whom the examining of that question fell, constrained by the multitude of such as were indangered thereby; propounded the matter before the Lords of the Senate: who daunted thereat (for there was not one of them free from that fault) craved respite of the prince: he granted them a yeere and fixe moneths: within which time . every man according to the prescript of law should settle his estate, and make up his domestical accompts. Hereupon every man calling in his debts, on a sudden ensued a great want and scarcity of money; and by reason so many were condemned, and their goods fold, all the money ready coyned went either to the Princes. orpublike treasurie. Besides this, the Senate ordayned that two parts of the usery money should be bestowed upon lands in Italy: but the creditours disliked that . and urged the payment of the whole, as a matter impayring the credit of the parties convented, to goe from their word. So at the first there was great running hither and thither, and entreaties: then they flocked about the Pretors tribunall: and those things which were found for a remedy, as felling and buying of fuch mens goods. turned to a contrary effect, because the Userers had hoorded up all their money to buyland. And because the multitude of sellers, was cause that the value of lands was rated at a very low and vileprice: how much the more a man was indebted. the lother he was to fell. And many were thrust out of all they had: and the decay of their wealth carried their credit and fame headlong after, untill Tiberius releeved them, by putting a * hundred million sesterces in banke, and lent it for three * Alout veeres space without consideration or interest, if the debtor could give security to 781250 posted. the people of Rome in lands double the value of the debt. By that meanes their credit was restored, and other particular creditors by little and little found: neither was the buying of lands practifed according to the forme of the decree of Senate. hotly at the beginning purfued, as almost all fuch things are; but in the end careless v neglected.

V. C. Cæsar marrieth Claudia, daughter unto M. Silanus: what proofe Tiberius made of Trasullus skill.

Fter that, the old feares returne againe, Considius Proculus being accused of Atreason: who celebrating his birth day not doubting any thing, was drawn to the Curia, and at the same time condemned and put to death; and his fifter Sancia banished, 2. Pomponius being accuser, who being of an unquiet and bufie disposition, pretended he had done this and that, and all to currie favour with the Prince, thereby to fleed his brother Pomponius Secundus, who was then in danger. Banishment is likewise decreed against Pompeia Macrina, whose husband and father in law, the one of Argos, and the other of Lacedæmen; men of mark and reputation among the Achæans, Casar had already afflicted and brought to ruine. Her father likewise, a famous gentleman of Rome, and her brother, who had been Pretor, seeing that their condemnation was at hand, flew themselves. It was imputed unto them for a fault, that Gn. Magnus made reckoning as of a special friend of Theophanes Mytilenaus their great grandfather: and that the Grecian flattery after his death, had given him divine honour. After these Sext. Marius the richest man of all Spaine, was accused to have committed incest with his daughter, and was cast headlong from the Tarpeian rock. And little doubt but his exceeding wealth was his overthrow: for although his gold mines were confiscated, yet Tiberius reserved them for himselse; and by much bloud shedding growing more bloudy, commanded all those to be executed which were in prison, and accused of confederacy with Sejanus. The butchery was great in all fexes, and allages, noblemen, common people, scattered here and there, or gathered into heapes. Neither was it lawfull for neere kinfmen and friends to be prefent, to bewaile their case; nor yet to come oft to see them: but there were watches and spies on every side, intentive to prie what lamen. tation every man made, which followed the putrified bodies, until they were throw. en into the river of Tiber. Andifany of them were found floting on the water or driven to the bankes, no man durst burne them nor touch them: all familiar so. citie and intercourse of humanitie was lost throw seare and violence: and how much crueltie increased; so far pity was banished. About the same time C. Casar bearing his Grandfather company from Capreas, tooke to wife Claudia daughter of M. Silanus, cloaking his cruelland bloudy disposition with a counterfeit modesty. not once uttering fo much as a word of the condemning of his mother; the banishing of his brothers: but what soever minde Tiberius had put on, of the like habite hee shewed himselfe; and not much differing from him in words. Whereupona witty faying of the Orator Passienus was commonly applyed to him: That there was never better servant then he, nor worser master. I will not omit Tiberius prophefie of Sergius Galbathen Confull: who having fent for him, and founded him of fet purpose with divers speeches; at last in Greek uttered unto him this sentence: And thou Galba at sometime shalt taste of the Empire. Signifying that his rule should be long a coming, and dure but a short time; as learning that skill of the Chaldwans Art; for attaining of which he had idle time at Rhodes, and Trasullu for his mafter; whose cunning he tried by this meanes. As oft as he would consult with them touching any matter, he went up to the highest part of the house with onely one freed man in his company, unlearned, but of a strong and able bodie; whom he caused to leade him the way over hard and difficult passages and broken rockes (for his house did hang over the rockes) whose cunning and Art Tiberius did purpose to trie: that in returning backe, if any jealousie of vanitie or treacher had entered into his minde, he would throw him headlong in the Sea which was under him, left he should bewray his fecrets. Trasulus being then brought into those rocks, and moving Tiberius which moved him many questions, and foretelling him very skilfully future things, and that he should be Emperour; Tiberius asked him farther, whether he had found out the houre of his owne nativitie; and what should happen to himselfe that yeere, and that same day. Who having considered the aspects of the Starres, and measured their distances, began first to doubt: and then to feare: and the more he viewed them; fo more and more he was surprised with admiration and feare; and at last cryed out, that he was ready to fall into most doubtfull and imminent danger. Then Tiberius embracing him rejoyced that he had foreseene his owne dangers, and promised he should escape them; and taking those things which he had said for Oracles, held him afterward among the number of his deerest friends. When I heare of these and the like things, I can give no certaine judgement, whether the affairs of mortall men are governed by fate and immutable necessitie; or have their course and change by chance and fortune. For thoushalt finde, that as well those which were accounted wise in ancient times, as fuch as were imitators of their fect, doe varie and difagree therein: fome doe refolutely believe that the gods have no care of mans beginning or ending; no, not of man at all. VV hereofit proceedeth that the vertuous are toffed and afflicted with fo many miseries; and the vitious and bad triumph with so great prosperities. Contrarily others are of opinion, that fate and deftiny may well fland with the course of our actions, yet nothing at all depend of the Planets and Starres, but proceed from a connexion of naturall causes as from their beginning. And these grant withall, that we have free choise and election what course of life to follow: which being

chosen, we are guided after, by a certaine order of causes unto our end. Neither doe they esteeme those things to be good or bad which the vulgar fort doe so call; for many which seeme to be oppressed with misery, are happy if they endure their adversitie with constancie: and many which slow in wealth, in most miserable estate; if they use their prosperitie unadvisedly. And yet of some it may be said, that their destinies are known at their birth: and if they fall out otherwise then hath been foretold, it proceedeth of the ignorance of the deceisfull reporter; and so the art is discredited, whose cleare and evident proofes, former and present times have tried for by the sonne of the same Trasallus, Nerves Empire was foretold, as in convenient time it shall be declared, because I will not now digresse from my purpose.

VI. Tiberius crueltie against Drusus: the death of Agrippina and others: Julia, daughter unto Drusus, is married unto Rubellius Blandus.

He same men being Consuls, Asinius Gallus died; and no man doubting, but for want of taking fustenance; but whether willingly or of necessitie, that is uncertaine. And Cafar being asked, whether he would suffer him to bee buried. was not ashamed to permit it; and further to accuse chance and fortune, that had taken away the criminall person before he had beene openly convinced; as though that in three yeers space there wanted time of proceeding to judgement against an old Confull, and father of fo many Confuls. After that, Drufus was made away, havino sustained himselfe the space of nine dayes with a miserable food, by eating the flocks of his bed. Some have written, that Macro had order fent him, that if Seianus should attempt to take arms, the young man should bee setcht out of prison (for he was kept in the Palace) and made Captaine over the people; but because it was incontinently rumored that Cafar would be reconciled to his daughter in law, and nephew, he shewed that he defired rather cruelty, then to forry for that he had done: vea and having inveighed against him after he was dead, objected he was loose of life, hurtfull and dangerous to his, and evilly affected toward the Common-wealth: and withall commanded all that to be recited, which he had caused day by day to beput in writing, both of his words and deeds: a thing fo cruell that nothing more, that he should so many yeers have appointed spies to observe his countenance, his lamentation, yea private murmurings: and fearce credible, that the grandfather could endure to heare it, readeit, and publishit, were it not that the letters of Actius the Centurion, and Didymus his Freed-men did declare the names of fuch bondflaves, which had either strucken Drufus, or put him in a fright, as he went out of his chamber. Year he Centurion added his owne words, full of cruelty against Drusus, as a matter worthy praise; and Drusus answer againeas he fainted and drew towards his end: in which, taining as though he had been diffracted of his wits, withed Tiberius all ill luck and mistortune: and then feeing himfelfe past all hope of life, curfed him most deadly, praying the gods, that as he had slaine his daughter in law, his brothers fon, and his nephewes, and filled all his house with bloud; so they would revenge and punish him for an example to his name, his stock, predecesfours, and posterity. The Lords of the Senate were troubled with these speeches, making shew of detesting them, but they were stricken into a feare and admiration; that hee, who had been so cunning and crasty heretofore in cloaking his lewdnesse, should now become so consident, that (as though the wals were throwne downe) he durft shew that his nephew beaten by his Centurion and strucken by his

flaves should ask for meat in vaine to save his life. This griefe was scarce gone, but the next news were of Agrippina, whom I think fince Sejanus death untill now lived with hope; and feeing that crueltie was no whit remitted, willingly ended her life; unlesse that famished for want of sustenance, it was falsely given out sheedied that death of her felfe. For Tiberius layd grievous crimes to her charge, accufing her of uncleannesse of life; and that Asinius Gallus was the adulterer; and that seeing him dead, she loathed any longer to live. But in very deed Agrippina not contented with reason, and greedy of rule, taking upon her cares fit rather for men then women, had shaken offall vices incident to her own fexe. She died the selfe same day that two veers before Sejanus died; which Cafar thought worthy of record; and vaunted that the had neither been strangled, northrowne headlong from the Gemonics. For this he had thankes given him by the Senate; and order taken that the fifteene Kalends of November, which was the day they both died, some gift should be offered up to lapiter. Not long after Cocceius Nerva, who was continually at the Princes elbow: a man very expert in divine and humane lawes, being in perfect disposition of body, refolved with himselfe to die: which when Tiberius understood, he went to visit him, sate by him, and inquired the causes of his intention, and intreated him; confessing at last that it would be a burden to his conscience, and a discredit, if the chiefest of his friends should without cause of death shew himselfe wearvol life. But Nerva difliking his speech, would take no more fustenance. Those which best knew his meaning, gave out, that deepely seeing into what calamities the common-wealth was like to fall into, moved with anger and feare, whilest his credit was untouched, and his person unattempted, would end his life with that honest death, Agrippinaes ruine driven with it (which is scarce credible) Plancinaes destruction. She had been once wife unto Gn. Pifo, and rejoyced openly at Germanicus death; and when Pifo was flaine, the was faved no leffe by Augustaes prayers, then ill will the bare Agrippina. As soone as hatred and savour failed, right took place; and being accused of known crimes, with her owne hand received rather late then undeserved punishment. Among other griefes in a dolefull and sad city, this was one; that Inlia, daughter unto Drusus, once Neroes wife, married againe into Rubellius Blandus family, whose grandfather Tiburtes a gentleman of Rome most menknew. In the end of this yeer, the death of Aelius Lamia was celebrated with funerals proper to Cenfor, who at last being discharged of the Government of Syria which he hadin shew onely, was made governour of the city. He was descended of a noble stock and was a strong lively old man, and the government of the province denied him, augmented his worth. Then Flaccus Pomponius Propretor of Syria being dead, Ca. fars letters were recited, in which he complained, that if there were any notable man, and fit to rule an armie, he refused the charge: and therefore he was forced through that necessitie to intreat such as had been Consuls, to take upon them the rule of the provinces; forgetting that Arruntius had been hindered ten yeers from going into Spaine. The same yeer died M. Lepidus, of whose moderation and wifdome I have spoken sufficient in other books; and his nobility needeth no farther proofe: for the Aemilian family both brought forth many good citizens, and although some of them have been of corrupt manners, yet lived in good and honourable estate.

of Cornelius Tacitus.

VII. Aphænix seene in Egypt: how Getulicus escaped
Tiberius cruelty.

7 Hen Paullus Fabius, and L. Vitellius were Confuls, after many ages were past the birde Phoenix came into Egypt, and ministred matter to the most learned of the countrey, and also Greekes, of disputing many things concerning that miracle. Of which it feemeth good unto mee to lay downe fuch things as they agree of, and many which rest doubtfull, yet notwithstanding worthy the knowledge. That that birde is confecrated to the funne, and that it differethin the beake, and varieth of feathers from other birds; all do accord which have described her shape and forme; but of the number of her veeres there are divers reports. The common opinion is, that she liveth five hundred yeeres: some affirme that thee livetha thousand foure hundred threescore and one yeere. And the first of these kindes of birds flew to the citie called Heliopolis, with a great multitude of other birds with her, wondering at her new shape in Sesostris time, after that in Amalis and Ptolemeus reigne, which of the Macedonians was the third king of Egypt. But antiquity is darke and obscure. Betwixt Ptolemeus reigne and Tiberius there were fearce two hundred and fifty yeeres. Whereupon some thought that this was no true Phoenix, nor come from the land of Arabia, and that it had nothing of that which antiquity hath attributed and confirmed to be in that kind. For when they have ended the number of their yeeres, and that their end approacheth, they build their nest in their countrey, and in it cast seed of generation; of which a young one doth rife; whose first care is, being growne to ripenesse, to bury the old. And that not at all adventures, but having taken up a certaine weight of the stone Murrha, and tried the carrying of it along journey: when the perceiveth her felfe able to indure and carry fuch a burthen, and to accomplish the voyage, she lifteth up her fathers body, and carrieth it to the Altar of the Sunne, and there doeth burne and facrifice it. These things are uncertain, and fabulously augmented. But that that bird is feene fometimes in Egypt is not doubted. But murders continuing at Rome, Pomponius Labeo, whom as I have faid, was governor of Masia, by cutting his veines, let out with his bloud his life, and Paxa his wife followed his example. The fearethey had of dying by the hand of the hangman, did cause them thus so readily to kill themselves: because such as were condemned, lost their good and wanted buriall: but their bodies which flew themselves were buried, and their testaments stood good; which was the gaine and reward of making hast. But Casar sent letters unto the Senate, declaring it to be a custome among the ancients, that when they intended to breake of friendship with any, they forbade them their house, and that then the friendship ended, which he had done to Labeo: who blamed for evillgoverment in the province, and other matters, covered his fault by accusing others, vainely putting his wife in feare, who was out of danger though not without fault. After this Mamercus Scaurus was accused againe, of a noble house, and a great Orator; yet of reprochfull life. His friendship had with Sejanus did nothing hurt him, but the hatred which Macro bare him was his overthrow, who practifed the same arts that Sejanus had done, but more covertly. The accusation was an argument of a Tragedy written by Scaurus containing verses which might be wrested against Tiberius. But Servilius and Cornelius his accusers objected against him, that he had abused his body with Livia, and offered magicall facrifices. Scanrus as a thing worthy of the ancient Aemilian family, preventeth his condemna122 tion by killing himselfe at the incouragement of his wife Sexitia; who was both an encourager and partaker of his death. Notwithstanding if occasion were given he punished the accusers likewise: as Servilius and Cornelius famous by the death of Scaurus, because they had taken money of Varius Ligur, to desift from the accusari. on, were perpetually banished into certaine llands. And Abudius Ruso once Redile. whilest he went about to procure danger unto Lentulus Getulicus, under whom hee had charge of a Legion, because he had purposed to marry his daughter to Scianus fonne, was condemned without accusation, and driven out of the City. Getulicus at that time had charge over the Legions of higher Germany, and had gotten exceeding love for his clemency and small severity; and of the next Army well beloved by meanes of L. Apronius his father in law. Whereupon the constant report was that he was fo bold as to write unto Cafar: That the affinity betwixt him and Scianus was begun, not of his owne motion and defire, but thorow Tiberius counsell. and that as well he as Tiberius might be deceived; and that the felfe same errour could not be to him alone dangerleffe, and to others utter ruine; for his part that his loyalty was trufty and fure, and fo would continue; if fnares had not been elaydto intraphim; that he would accept of a fucceffor in his charge no otherwise then of a meffenger of death; and therefore that they should strike as it were an agreement, by which the Prince should be master of the rest, and that he would keepe and hold the Province. Although these things seeme very strange; yet were they believed. because he alone of all Sejanus liesmen escaped without danger, and continued in great favour and grace. The reason why, was, because Tiberius thought with himfelse being now aged and hated of all men, that his estate would rather continue by fame, then force.

VIII. The Parth ans complained on Artabanus; in whose roome Tiberius placeth Phrahates: Pharasmanes gaineth abattell against Orodes King of Armenia.

7 Hen C. Cestim, and M. Servilim were Consuls, certaine Noblemen of Parthia came to Rome, without the privity of Artabanus their King. He for feare of Germanicus was faithfull to the Romans, and just towards his subjects: but after Germanicus death became proud toward us, and cruell towards his Subjects; confident by reason of prosperous successe in warres had against his borderers, and despising Tiberius as weake, old, and unfit for warres, and greedy also of Armenia, into which after the death of King Artaxia, he put his eldeft some Arfaces as governour, injuring them with contumelious speeches. Then sent toredemand the treasury and riches left in Syria and Cilicia by Vonones, and withall, vaine-gloriously bragged and threatned that he would invade and conquer the ancient bounds and limits of the Persians and Macedonians, and recover all that had beene possessed by Cyrm and Alexander. But the principall author and persuader of fending fecret meffengers to Rome was sinnaces, a manboth noble and wealthy, and next unto him Abdus an Eunuch; a matter of no difgrace among the Barbarians, nor barreto credit and authority. These two drawing the principal noble men of the countrey to them, because they could have none of the bloud of the Arfacides to be their King, most of them being slaine by Artabanus, or under yeeres; demanded Phrahates King Phrahates sonne which was at Rome: for, faid they, there needed no more but the name and confent of C.efar, and one of the bloud of Arlaces to flew himselfe upon the bankes of Emphrates. That did Casar desire and

provided for him accordingly with preparations and necessaries to seate him in his fathers kingdome, holding still his secret drift by entertaining forrain countries, by fleights and policy in warre, to keepe all quiet at home. In the meane space Artabanus understanding what was wrought against him, at the first was slow, and lingered for feare; then boyling with defire of revenge. For barbarous people count temporising and delay, as base and servile; and to goe through presently their defignements, a royall point. Yet profit took place, and thereupon fending for Abdus under colour of amity to a banquet, gave him a lingering poison; and entertained Sinnaces with fained friendship and gifts, and busied him in other imployments. But Phrahates arrived in Syria, and laying aside the Romanes manner of living, in which he had beene so many yeers nourished, giving himselse to the Parthian usage and unable to brook it, fell fick, and died. Yet Tiberius held on his determination, and chose Tiridates one of the same stock, and an enemy to Artabanus; and incited Mithridates Hiberius to recover Armenia, and reconciled him to his brother Pharasmanes, which then possessed that Empire and maketh L. Vitellius generall over all this preparation of the Orient. I am not ignorant what a finister report ranne of him in the city, and with what infamous matters he was touched: yet in governing of the Provinces he demeaned himselfe according to the vertue of ancient times. But returning from thence, through the fear of Cafar, & familiarity of Claudius being changed into a base and abject servility, became a patterne unto posterity of shamefull flattery; and so his first vertues gave place to his latter vices; and the vertuous acts of his youth, his infamous old age defaced. Of these petty Kings Mithridates first induced Pharasmanes to further his endeavours by policy and force : and corrupters were found which for great fums of gold entifed Alaces ministers to kil himand thorow Hiberius great power they entered Armenia, and took the City Artaxata. When Artabanus understood of these dealings, he furnished his sonne Orodes with things necessary to revenge, and giveth him the strength of the Parthians, and dispatcheth others to levy hired souldiers to give him aide. On the other side, Pharasmanes drew the Albanians and Sarmates to his party, whose Princes (called Sceptruchi) having received gifts on both fides according to the manner of their Country, gave aide to both fides. But the Hiberi being masters of the passages, thrust suddenly the Samatian forces on the Armenians by the Caspian way. But those which came from the Parthians were easily driven backe, because the enemy had flut up all the other passages, one excepted; which was betwixt the sea and the hils of the Albani, which could not ferve their purpole, by reason it was summer: for the Easterne winds fill up the shallow foordes and the shore: the South winter wind keepes backe the flood, and leaves the shallow shore bare and naked. In the meane space Phara manes having reenforced his strength, challengeth Orodes to fight, being destitute of allies and unfurnished of men: and if he refused or shifted off he braved him under his nose; and hard by his campe wasted his stover; and often compassed him about as if he had befieged him: till the Parthians not accustomed to endure fuch bravadoes, came about their King, and damanded battell. Their strength confisted in their horse-men, and Pharasmanes in foot-men and horse-men both. For the Hiberi and Albani inhabiting mountanous places, were better accustomed to hardnes and travell. They say they came out of Thessalia at such times as Iason, after he had carried away Medea and begotten children by her, returned to the empty court of Aeeta and unhabited Colchos: and report many wonders of his name, and the Oracle of Phryxus. Neither dare any man sacrifice a Ram, because it is thought that Phryxus was carried on one, be it, this Ram were a beaft or a ship

which bare those arms. The battell pitched in order on both sides: the Parthian put his fouldiers in minde of the Empire of the East; and the renowned nobility of the Arlacides: and contrariwife debated Hiberius as ignoble, and flying to mercenary fouldiers. Phara (manes on the other fide, declared that he was never yet hubiest to the Parthian rule; and that the greater their enterprise, the greater their glorvif they were the conquerers: or if they turned their backs, the greater dishonour, in. famy and danger: withall he shewed him his owne host dreadfull, and the Medians painted with gold: on his own fide, men; on the other, booty. Among the Sat. mates the Captaine onely was not heard; but every man encouraged each other not to abide the fhot, but prevent the enemy rushing in couragiously to hand ftroakes. Divers manners of fights were there seene in that battell: when as the Parthian accustomed with like skill to fly and follow, severed his squadrons to make way for the arrowes to light. The Sarmates laying afide their bowes which fteeded them but a short time, ran into the enemy with their swords and launces; some times were in the front, fometimes in their backs, as if they had been horse-menfometimes close ranked with their bodies and weapons thrust back, and bare downe the enemy, and were borne downe againe. The Albini also and Hiberi behaved themselves in like manner; now catching hold of the enemy; now thrusting him downe; the battell growing doubtfull on their fide; the horsemen and footmen prelfing in and giving them many wounds. Whilest this fight thus continued, Pharas. manes and Orodes, each incouraging his stoutest, or comforting those which began to flagger and waver, being in fight the one of the other: and therefore knowing the one the other, with a great clamour, armour and horses ran one against another; but more fiercely Phara (manes: for he wounded his enemy through the head peece: yet being carried away with his horse, was not able to redouble his stroke; the stoutest of his followers prefently defending the wounded. Nevertheleffe, a rumour fallly believed that he was flaine, appaled the Parthians, and caused them to yeeld the victory.

IX. Sinnaces rebelleth against Artabanus King of Partnia, Tiridates is put in his place.

Mmediately after, Artabanus gathering together his whole strength out of all parts of his Countrey, pursueth a revenge on the Hiberi, faying that they had the better of the battell, through skilfulnesse of place; and therefore would never defift; if Vitellius by affembling the Legions, had not given ont that he meant to invade McCopotamia, thereby striking himinto a feare of the Romane forces. Then Artabanus leaving Armenia, left all good fortune behinde him, Vitellius entifing his subjects to abundon their King, as one in peace cruell, and in warres unfortunate. Sinnaces whom as I have faid, was utter enemy to Artabanus, had fecret conference with Abdage (es his father and others: and by continual overthrows and loffes which they suffered, drew easily unto him such as were most ready to revolt: they also repairing to him by little and little, which were subject unto Artabanus rather for feare then good will: very glad they had found Captaines to follow, took courage unto them. By this time Artabanus had no refuge left, fave onely a few strangers for the guard of his person, banished from their owne dwellings: a people not understanding what is good, nor having a care of that which is nought: but hired for gaine, are instruments of what mischiese soever. Accompanied with these, he hafteneth his flight to the frontiers of his Countrey, joyning upon Scythia; hoping

forfuccour, because he was allied to the Hircanians and Carmanians having a hope likewise, that the Parthians alwaies indifferently bent to the absent, and unconstant and fickle to the present, would in the meane space change their minde. and receive him againe. But Vitellius feeing Artabanus fled, and the mindes of the countrey people enclined to a new King, incouraging Tiridates to take that which was offered; conducted the legions and allies to the banks of Euphrates. And as they were facrificing andoffering according unto the custome of the Romanes, Suovetaurilia, a Boare, Ramme and Bull, the others made ready a Horse, to pacifie the god of that river: the inhabitants of Euphrates brought word, that without anv great raine, of his owne accord the river was exceedingly risen; and with all that the white froth made circles as it were the forme of a diademe, which was a prefage of a prosperous passage: but some did interpret them more subtilly, gathering thereby that the beginnings of their attempts should be lucky; but have small continuance, because that there was more credit to be given to those things which were portended by the earth and heaven; and that the quality and nature of rivers was unconstant, and runing away; and would no sooner shew a token of good luck, but take it away againe: but having made a bridge with vessels, and passed over his armie, the first which came to the campe was Ornospades, with many thousands of horsemen. This Ornospades once a banished man, brought no small ayd to Tiberius when he made warre in Dalmatia, and for that service was made citizen of Rome. After this, entering anew into the kings favour, he made him ruler of all that countrey which lieth betweene two famous rivers, Euphrates, and Tigris, and therefore tooke the name of Mesopotamia. Not long after Sinnaces augmented his forces. and Abdage ses the stay of that fide joyned unto them the wealth and preparation of the king, Viellius thinking it enough only to have shewne the Romans power, advertifed Tiridates and the chiefe noble men of Parthia, but especially Tiridates, that he would alwaies have in minde as things worth remembrance, Phrahates his granfather, Casar his bringing up, the nobles to be dutifull to their King, shew reverence unto us; and every man to have a care of his credit, and fidelitie: and from thence turned back with the legions into Syria. I have joyned together things done in two summers, to recreate the mind of the reader, wearied with domesticall adversities. But Tiberius although three yeeres were past and gone since the death of Sejanus, could not be appeased neither by time, nor prayers, no nor by punishing his fill (things wont to mollifie other men) but would punish uncertaine and stale things gone and past, as manifest offences, and newly committed. Whereupon Fulcinius Trio fearing this dealing, and not able to endure the accusers which were now bruing matter against him; in his last will and Testament composed many cruellthings against Macro, and certaine of the chiefe of Casars freedmen: objecting against himselfe, that he had a feeble and unconstant head through age, and that by his continuall absence he differed little from a banished man. Which things being concealed by Trios heires, Tiberius commanded publikly to be recited; shewing thereby patience in another mans liberty, and small regard of his owne infamy: or else because he was ignorant of Sejanus villanies untill that time; and content that all things how ever they were spoken, should come to light, and have the truth knowne (which flattery often hindreth) rather to his owne shame and reproach then not at all. The same time Granius Martianus a Senator, being accused of treason by C. Gracchus, slew himselfe. Tatius Gratianus likewise who had been Pretor, and condemned to die by the same law. Not unlike deaths unto the former had Trebellienus Rufus, and Sext. Paconianus: for Trebellienus killed himselse with M 2

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his owne hands; and Paconianus was strangled in prison, because he had there composed certaine verses against the Prince. Tiberius did not receive these newes, divided from Italy by sea, or by messengers as off, as he was wont to doe; but necre unto the City where he might the same day or the next morning, answere the Senators letters, as it were looking upon the bloud of the Citizens, slowing in the senators letters, as it were looking upon the bloud of the Citizens, slowing in the Senators letters, and the hand of the executioners. In the end of this yeer, Poppaus Subinus gave up his ghost; a man of meane parentage, yet through the favour of Princes had beene Consult and triumphed: and governour over the greatest Provinces some and twenty yeeres: not for any excellent skill that was in him, yet able to discharge the office, and no more.

X. The Clites rebell against Archelaus King of Cappadocia. Tiridates
King of Parthia his conquests. Artabanus being recalled,
driveth out Tiridates.

Vintus Plautius, and Sent. Papinius were Confuls the yeere following. This yeere the people of Rome were so inured to calamities, that they thoughting not hard dealing that L. Aruscius and others were put to death: but ther were greatly difmayed to fee Vibulenus Agrippa a gentleman of Rome immediatly af ter the accusers had ended their oration in the Curia, to draw poison out of his bosome, and drinke it: and being fallen downe and yeelding up his ghost, yet tohe in all hast carried by the sergeants to prison, & already halfe dead, incontinently to be ftrangled. No not Tigranes, who had been sometimes King of Armenia, but then arraigned, could with his royall title escape the same punishment that was inflicted upon bare citizens. C. Galba sometime Consull, and two of the Bless died of a volume tary death. Galba; because by Casar hard & rigorous letters he was forbdiden to cast lots for the government of the Province: the Blass, because that the priesthoods which were destined unto their house whilest it was in prosperity; and now being decayed deferred, and bestowed upon others when they were vacant; which they construed as a prognosticate of death, and therefore did execute it themselves Aemilia Lepida, whom as I have before told you, was married unto young Druss, charging him with divers crimes, although the were most lewd and wicked, yet escaped scottree and unpunished whilest Lepidus her father lived; but afterwards thee was convinced of manifest adultery with one of her bondmen: and therefore laying asideall defence, ended her life with her owne hands. At the same time the Clites, being a people of Capadocia, and fubject to Archelaus, because they were according unto our custome constrained to bring in the value of their veerly revenues, and pay tributes, fled to the hill Taurus; and there by the strong fite of the place defended themselves against the weake forces of their King, untill M. Tribellius Lieutenant fent thither by Vitellius Lord prefident of Syria, with foure thoufand legionaries, and certaine choife ayde fouldiers, had compaffed and environed with engins and works two hils which the Barbarians possessed, the leffer called Cadra, the other Davara; killing those which durst iffue out with the sword, and forcing the rest to yeeld forwant of water. But Tiridates ayded by the Parthians, recovered Nicephorium, and Anthemusias, and other townes which lying in Macedonia, yet are called by Greeke names: and Halum, and Artemita, townes of Parthia; striving who had best cause to rejoyce. Artabanus being odious unto them for his cruelty, as brought up among the Scythians: and hoping that Tiridats would be courteous and gentle, as trained up and fashioned after the Romane be-

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haviour and education. The Seleucians used great flattery: their city is very strong. environed with wals, and not corrupted with barbarous fashions, but retained such as their founder Seleucus gave them. Their manner is to choose three hundred either for wealth or wisdome and of them make as it were a Senate. The people kept their part in government, and as long as they agree among themselves, the Parthian they feare not, but falling to jarres and contentions, whileft each fide calleth for aide against his adversary: he who is called by one of the parties, mastereth both. That hapned of late under Artabanus, who for his owne commodity, made the people subject to the chiefe Gentlemen: where the people beare the sway, that governmentapprocheth neerest unto libertie: but the rule of a few is neerest unto the will and pleasure of a King. When Tiridates was come among them, they honoured him with all those inventions that Kings had beene honoured with in times past, and with fuch as latterages have more abundantly invented. Withall, they powred out many reprochfull speeches against Artabanus; confessing that he was indeede descended of the Arsacides on the mothers side, but in other points nothing sutable. Tiridates committed the government of the Seleucians to the discretion of the people; then confulting what day he should be crowned, received Phrahates and Hierees letters, which had two the strongest governments of that kingdome, intreating him that he would defer it for some small time, which to satisfie those great men he veelded unto. In the meane time he went to Ctefiphon the royall feat of the kingdome, and perceiving that they prolonged from one day to another, Sewena with the good liking of many, in a great affembly crowned Tiridates, according to the custome of the Countrey. And if he had out of hand entred farther within the countrey, and other Nations, those lingerers had been put out of all doubt, and all yeelded obedience unto one. But staying too long at the Ciftle whither Artabanus had conveighed his money and his Concubines, he gave him time to leape back from their agreements. For if Phrahates and Hiero and some others came not at the day appointed to the coronation, some for feare, some for malice and hate to Abdagefes, who then possessed the new King, and was the onely favourite in Court, turned to Artabanus, whom they found in Hyrcania meanly and ill-favouredly attired, killing with his bow food for his fustenance. At the first hee was greatly afraid, as though some traine had been elaide to intraphim, but when they had given him their credit and faith, that their coming was to restore him to his kingdome, his spirits were revived, and inquireth what sudden change had hapned. Then Hiero finding fault with Tiridates faid, that he was but a childe, and that the Arfacides governed not the kingdome, but the vaine name and title was in an unwarlike person, foftly and tenderly brought up among strangers, and that Abdageses was he which ruled and commanded all. Artabanus knowing of old what it was to rule, perceived well that those which found falshood in friendship, dissembled not: and therefore making no longer delay then he could affemble the Scythians forces and aide, fetteth forward with all speed to prevent the wills of his enemies, and keepe his friends from flipping back, yea, he did not fo much as wipe off the filth and uncleanneffe of his body, because he would move the common people to compassion. There was no subtilty, no prayer, nor ought else forgotten, whereby he might draw the doubtfull to him, or confirme and affure the willing and ready. He came then with a strong power unto the places adjoyning to Seleucia, when as Tiridates strucken into a feare with the fame and person of Artabanus, was distracted in minde whether he fhould encounter him, or draw out the war by lingering. Such as defired battelland quick worke, perswaded that the enemy was dispersed, and stragled, and wearied with their long journey, and scarce resolved to obey Artabanus being so lately Traitors and enemies unto him, though now his support and aid. But Abdageses thought it best to returne into Mesopotamia, that having the river as a desence between him and the enemy, calling in the meane space the Armenians and Elymæi & the residue which were behind them; and their forces augmented with allies and friends & such as the Roman captain would send them, then to trie the chance of war. That advise prevailed because of Abdageses authority & Tiridates rawnesses in the lead in the dance the rest starding diffred not so much from sleeing: the Arabias sint lead in the dance the rest starding to their houses or to Arabanus Campe; untill Tiridates returning back into Syria with a small company, acquitted them all of the infamy of treason.

XI. Tiberius repaireth, with his owne charges, that part of Rome which was burnt: how Macro wonne C. Cæsars favour.

He same yeer Rome was greatly damnified with fire; that part of the Cirque which joyned unto the hill Aventine and all the buildings also upon Aventine being wasted and confumed to ashes; which losse Casar converted to his glory by giving the owners out of his purse as much as the losse of their houses & buildings came unto, which munificence amounted * to a hundred millions of sesterces; which was fo much the more acceptable to the people, because that in his owne buildings he was alwaies moderate. Neither ever had he made above two publike buildings the onea Temple to Augustus; the other the stage of Pompeius Theatre: which being finished, yet he left undedicated; either as despising ambition or by reason of his age. And to make an estimat of every mans losse Tiberius foure sons in law were chofen, Gn. Domitius, Cassius Longinus, M. Vinicius and Rubellius Blandus, and P. Petronius joyned with them by the Confuls apppointment: every man inventing new honours for the Prince, as his wit and capacity would give him leave: which whether he accepted or refused was uncertain by reason of his death which followed shortly after. For not long after the last Consuls in Tiberius reigne, G. Acerronius and C. Pontius began their charge, when Macroes power and credit was grown over great, which he increased more and more with C.C.e (ar, although before he was never neligent there. in. And after Claudiaes death (who as I have already faid was married unto that Cafar) he egged and perswaded his owne, wife Ennia; to allure and draw the young man to her love, & intangle him under promise of marriage, as one which would do whatso ever to lay hold on the foveraignty. For although he were of a turbulent and hot for rit:notwithstanding he had as it were sucked out of his grandfathers bosome the art of cunning diffembling. Tiberius knew this very well, and therefore was not refolved which of his nephews he should first make successor to the state. Of which the one was Drusus sonne neerest unto him in bloud, and whom he tendered best; but was under age: and Germanicus fon the other, in the flower of his youth, and of the people well beloved; and therefore the worfe liked of his grandfather. And bethinking himselfe of Claudius, seeing he was of staied and settled yeers, and desirous of learning; yet altered his deliberation because he was weake and slender witted. And yet if he should look for a successfor out of his house, he seared lest the memory of Augustus, and the name of Casars should be had in reproch and contempt. For he was not so carefull to win the favour of the time present, as ambitious of same with posterity. But in the end irrefolute what to conclude and growing weak and feeble of body, that which was out of the compaffe of his power he committed to fate: having notwithstanding cast out speeches, whereby he might be perceived that he hada care of things to come, for not going about the bush, but in plain termes he upbraided Marco that he turned his back to the West, and looked alwaies toward the sunrifing. And hapning by chance that some speech was had of L. Sulla, whom C. Ca-

Carwas wont to laugh and scoffe at, Tiberius foretold him that he should have all his vices, but not fo much as one of his vertues. And withall imbracing the youngest of his nephewes with weeping teares; the other looking on with an envious eie, faid unto him; thou shalt kill him, and another shall kill thee. Yet his sicknes growing more and more upon him, he omitted not any part of his wanton and uncleane lufts, counrerfeiting and putting on a face of courage even in his weaknesse and infirmitie: & was wont to mocke at the Phylitians skill, that after 30. yeeres space they wanted other mens counsell to know what is good or hurtfull for their owne bodies. In the meanetime, at Rome there were certaine feeds of murders fowne, to take effect after Tiberius death. Lalius Balbus had accused Acutia, sometimes the wife of P. Vitellins, of treason, who being condemned; when a recompense was to be ordained for the accuser, Junius Otho Tribune of the people withstood it; whereupon they two growing to a jarre, Otho was fent into banishment. Then Albucilla infamous for loofe love with many, and once wife to Satrius Secundus, the detector of the confoiracie, was accused of certaine impieties and inchantments against the prince: and with her as confederates, her adulterers Gn. Domitius, Vibius Marsus, L. Arruntius. Of Domitius nobility I have spoken before. Marsus also was an ancient stock. and endued with many good vertues. But the memorial fent unto the Senate doth tefifie that Macro had charge of the examination of the witnesses, and torture of the hondmen: and the Emperors letters gave no token of suspition against them either because he was weake & feeble; or because he knew nothing of it: and many crimes were forged by Macro knowne enemy to Arruntius. Domitius therefore premeditating his defence; and Marfus as though he had purposed to pine away by famishing himselfe, prolonged their lives. Arruntius whilest his friends perswaded him not to be hafty, but linger on; answereth them; That the same things do not beseeme all " men alike: & that for his owne part, he had lived long enough, & had no other thing " to repent him of, but that he had among so many vaine mockeries and perils prolon- " ged his heavy & carefull old age: having beene long hated of Sejanus, now of Macro; " and alwaies of some one of the mightiest: not through any fault of his; but because " he could not endure wickednes. True it is, he might linger out during the short time " the Prince hath to live: but how should he escape the yong Prince that is to come? If Tiberius after such long experience in affaires; by the force of rule and dominion " hath changed and altered: it is to be hoped that C. Cafar, who is yet scarce out of his " childhood, unexpert and unacquainted with all things; or brought up and trained in " thelewdest, should follow a better course, having Macro for his guide: who being " chosen to oppresse Sejanus, because he was worse then he, afflicted the common- " wealth with greater calamity. I foresee (said he) a heavier servitude, and therefore I " will flie as well from that which is already past, as that which is at hand. Speaking these things as it had been in manner of a prophesie, he cut his veines. It shal appeare by those things which insued, that Arruntius died in good time. Albucilla having wounded herfelfe with a blow given without effect, was carried to prison. The ministers of her whoredome Grasidius Sacerdos, who had bin Pretor, was banished into an Iland, and Pontius Fregellanus condemned to be put from the Senate: the faid punishments were decreed against Lalius Balbus, by these themselves which were glad of it; because Balbus was thought touse his eloquence cruelly, as one alwaies at hand and ready against the innocent.

XII. Tiberius death.

A Bout the same time, Sext. Papinius descended of a Consularie familie chose a sudden and ill savoured death, by casting himselfe headlong from a high place.

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* About 7812**50.** pound,

The cause was attributed to his mother, who having been long before put away from her husband, by flattering speeches & lascivious wantonnes, induced the yong man unto that villany; that to avoid the discredit with her he could find no remedy but death. She being accused in Senat, albeit she prostrated herselfe at her Lords seet & long shewed her common griefe, and womens weaknes, in such desires, and other lamentable and pitifull mournings, witnessing her dolour and griefe; yet was banished the city 10. yeeres, untill her youngest son was past the unconstant slipperines of his youth. Now Tiberius body & strength began to forfake him; but not yet his diffimulation. He had the same courage and vigour of mind; his countenance and voice was strong: & desiring sometimes to be pleasant, cloaked his manifest decay of strength. And often changing, at last settled him selfe in a promontory of Misenum, in a house which fometime Lucullus had bin Lord of, where it was knowne that his death was at hand by this meanes. There was a Physitian very skilful in his art called Charicles ver never accustomed to govern the prince in his sicknes, but to assist him with his counfel. This phisitian departing from Tiberius, as it had bin about some busines of his own under color of duty taking him by the had, felt the puls of his veins: but yet he could not use the matter so cunningly, but the Emperor perceived him. Whether Tiberius were offended with him or not, it was uncertain; & if he were so much the more sup. preffing his anger, caused meat to be made ready, & otherwise then his custome had bin, fitteth down, as it had bin in honor of his friends farewell. Charicles nevertheles affured Macro that his spirits decayed, and that he could not live above two dayes. Whereupon great debating of matters passed among those which were present; and messengers posted away to the lieutenats & armies. The 17. of the Kalends of April, his breath being stopped, he was thought to have ended his mortall life. Then C.C.s. far with a great multitude flocking about him, & congratulating his good fortune. went forth to take upon him the Empire: when news came on the fudden that Tibe. rius was come to his speech & fight again, & that meat was called for to put him out of his fwooning: upon this they were all stroken into a great feare; & dispersed the felves some one way, some another; every man counterfeiting a sad cheere & ignorance of all this. And C. Ce (ar stroken dombe in the top of his hope, expected his last doome. Macro resolute and stout, commanded the old man to be smothered, by casting many clothes on him, & every man to depart from the doore. And so Tiberim ended his life, the 78. yeere of his age. He was Neroes fonne, and on both fides extra-Aed from the Claudian family, although his mother went by adoption into the Livian family, and after that into the Iulian. He had doubtfull fortunes from his first infancy, for being a banished man, he followed his father, who was proscribed; and being brought into Augustus house as his son in law, was greatly maligned at the time that Marcellus & Agrippa, and afterward Caius & Lucius Cafar lived. Yea his brother Drus was better beloved then he, of the citizens; but after he had married Iulia, his flippery estate was tied to two great inconveniences, which was either to endure the incontinency of his wife, or go from her. After that, returning from Rhodes, he lived twelve yeers in the princes house which had no children, then possessed the Empire almost 23. yeers. He changeth his manners diversly according to the times. Whilest he was a private man, he was of good life and credit, and had commendations under Augustus. He was close and crafty in counterfeiting vertues whilest Germanicus and Drusus lived: and whilest his mother lived he kept a meane sometimes good and fometimes bad. For cruelty he was infamous; but lascivious lusts, as long as he loved or feared Sejanus, fecret. In the end he burft into all wickednesse, dishonesty, and reproach; after that having cast away shame and seare, he governed himselfe wholly according unto his owne disposition and nature.

THE

THE ELEVENTH BOOK

OF THE ANNALES OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. The death of Asiaticus, and Poppæa.

The beginning of this Book is wanting.

Or he beleeved, that Valerius Assaurations who had been twice Conful, had in times past committed adultery with Poppea: withall, greedily gaped after those gardens which he bought of Lucullus, and beautified and trimmed most stately. Suilius was suborned to accuse them both: Sosibus, Germanicus bringer up, was joyned with him; who under colour

of friendship, counselleth Claudius to beware of such as were strong and rich, as men dangerous unto the state: and that Asiaticus the principall author of murdering Casar, feared not to avouch it in a full assembly of the people of Rome, and challenge the glory of the fact unto himselfe. He was famous in the City for it. and a rumour spread through out the Province, that hee prepared a voyage toward Germanicus Army, because that being borne at Vienna, and Arengthened with strong and great kindred, he thought it an easie matter to stirre up his Countrey-men. But Claudius making no farther inquirie, fent Crispinus the Captaine of the Guard with a band of ready fouldiers, as though it had beene to suppresse a warre: who finding him at Baias, laid irons upon him, and drew him to the Citie, where he was not licenfed to be heard of the Senate, but in the Emperours chamber, in the presence of Messalina. There Suiling accused him, that he had corrupted the fouldiers, and wonne them by money and loofe life to all wickednesse. Then charged him with adultery with Poppea, and unnaturall dishonesty of body. At that, although hee were commanded to filence, hee burft forth, and faid: O Suiling aske thy children, and they will confesse me to be a man. And entring into his defence, Claudius being wonderfully moved, drew teares likewise from Mesfalinaes eyes; who going out of the chamber to wipe them, giveth Vitellius warning not to suffer the party arraigned to escape. She maketh hast to overthrow Poppaa, fending some through the terrour of prison, to perswade her to kill her selfe: Cafar being to ignorant thereof, that a few dayes after heasked her husband Scipio as he fate at table with him, why he had fate downe without his wife? who made him answer, that she was dead. But whilest Claudius consulted of Asiaticus deliverance, Vitellius with teares declaring how long time their friendship had continued, and how they two did reverence and honour Antonia the Princes Mother: then running over briefly his fervices towards the Common wealth, and that fo lately done in Britannia, and what else might seeme to move compassion; lest it in the end to his owne choise what death he would choose; Claudius yeelding him the like clemency with like words. After this some perswading him, that to die with samine and abstinence was an casie death; he answered, that he rejected such favour: and therefore having done those exercises he was usually wont to doe, washed his body, and fed daintily, faying, that it had been a more commendable death to have died by Tiberius flynesse and cunning or C. Casars violence, then now by the trea-

pound.

chery of awoman, and Vitellius uncleane mouth: cut his veines, and having first feene the fire wherein his body was to be burned commanded it to be removed to another place, left the thick tuffed-trees should be marred with the smoke : so small reckoning did he make of death.

II. Certain Romanes accused for a dreame. A treatise of advocates.

Fter this, the Lords of the Senate were called together, and Suilius goethon. A and accufeth certaine noble and renowned Gentlemen of Rome furnamed Petra. The cause of their death was, because they had lent their house unto Mnester and Poppea, when they had any cause of conference. But there was a dreame also objected against one of them, which was, that he dreamed he had feene Claudius crowned with a crowne of eares of corn, and the eares turned backward; interpreting that vision to fignific a dearth of corne. Some report it to have beene a garland of vine-branches with white leaves; which he faw in his dreame, and interpreted it to foretell, that the death of the Prince should follow at the end of Autumne. Whatsoever the dreame was, it is not to be doubted, but that he and his brother were both put to death. Criffinus had given him by decree of Senate * About 1781 * fifteene hundred thousand sesterces; and ornaments of the Pretor. Vitellius adpound 15 juil.
* About 78 12. ded * tenne hundred thousand sesterces to be given to Sosibius, because he had pound to shil. beene Britannicus Schoole-master, and Claudius Counseller. Scipio being demanded his opinion, faid: Seeing I doe think of Poppeas faults, that which all you doe thinke; perswade your selves that I doe say that which all you doe say; which was an excellent moderation and meane, shewing the love he bare her as his wife, and necessitie of giving sentence, being a Senator. Suilius never ceased from accusations, but profecuted them with all crueltie: and many followed his audacitie: for the Prince drawing unto himselfe all the duties of Laws and Magistrate, opened the way to robbery. Neither was there any merchandise more publikely bought and fold, then the perfidiousnesses of advocates: infomuch, that Samius a worthy Gen-* About 3130, tleman of Rome, having given Surlius * foure hundred thousand sesterces, to plead his cause; and atterperceiving his prevarication and collusion; ran upon his sword in Suclius owne house. Then C. Silius Confull elect (of whose authoritie and fall I will speak in convenient time) beginning to speake, the rest of the Senators rose up, and demanded earnestly that the law Cincia might be set on foot: by which it is provided of old, that for pleading of causes, no man should take either moneyor gift. Then they whom that injury seemed to touch, making a noise; Silius was cager and earnest against Suilius, contradicted him, alleadging the Temple of Orators in times palt. "Which esteemed same with posterity, to be the fairest reward "of eloquence: otherwise, that the Princesse of good Arts should be distained "with the fervitude of base lucre; and that no faith could be sincere and inviolate, "where excesse of gaine is regarded. And if causes should be defended without re-"ward, there would be fewer of them; whereas now, enmities, acculations, hatred, "and injuries are foftered: and that as the multitude of difeafes brought the Physi-"tians gain; so the pestilent infection of the Bar, serveth now to inrich the Lawyers. "Let them call to minde C. Asinius, and Messalla, & of latter memory Aruntius, and "Esernus, which were lifted up in the highest degree of dignitie, by their upright "life and uncorrupted eloquence. The Confullelect uttering these speeches, the others approving the same; they went about to give judgement, that such should be condemned unto the like punishment as they were, who had by bribery and extortion polled and oppressed the Commons. When as Suilius and Coffusianus and others, which perceived that there should be no generall decree fet downe, but a nunishment for those which had been openly convicted; came about Casar, and befought him pardon of that which was past. And after a little silence, nodding with his head unto them, they began as followeth. "Who was he so puft up with "pride that would prefume or hope for eternity of fame? that it was expedient men "hould provide for necessary maintenance, lest through the want of advocates, the "poor be oppressed by the rich & mighty. Neither did eloquence come by chance "and gratis unto any without paine and labour: the care of a mans own family was "neglected, if he were occupied in another mans businesse: many maintained their "life by war; fome by tilling the earth; no man laboured to attaine to any know-"ledge unlesse he had seen some commodity in it. It was an easie matter for Asinius "and Messalla, which were inriched with great rewards betweene Antonius and Au-"quitus warres, to shew a gallant and brave minde: and for Efernius and Aruntius. "heirs of rich houses, to doe the like. Examples were as ready for them to shew "for what great rewards P. Claudius, and C. Curio were wont to plead. As for "themselves, they were but meane Senators, which expected no gaine of the com-"mon-wealth, but fuch as grew of peace. The meanest of the people endeavoured "what he could to better his estate; the reward of studies being taken away, studies "doe also decay, as having neither glory nor honour. The Prince thinking that this was not spoken without ground of reason, moderated the summe which they should take unto *ten thousand sesterces, and that they which passed this sum, should be * About 78. condemned of extorsion.

III. Mithridates recovereth his kingdome. Warres betweene Gotarzes and Bardanes for the kingdome of Parthia.

Bout the fame time, Mithridates, who as I have shewed governed Armenia, and was brought to Cafar, returned into his kingdome at Claudius perswafion : trusting to the power of Pharasmanes, King of the Hiberi, and Mithridates brother; who told him that the Parthians were at variance among themselves, doubtfull what would become of the kingdome, and matters of smaller importance utterly neglected. For whileft Gotarzes practifed great cruelties (going about to kill his brother Artabanus; his wife and his sonne; whereby the rest were afraide) they called in Bardanes, who being a man of action and able to goe thorow great enterprifes, in two dayes invaded three thousand * Stadia, and chased out Gotarzes, alla- * Eight Stadia mazed and difmayed, not once dreaming of his coming: and without any lingring mile. feafed on the next governments, the Seleucians only refufing to obey him. Whereupon inflamed with greater anger then the prefent occasion ministred cause, because they had revolted from his father; he befieged their City which was ftrong, and well fortified with a wall, invironed with a river and furnished with victuals and munition. In the meane time Gotarzes strengthened with the Daharian and Hyrcanian power, reneweth the war. And Bardanes enforced to abandon Seleucia, removed his campe to the champion country of the Bracteri. Then the forces of the Orient being devided and uncertaine which way to leane, Mithridates had opportunity offered him by chance to fease upon Armenia; and with the force of the Roman fouldier, rafe and beat downe the strong fortresses: the Hiberian campe at once wasting and spoiling the Champion. Neither did the Armenians make head at all against them: Demonastes their Governour being slaine, who onely durst have waged

battell against them. Cotys King of lesser Armenia did somewhat hinder them, some of the Nobles joyning with him. But afterward being rebuked by Cefars letters, all turned unto Mithidates side, more cruellthen was expedient in a kingdome newly gotten. But the Parthian Emperours making preparation to fight, fuddenly con. clude a peace, having discovered the treachery of their subjects, which Gotarzes bewraied unto his brother. At the first meeting they had a jealous conceit the one of the other, then taking one another by the right hand before the Altars of the gods, they promised and covenanted to revenge the treason of their enemies; and agree and helpe one another. Bardanes seemed most meete to possesse the kingdome, And Gotarzes because there should remaine no sparkle of emulation went to Hirea. nia. And Bardanes returning againe, Seleucia yeeldeth the feventh yeere after her revolt; not without discredit to the Parthians, whom one bare city had so long deluded. Then he invadeth the strongest Provinces, and began to recover Armenia: if Vibius Marsus Lieutenant of Syria, had not hindred him by threatning to ware against him. In the meane time Gotarzes repenting that he had yeelded the king. dome, and the nobility, unto whom obedience in peace seemeth hardest, calling him back againe, affembleth his forces together, whom Bardanes met at the river Erindes , where skirmishing long on both parts for the passages, Bardanes had the upper hand, and with prosperous battels subdued all the middle countries, unto the river Gindes, which divideth the Dahas from the Arij. There his fortunate successes had an end: for the Parthians, although they were conquerours, yet liked not to make war fo far off. Wherefore building Monuments intoken of his wealth and power, and that none of the Ar sacides had ever before levied any tribute of those Nations, he returned with great glory: and therefore so much the more sierce and intolerable to his subjects, who having long before laid a snare to intrap him, killed him at unawares as he was a hunting, in the prime of his youth: few of the old Kingsto be matched in renowne with him; if he had as well fought the love of his subjects, as to be feared of his enemies. By the death of Bardanes, the Parthian affaires were in a huly burly; whilest they wavered, whom they should receive for their King. Many inclined to Gotarzes, fonne to Meherdates, fonne to Phrahates, who was given us in hostage. In the end Gotarzes prevailed, who injoying the Kings seat through crueltie and dissolute life, forced the Parthians to send secretly to intreat the Romane Prince to release Meherdates, and invest him in his fathers kingdome.

Messalina falleth in love with Sillius.

THe same men being Consuls, the playes called Seculares, were exhibited eight hundred yeers after the foundation of Rome, and threescore and source yeers after those which Augustus had caused then to be represented. I omit the reasons which moved both these Princes, as sufficiently declared in my bookes which have composed of the acts of Domitian the Emperour: for he likewise did set forth the same playes, which I was present at, so much the more carefully, because I was then one of the fifteene Priefts, and Pretor. VVhich I speak not to vaunt or bragge thereof, but because that charge in times past was committed to the colledge of the fifteene, and magistrates did chiefly execute the office of ceremonies. Claudius siting to see the race, when the noble mens children represented on horseback the play of Troy; and among them Britannicus the Emperours fonne, and L. Domitius anon after adopted to the Empire, and furnamed Nero. The favour of the people wasmore affectionate to him then Germanicus, which was taken as a prefage of his future greatnesse. And it was rumoured abroad, that in his infancy dragons were found about him in manner of a guard, which are fables not unlike unto ftrange miracles: for he himselfe, who never derogated from himselfe, was wont to report but of one ferpent which was feene in his chamber. But that affection of the people was a relibue of the memory of Germanicus, who left no other male behinde him but he: and the commisferation towards Agrippina his mother was increased, by reason of Melfalinaes cruelty, who alwaies hating her, and now more then ever kindled against her, was hindred no way from forging of crimes, and suborning accusers against her, saving onely by a new love and next cosen unto madnes. For she did so burne in love with C. Silius the fairest youth of all Rome, that to content her lust she caused him to put from him his wife lunia Syllana, an honourable dame, to enjoy wholly to herselfe the adulterer, now untied from the bands of Matrimony, Neitherwas Silius ignorant how lewde the practife was, and what perill hee might incurre: but if he refused, certaine of his destruction; and having some hope to bleare the eyes of the world, and inticed with great rewards, he tooke it for the most expedient, to expect what might fall, and enjoy the present. Shee not by stealth. but with a great retinue frequented his house, was alwaies at his side; bestowed wealth and honor bountifully upon him, and at last, as though fortune had transferred the Empire: flaves, freedmen, and all princely ornaments, and preparations were feen at the adulterers house. But Claudius not knowing what rule was at home, usurped the office of a Cenfor; reprehended with severe edicts the overgreat licence the people used in the Theater, using opprobrious speeches against P. Pomponius who had beene fometime confull (and gave verses to the stage) and other noble women. He made a law to restrain the cruelty of creditors, forbidding them to lend money to interest unto mens sonnes subject to the fathers power, to be paid after their death. Hee brought water to the citie from the Simbruan hils. Hee added and published new letters and characters; being a thing most certaine that the manner of the Greekes writing was not begun and perfected at once. The Aegyptians first of all expressed the conceptions of their mind by the shape of beasts; and the most ancient monuments of mans memory are feene graven in stones: & they say, that they are the first inventers of letters. Then the Phoenicians because they were strong by sea brought them into Greece, and had the glory of inventing that, which they received of others. For there goeth a report, that Cadmus failing thither in a Phoenician ship, was the inventor of that art among the Greeks, when they were yet unexpert and rude. Some record that Cecrops the Athenian, or Linus the Theban, and Palamedes the Grecian, at the time of the Trojane warre, invented 16. characters; then others, and Simonides found out the rest. But in Italy the Etrurians learned them of Corinthius Damaratus, and the Aborigenes of Evander the Arcadian: and the fashion of the Latineletters are like unto the old Greek letters; but we had but a few at the beginning, the rest were after added. By which example Claudius added three letters, which during the time of his reigne were in use, and afterward forgotten: and are yet to be seene ingraven in brasen tables hanged up in temples and places of asfembly to shew the peoples laws. Then he propounded in Senate touching the colledge of Southfayers, left that the most ancient Discipline of Italy should come to nought by floathfulnesse, seeing that in the hard and adverse times of the Common-wealth they have bin fent for; and by their advise the ceremonies have beene renewed, and better afterward looked into. And the chiefest Noble men of Etruria, either of their owne motion, or at the perswasion of the Lords of the Senate,

have continued their science, and propagated it to their families, which now is very carelessy accomplished by a sloath used towards commendable. Artes, and because strange superstitions prevaile and take deeper root. All well for the present, thanks were to be rendred to the goodnes of the gods therfore, and heed taken, that sacred rites in doubtfull times had in reverence, be not in prosperous forgotten. Where upon a decree of Senate was made, and order taken, that the high Priests should consider what was meet to be retained and established concerning the southsayers.

V. The Cherusci crave Italus for their King.

"He same yeere the Cherusci came to Rome to demand a King, all their Nobilitie being extinguished by civill warres, and one only left for the bloud Rov. all, called Italus, then being at Rome. He was sonne unto Flavius, Armining brother; his mother was the daughter of Catumerus Prince of the Catti; and wasof a comely personage; practised in armes and riding, as well according to the manner of our Countrey, as his owne. Cafar therefore having furnished him with money, and appointed him a guard; encourageth him ftoutly to take upon him the honor of his house and ancestors: putting him first in minde that he was borne at Rome; where he remained not as an hostage, but citizen: and that now he was to goe to ftrange Empire. At the first the Germanes were glad of his coming; and so much therather because hee was not nusled in sactions and discords; and therefore would beare like affection unto all. He was reverenced and honoured of all men. fometimes using curtesie and moderation misliked of none; and oftentimes quasfing and drunkennes withother wanton behaviour, which well pleused these barbarous people. Now he had gotten reputation with his neighbours, and began tobe famous among strangers; when as such as bare greatest sway in time of factions, fuspecting his power and greatnesse, goe from him to the borders of the kingdome copenly declaring that the ancient liberty of Germany was taken from them, & that cthe Roman strength mastered all. VV as their countrey so barren, that they could "finde none born among them to fill the place of the prince; but that Falvius the spis "brood must be listed up above them all? It was in vaine to make Arminius the protence, whose some being brought up in the enemies land, might well be feared ith « came to be King; as depraved and infected with education, servilitie, attire, and cother strange usages. And if Italus bare the minde his father had done, no min ever hath borne armes more ragingly against his countrey, and houshold gods the his parents. By such and the like speeches they gathered great forces together; and etheredid no fewer follow Italus: All of them affirming that he had not thrust him of felfe among them against their wils; but that he was sent for by them: and seeingh « was more noble then the reft, they should make a trial of his vertue; and whether he er would shew himselte worthy of Arminius his uncle, and Catumerus his grandfather. « Neither could his father be a shame and reproch unto him, because he would never « violate his faith, which by confent of the Germanes he had promifed the Romanes "That the name of libertie was falfely pretended by them, who being base and dege " rate of themselves, and dangerous to the whole state; have no hope but in timed * trouble and garboile. The common fort came chearefully about him, and the King became victorious in a great battell against the Barbarians: then through his prosperous fortune talling into pride, he was chased out of his countrey; and againereenforcing his armie with the aide of the Lombards, now with luckie, now with un-Inckie fuccesse, molested and annoyed the Cherusci. VI. The VI. The Chauceans are driven back out of Germany by Corbulo a Romane Captaine: his severe discipline.

Bout the fame time, the Chauci living in peace at home, and incouraged by Athe death of Sanguinius; whilest Corbuloes coming was expected, made some incurtions upon lower Germany under Gannascus: who being a Caninesian by birth, an aide-fouldier, and long receiving pay under the Romanes, and afterward become a fugitive with light vessels robbing and piracing; especially wasteth the coast of Gallia, because he knew them wealthy and cowards. But Corbulo enteringinto the Province, first with great care, then credit, especially gotten by that fervice, thrust into the River of Rhene certaine Gallies, and other shipping as they were fit, into other armes and ditches of the fea. And having with them funke the fime veffels of the enemy, and driven out Gannafeus: after he had fetled the prefent estate of things, he reduced the Legions which knew not what worke and labour meant, but defirous to hunt after pillage and forreys, to the ancient discipline of fervice: commanding that none should depart from the campe, nor enter battell without commandement: that the watch and ward; all charges both by day and night should be executed in armes. And it is reported that one souldier was put to death. because he digged at a Trench without his sword by his side: and an other, because he had nothing elfe but his dagger: which being over-hard and rigorous and uncerraine, whether falfely spread abroad; yet had their beginning of the Captaines severitie. Whereby thou mayest know that he was inexorable in great faults, seeing it was thought he used such rigour in small. But that terrour wrought different effects in the fouldiers and enemies: we thereby increased our valour; the Barbarians abated their courage. The Frisian nation which rebelled after the overthrow of L. Apronius, and ever after shewed themselves enemies unto us, or nothing faithfull, having given hostages, inhabited the countrey allotted and appointed them by Corbulo. He gave them also a Senate, Magistrates and Laws. And because they should not fall from their obedience, left them a strong Garrison, & sent some to draw the chiefest of the Chauci to yeeld, and withall, by a wile to furprise Gannascus. Neither were those wiles imployed in vaine, or thought cowardly and ill-beseeming us, against a fugitive and faith-breaker. But the Chauci were much troubled with his death, and Corbulo fowed fome feeds of rebellion among them: which as fome construed to the best; so others reported badly of it: for why should he provoke an enemy? If the fuccesse were bad, the hurt would redound to the Common-wealth: if fortune went on his fide, hee was a man to be feared in time of peace; and being valiant and couragious, and under a cowardly Prince, not to be fuffered. Whereupon Claudius was fo far from forcing Germany anew; that he commanded the Garrifons to be brought back on the hither fide of the Rhene. And whileft Corbulo went about to encampe in the enemies land, these letters were delivered him. He underftanding of so sudden a countermand, although many things at once troubled his braines: feare of the Emperour; the contempt the Barbarians would have him in; the jest his confederates would make at it: yet making no more words, but saying onely; Oh how happy some Romane Captains were! sounded a retreate. Nevertheleffe left the fouldiers should grow lazie, he cast a ditch betweene Mosa and Rhene, three and twenty miles long, to beare off the uncertaine inundations of the Ocean. Yet Cafar granted him the honour of triumph, although he denied him licence to make warre.

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VII. How

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VII. How fouldiers were employed out of warre.

Tot long after Curtius Rufus had the fame honour given him, who in the coun. trey of Mattiacum had found a filver mine, of small profit and short continuance: but to the Legions beside the losse, it was great labour to diggethen. vers, and mine under the earth, and draine waters, which in plaine grounds was la. borious. The fouldiers wearied with these toiles, and because they had indured the like in many Provinces; fent letters fecretly to the Emperour in the name of the whole armie, and befought him that from thence forward, he would beftow the markes of triumph beforehand, on fuch, as he purposed to make Commanders of the armie. As for Curtius Rufus birth, whom some have reported to be a Fencers fonne. I will neither utter any thing falfely, and am ashamed to tell the truth. After he was come to mans estate, he was a follower of the Quæstor of Africa; and ina Towne called Adrumentum, as he walked fecretly about midday in a Gallery where were no people, there appeared unto him the likenesse of a woman, greater then the stature of any other, and a voice was heard, faying: Thou art he, Rufus, which shall come Proconful into this Province. Puffed up with hope of this presage of good for tune, he returneth to the citie, and by the bounty of his friends, and his owne wit and industrie, obtaineth the Questorship; and anon after the Pretorship, among many men of note which fued for the same, onely by the suffrage and savour of the Prince; Tiberius hiding the basenesse of his birth, with these words; Curtius Rusus feemeth to me to be borne of himselfe. After this, living untill he was very aged, an odi. ous flatterer to his superiours, arrogant to his inferiours, crabbed among his equals; he became Confull, obtained the honour of triumph, and in the end the governement of Africk; and there dying, fulfilled his fatall deftiny. In the meane space, for no cause then openly known, nor afterward discovered, Gn. Novius a worthy Gentleman of Rome, was found with his fword by his fide in the affembly of those which came to falute the Prince: for being broken on the torture, he confessed nothingelther of himselfe or others; not knowne whether he purposed obstinately to conceale the matter, or whether he were innocent. The fame men being Confuls, P. Dol. ibella propounded in Senate, that the shew of Fencers might be every yeer set forth at the charges of those which obtained the Quæstorship. Which was a charge in our ancestors times, given as a reward of vertue; and was then lawfull for all Citizens which trusted to their merits and vertues, to sue for all kinde of Offices, without any regard had of their age, being a thing lawfull for youngmen to be Confulsor Dictators. But the Quæstors were instituted when the Kings bare the sway as the law of Curies declare, renewed by L. Brutus: and the power of choosing them continued in the Confuls, untill the people would also have a share therein, who first created Valerius Potus, and Aemilius Mamercus, threescore and three yeers after the Tarquines were driven out, to the end they should follow the warres. Then affaires multiplying more and more, two were added for the businesse of the Citie. Not long after, the number was doubled, when Italy and the Provinces were subject to pay task and tallage. After that, by Syllaes law twenty were created to furnish the Senate, unto whom he had given authority of judgement. And although the Gentlemen of Rome had recovered their power of judgement, notwithstanding the Quæftorship was granted according to the worth of the suters, or curtesie of the givers, and that gratis, untill that by Dolabellaes advise it was as it were put to faile.

VIII. Certaine gentlemen of Gallia made Senators. How the Senate was purged of naughty men.

Vitellius and L. Vipfanius being Confuls, when the matter was debated con-A cerning the furnishing of the number of Senators, and that the chiefe gentlemen of Gallia called Comata, who long before were in league with the Romanes, and enjoyed the priviledges of a citizen, defired also the right of bearing offices in the city: great rumors were spread, and the matter was debated before the Prince by men diverfly affected: some affirming, "That Italy was not fallen to so low "an ebbe, that it could not furnish their city of a Senate; that the home-borne with "their kinfmen did in times past supply that want, and no cause why they should be "forry to imitate the custome of the ancient common-wealth. Yea, there might be "examples alleadged, by which it might appeare that the vertuous inclination of "the Romanes at this day, was not inferiour to the vertue and glory of their ance-"ftors. Is it a finall matter that the Venetians and Insubrians have thrust into the "Curia, unleffe a company of strangers be also put in, as it were to keep us in capti-"vitie? what other dignitie is there left for the residue of the nobles? or if any of the "Latian Senators fall to decay? that those rich men would fil and possesse all, whose "grandfathers and great grandfathers being captaines of the enemy nations. have "flaine with the fword, and violence our armies, and befieged Iulius of famous me-"mory at Alefia. These things are freshin memory. What if we should call those to "memory which befieged the Capitoll, and broke down the altar of Rome with "their owne hands? That it was sufficient to enjoy the name of a citizen: and that " the ornaments and markes of the Lords of the Senate, the dignitie of Magistrates "ought not to be made common. But with these and the like speeches the Prince was nothing moved, but immediately spake against it, and calling the Senate to-"gether, began as followeth. Myancestors (among which the most ancient was "Clau(us, taking his beginning of the Sabians, & was at once made citizen of Rome "and received into the family of the Patricians) gave me counsell to governe the "common-wealth with fuch counfels and cares as they had done, and transfer into "itall that is good & commendable, from whence foever it be brought. Neither am "I ignorant that the Iulii came from Alpa, the Coruncani from Camerium, the Porci-"ans from Tusculum; and that we may not search out farther antiquities, there have "been men called into the Senate from Etruria, Lucania, and all Italy. At last the ci-"tie was extended even to the Albes, in so much that not onely men severally, but "countries & nations united themselves to our name, and grew as one whole body. "Then had we a fure and firme peace at home, and flourished against forraine "nations, when the Transpadani received the freedome of the city; when under co-"lour of leading our legions throughout the world, & adding unto them the strong-"est forces of the provinces, we eased the weak & wearied Empire. Doth it repent "us that the Balbanians came out of Spaine, and the worthiest men of Gallia Narbo-"nenfis to us? Their posterity remain with us, neither do they give place unto us in "love towards this our countrey. What other thing was the destruction and over-"throw of the Laced monians and Athenians, although they were strong and pu-"iffantin arms, but that they rejected those they conquered, as strangers?" But our "founder Romulus carried himself so secretly, that he had many which the same day "were his enemies and citizens. Strangers have ruled over us: offices have been gi-"ven to the fons of such as have bin freed from bondage, & not as some have beene deceived

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VIII. Cer-

X. Narciffus,

"deceived as a new prefident, but it hath been practifed by our first people. But we "have fought with the Senonians. I pray you, have the Volfciand Acqui never "prepared an army against us? we have been taken of the Galli: and we have given "hoftages likewife to the Tufci, and paffed under the yoke of the Samnites. If then "wilt recko up all the wars, none hath bin fooner ended then that against the Galli-"fince that time we have had a continualland faithfull reace. Now that in confor-" mity of manners, arts and alliances, they are mingled with our people, let them ra. "ther bring to us their gold and wealth, then enjoy it by themselves. All things "(Lords of the Senate) which are thought now to be most ancient, have been new. "The Patricians had first all offices in their hands; after them the people; after the "people, the Latins; after the Latins, all the nations of Italy. This will grow old "likewife, although it feeme new; and that which to day we maintaine by example. "fhal be reckoned amongst examples. A decree of the Senate given according unto the Princes oration, the Eduans first of all received the rights and priviledges of Senators in the city. This was granted them in confideration of their ancient alliance: and because they onely among the Galli, called themselves brothers of the people of Rome. The fame time Cafar made the ancientest of the Senators patricians, or fuch whose fathers were famous; sew of those families remaining, which Romalus called of the greater, & L. Brutus, of the leffer familie: those also being decaied and extinguished, which Casar the Dictator substituted by the law Cassia: and Prince Augustus by the law Senia. All these things were gratefull unto the people; and done with the good liking of Cafar. It troubled him very much how he might remove such from the Senate, as were notoriously infamous; and at last bethought himselse of a new and gentle course; yet grounded on the rigour of ancient time: which was to admonish every man to examine his owne conscience: and cravelicence to give up his roome, if he thought himselfe touched; which should easily be granted; and promised them to propound together, as wel those that were romoved, as those that resigned their roomes, that the judgement of the Censors, and the moderation of those which willingly renounced interlaced together, might coverthe discredit. For this cause the Consult Pipsanius propounded, that Claudius might be called the father of the Senate: because that the title of father of the countrey, being common, new merits towards the common-wealth, should not be honoured with old titles. But hee himselfe bridled the Consull as over-much flattering; and appointed a view to be taken of the City which is called Lustrum, and the number of the citizens to be inrolled, which came to threefcore eight hundred, and four eand fourty thousand. Then began he to have better intelligence how matters went a home: and not long after he was constrained to know, and punish the dissolute and licentious life of his wife, immediately after to burne in an unlawfull defire of incestuous matrimony.

IX. Messalinaes loose loves: her marriage with Silius.

Ow Messalina through the easie injoying of her adulterers, as it were loathing them, grew more licentious in unknowne and strange sensualitie: when as Silina himselfe, either by a fatall sottishnesse, or thinking dangers themselves to beethe remedy against imminent dangers, "began earnessly to urge her to breake offall dissimulation: and make that knowne, which untill then he went "about to keepe secret, For the matter was not come to that, that they should "expect the Princes death. Harmlesse counsels were good for the innocent, but in the same secretary to the sam

"open and manifest villanies there was no hope of safety, but in audacious attempts. "There were others in the same fault and feared the like punishment: he was a single "man without children, ready to marry her, & adopt Britannicus. Meffalinaes autho-"ritie could continue the fame, and with greater fecuritie, if they could prevent Claudius; as uncircumspect against suares and wiles, so hasty and soon moved to "anger; Thesespeeches she seemed not much to like of: not for the love of her husband; but left Silius having gotten the foveraignty, would reject her as an adultreffe, and fallto a just confideration of her lewd life, which with his danger he had tried. Nevertheles she desired the name of matrimony, because of the greatnesse of the infamy, which with prodigal and diffolute persons is the last contentment. They expected no longer, then Claudius went to Hofiia to do facrifice, but she accomplified all the folemnities of marriage. I am not ignorant, but it will found like a fable. that there should be any man so blockish and carelesse; much lesse that a Confull elect should in a city where all things are known, and nothing kept secret; a day appointed; company affembled to feale the agreement; contract marriage as it were ofiffue and children, with the Princes wife: and that he should heare the words of the Auspices, or hand-fasters; attire her selfe bride-like, sacrifice unto the gods. sit downe among ft the guests, kiffe, embrace; and in the end paffe the night in all libertie of marriage. But there is nothing fained, to make the thing feem miraculous. but I will you deliver but that which hath been heard & written by ancient writers. Then the Princes house began to quake for fear; and especially those which were in highest credit and favour: and if there should fall an alteration more afeard; they began now not in secret whisperings, but openly to murmure, saying: "That as long "as the adulterers did use the matter secretly, true it was that the Prince was disho-"nored; but yet he was in no danger of his estate: whereas now this young man of a "noble birth, of a manly representation, in the prime of his youth and shortly to be "Conful, aspired no doubt to greater hope. For it was easily known what was to be "expected after such a marriage. Doubtlesse a seare possessed them to thinke how blockish Claudius was, how thrall unto his wife, and how many murders had beene committed by Messalinaes commandement. On the other side, the facility of the Princes nature imboldned them, and gave them hope, that they could beat into his head the enormity of the fact, the might as one already condemned, be brought to confusion before she were arraigned. But the danger was that if she should be admitted to her defence, yet the Princes eares would be buttened and deafe, although she should confesse. And first of all Califus, of whom I have spoken in the death of C.Ca[ar, and Narcissus the contriver of Appius death, and Pallas the greatest favorite atthat time, debated: whether diffembling all other matters by fecret threats they should disswade Messalina from Silim love; but they altered their mindes, lest they should draw on their owne ruine; Pallas for want of courage; Calistus as practifed in the estate of the former Court, and knowing that credit and authoritie was safelier maintained with circumspect then rash counsell; Narcissus persisting in his purpose altering that onely point, which was, to take heede, left by any word fine should have aninckling who was her accuser, and of what.

X. Narciffus, Claudius Freed man advertifeth him of the marriage.

The [ottishnesse of the Emperour.

T Arciffus then earnestly watching all opportunities, during Cafars long stay at Hoftia, induced two concubines with whom the Emperour licentiously conversed, by faire promises and gifts, and especially shewing them to what greatnesse and credit they might come unto, if his wife were put from him; toundertake the discovering of this crime. Then Calphurnia (for so one of them was called) as foon as the found him alone, falling at Cafars knees, crieth out that Meffali. na had married Stlius; and withall asketh Cleopatra who was there prefent of purpose to be asked the question; who nodding with her head in token that she had, com. mandeth Narciffus to be called for: he, craving pardon of that which was past, and that he had concealed the adultery betweene Messalina and Vectius, and betweene her and Plancius, added further, that the best way was not to reproch him of his adulteries, nor demand his house, his servants, and other Princely ornaments embe. zeled away; but let him (faid Narciffus) injoy them, so as he would restore thee thy wife, and cancell the writings of marriage. "Doeft thou know (faith the father) of "thy divorcement? for Silius marriage the people faw, the Lords of the Senate, and "the fouldiers, and if thou make not halte, the new married-man will be Lord of the "City. Hereupon Claudius calleth for the chiefest of his friends, and first of all for Turranius chiefe Officer for provision of Corne; then Lusius Geta Captaine of the Guard, asking them what they knew of the matter: who confessing it, all the rest came cluttering about him, crying that he should hast away to the Camp, strengthen his Guard, provide first for his safety, then revenge. Sure it is that Claudius was so furprised with seare that he did eftsoones aske whether he were yet soveraign of the Empire? whether silim were yet a private man without charge? But Meffalinane. ver more loofe & diffolute in lusts, the Autumne being well spent, celebrated in her house the feast of Grape-gathering; the Presses were wrung, the vessels flowed with wine, women danced about kirt with skins, like unto mad women, folemnizing the feast, of Bacchus; she her seife, her haire hanging loose about her eares, shakinga Javelin wrapped about with Vine-leaves; Silius hard by her covered with Ivie, with buskings on his legs, casting the head hither and thither, with a shamelesse companie of dancers shouting and singing about them. It is reported that Vectius Valent toying and jesting, climed up a high tree; and being demanded what he saw there, made answer; a cruell tempest coming from Hostia. Whether any such thing did appeare, or whether it were a word flipt by chance; it was turned to a prefage of future danger. Not rumor any longer, but meffengers come from all parts, bringing them tidings that Claudius knewall, and was coming, ready to revenge. Mellslina then conveyed her selfe into the Gardens which sometimes belonged to Lucullus. Silius diffembling his feare, went to his businesse in the Forum. The rest, fome flipping one way, fome another, the Centurions laid hold on and bound with yrons, as they were found either abroad or in corners and lurking places. Meffalina albeit this sudden crossing had almost put her besides her selfe, yet thought it best as a shift, which never failed at a pinch, to meet her husband, and shew her selfe unto him; and commanded Britannicus and Octavia to goe before, and cast themselves betwixt their fathers armes; and prayed Vibidia the ancientest of the Virgins Vestall to goe to the high Priest, and intreat him he would shew clemency in her behalfe. And in the meane time accompanied with three person onely (so naked was the left on the fudden) having gone afoote over all the City, at last in a Tumbrell which carried away the riddings of Gardens, she taketh her away towards Hostia.no one pitying her, because the filthinesse of her wicked life swayed downe all compasses sion. Neverthelesse Casar trembled, because he distrusted Geta Captaine of his quard, a man as lightly carried to bad as to good. Whereupon Narciffus, having raken those with him which had the like feare, assured Casar, he had no other hope of fafety left, then to transfer the whole commandery of the fouldiers that one day unto some one of his Freed-men; and offereth himselfe to be the man. And fearing left whileft he were brought unto the City, he might be induced by L. Fitellius or P. Largus Cacina, to repent him, he defireth and taketh a place in the same Chariot with the Emperour. The fame was common afterwards, that among divers of the Princes speeches, now blaming his wives lightnesse, now calling to minde the band of matrimony, and infancy of his children, Vitellius never used other speech, then of wickednesse. O shame, Narcissus urged him to speak plainely, and go no more about the bush ; yet he could not win so much of him, but would still answer in doubtfull tearmes, and fuch as might be construed as every man listed to draw them; and Largus Cacina did the like.

XI. Silius and Messalina punished, with others her adulterers.

Ow Messalina was in fight, and cried that he would heare Ostavia and Britannicss mother: when as the accuser made a noyse on the other side naming Silius and the marriage: and withall presented unto him certaine writings, bewrayers of her lusts and lasciviousnesse, to the end he might turne Casars sight from her. And not long after, the children had between them, had been presentedunto him, as he entred the City; if Narcissus had not commanded them to be conveyed away. But Vibidia could not be driven away, but requested importunately with nipping tearmes, that his wife unheard might not be put to death. Hereupon Narcissus answered that the Prince should heare her, and that she should have libertie to purge her selfe. In the meane space, that she should depart, and attend her facrifices. Claudius used a wonderfull filence whilest all those speeches past. Vitellius was as one that knew little; all obeyed the Freed-men: he commanded the adulterers house to be opened, and the Emperour to be brought thither. And there first of all in the entry he shewed the Emperor the image of Silius father, defaced by decree of Senate. Then told him that what soever the Neroes or Druss had, rich and Princely, had been given to Silius for a reward of his reprochfull adultery: then feeing Claudius inflamed and bursting into threats, leads him to the fouldiers Campes, very ready to heare an Oration: unto whom as Narcissus had before advised him, hee used some few words. For although he had just cause of griefe; yet shame hindered him. Immediately all the bands cried together continually, demanding the names and punishment of the offenders. And silius brought to the Bar, neither went about to justifie himselfe, nor crave respite; but intreated that his death might be hastened. The same constancy made other famous Gentlemen of Rome defire the hastning of their death. He commanded Titius Proculus guard unto Silius and Meffalina, and Vectius Valens offering to detect other crimes, and confessing the same, and Pompeius Vrbicus and Saufellus Trogus, all of counsell to the fact, to be brought to execution. Decius Calfurnianus likewise Captaine of the watch, Sulpitius Rusus Overseer of the Playes, Iuncus Virgilianus a Senatour, received the like punishment. Onely Mnester delayed his punishment, renting his cloathes and crying,

that he would looke upon the markes of the stripes, and call to minde his ownwords, which were, that he should bee ready to obey Messalinaes commandements Alleadging that others had offended for rewards & hope of advancement, but here neceffitie: and that no mans cause should have been harder then his, if Silius had be. come Emperor C.esar moved with these speeches & prone to mercy, yet the freed men altered his minde, affirming that feeing fo many notable personages had becne put to death, he should not spare a Stage-player; and that it was all one whether con. strained or voluntarily he had committed so lewd a fact. Traulus Montanus a Gentle. man of Romes defence, was not received. This young man being of modest behavior our, and comely feature of body, not thinking on any fuch matter, was fent forby Messalina, who injoying him onely one bare night, would afterward no more of him, being of nature as ready to loath, as to like and luft. Suilius Cesonius, and Planting Lateranus only had pardon granted them. This in regard of his Uncles great ments: Cesonius through his impurity and unnatural abusing of his body. All this while Messalina in Lucullus Gardens, prolonged her life; made her supplicatios, sometimes with hope, and fometimes with anger: fo proudly she shewed her selse even inher extreamest danger. And if Narcissus had not hastned her death, she had turned the mischiefe upon the accusers head. For Claudeus being returned home againe, and his choler well cooled in a banket, after he had waxt warm with wine, commanded that one should go and tell that wretch (for that tearme they say he used) that she should appeare the next day to plead her cause. Which being understood, and searing left his anger should relent; and his love, (if they should deferre the matter that night which was already come) and the remembrance of his wives chamber should revine and returne: Narcissius rusht out, and told the Centurions and the Tribune which were present, that they should put her to death, and that the Emperour had so commanded: and Enodius one of his freed-men, was appointed to affift and fee it executed. Who hastning to the gardens, found her along on the earth, and Lepida her mo ther fitting by her, alwaies at jarre with her daughter whilest she flourished in prosperity, yet in her last extremities overcome with compassion, perswaded her noto tarry for the executioner; that her life was past, and that she should look for noother honour, then by killing her felfe. But her minde corrupted with filthy fenfu. litie, there was no spark of honesty left; her teares and lamentations were in vain. Then the doores being violently broke open, the Tribune stood in a maze, and in great dumpe without one word speaking, and the freed-men rebuked her with many servile reproches. Messalina then first of all considering of her estate, tooke a sword, which in vain through trembling feare, she put to her throat, and then to her break; which at last was thrust thorow with a blow which the Tribune lent her, & her body granted her mother. Then word was brought Claudius as he was a banqueting, that Messalina was dead, not telling him whether by her own hand, or any mans else, neither did he aske so much; but called for the cup, and went forward as he was wontto do at his banket. Neither the daies following gave he any tokens of hate, joy, anger, forrow, or of any other humane affection; not when he faw the accusers joyfull; not when his children fad. The Senate helped him to forget her, by giving order, that her name and image should be pulled downe from all publike and private places. It was ordained that the ornaments of the Questorship should be bestowed upon Narcissis; the lightest point of his authoritie, seeing he was the chiefest after Gallus and Califtus, an honest decree and priviledge, but of which rose very many lewd actions, which escaped unpunished.

THE TVVELFTH BOOK

OF THE ANNALES OF

CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Three of Claudius Freed-men deliberate upon a wife for him.

HE Emperours house being divided through the death of Messallina; his Freed-men fell into contention, which of them should choose Clauans ereco-mented into contention, which or them should choose Claudius a wife, already thundring against a single life, and thrall to his wives will. The women on their side burnt with no lesse ambition, each of them comparing their Nobility, beauty, and wealth, fet forth themselves and vaunted they were worthy of fo great a match. But the chiefest doubt was betwixt Lollia Paullina, daughter to M. Paullinus once Confull, & Iulia Agrippina, Germanicus daughter: Pallas favoured her, and Califtus the other. AElia Petina of the house of the Tuberioes was favoured of Narciffus. The Emperour himselfe was easily carried, now hither, now thither, according as he had heard every of their perswasions; and disagreeing the one from the other, calleth them to a consultation; and commandeth each of them to utter and yeeld a reason of his opinion. Narcissus beginneth with his old marriage, and family common to them both (for he had had Antonia by Petina) and that he should have no new change in his house, if his old wife should returne againe; who would not with the eye of a Step-mother, looke upon Britannicus and Octavia, the neerest pledges unto her owne children. Califtus sheweth that being rejected by along divorcement, if shee should be taken againe. fhee would become proud and haughty: therefore it were farre better to take Lollia feeing the was without emulation and children; and therefore would be in stead of a mother to her husbands children: But Pallas extolled in Agrippina above other qualities, that she should bring with her Germanicus nephew, worthy in all regards of the imperiall highnesse; extracted of a noble race, and Claudian family, which should unite their posteritie, lest a woman fruitfull in childe-bearing, and in the flower of her youth should carry with her the glory of the Casars to another house. This perswasion with some helpe of Agrippinaes allurements sunk deepest: who often coming to vitite him under colour of kindred, so wonne her Uncle, that being preferred before all others, though yet not his wife, tooke upon her the authoritie of his wife. For as foone as she was affured of the marriage, she began to lay plots for greater matters, and undertook a match betweene Domitius, whom she had had by Gn. A Enobarbus, and Octavia, Cafars daughter: which without shame and discredit could not be accomplished, because Casar had betrothed Octavia to L. Silanus a young man, befides other vertues, of noble parentare; and on whom Cafar had bestowed the markes of triumph, and licenced to set forth a play of Fencers with all pompe and magnificence, to winne the love and favour of the people. But nothing seemed hard to the Princes minde, who had neither judgement nor malice, but what was put into him or commanded. Vitellius therefore cloaking under the name of a Cenfor base and servile devises, foreseeing into whose handling rule and dominion would shortly come, to winne Agrippinaes favour, began to intermeddle and thrust himselse into her counsels, and carry tales against Silanus: who had a sister indeed comely, but a shamelesse dame, called Iunia Calvina: who not long before had been Vitelius sonswife. From hence rose the beginning of his accusation, by drawing her into suspicion, not of incest with her brother, but of other looseleves redounding to their shame and infamie. Casus gave eare unto him, as one ready through the love he bare his daughter, to hearken to all suspitions against hissonin law. But Silanus doubting nothing what snares were laid for him, and by chance that yeer Pretor, was on the sudden by an edict published by Vitelius put from his Senators roome; although the roule of the Senators were made up, and the number lanus was forced to renounce his office by oath; and the rest of the time of his Pretorship was bestowed upon Eprius Marcellus.

II. Vitellius Oration for the marriage of the Vncle and the Neece. The marriage between Claudius and Agrippina. The death of Silanus.

Pompeius, and Q. Veranius being Confuls, the marriage was concluded be. tweene Claudius and Agrippina, and held as certaine in every mans mouth through tokens of unlawfull loves, though they durft not as yet celebratethe folemnities, having no prefident that the brothers daughter should be brought into the Uncles house as wife, for it was incest: and if not looked into, it was to bee feared that it would turne to a publike mischiefe. Neither was that doubt out of Cafars head, untill Vitellius by his drifts and fleights undertooke the matter. And afking the Emperour whether he would yeeld to the commandement of the people, or authoritie of the Senate? and he answering that he was one of the Citizens, and notable to withstand their agreement, Vitellius willed him not to stir out of his Palace, but goeth himselfe to the Curia, and protesting that he had a matter todebate which touched the welfare of the whole State, craveth licence to speake first. and began as followeth. That the heavy and great toyles of the Prince in governing the whole world, wanted support; that being unburdened of domestical cares, her might the better provide for the comon good. And what honester solace of a Cenfors minde, then to take unto him a wife, a companion in prosperous and doubtfull fortune? unto whom he might impart his inward thoughts, commit his finall children; he especially not nuzled up in riot and wanton lusts, but who had beene obedient to Lawes from his first youth. After he had made this preamble with a glosing fpeech, and that it was accepted with great flattery of the Lords of the Senate, her began anew and faid. Seeing that all of them did exhort the Prince to marry, it was convenient a wife were chosen for him, renowned for her nobilitie, childe-bearing, and honesty of life. Neither was it needfull to goe far for such a one, seeing Agrippina did excell the reft in noblenesse of bloud, and had given a proofe of her fruit fulnesse, and was indued with other honest qualities. That was a matter worthy remembrance, that by the providence of the gods, a Widow should bee joyned to a Prince, who had tried no matrimony but his owne. They had heard of their forefathers, and seene themselves, mens wives to have beene taken by force at the will of the Emperour; athing farre from the modesty of the present time: yea hee should be a president how hereafter the Emperour should take a wife. But it is a ftrange president to marry our brothers daughters but an usuall matter amongother Nations, and by no Law forbidden. And marriages between cousen germaines a long time not known, in progresse of time grew common. A custome is to be applied according as it is profitable and expedient: and this marriage likewise in time to come will be among things commonly practifed. There wanted not some which protested, if Casar would protract his resolution, they would force him to it, and so ruft who first might out of the Curia: and afterward by multitudes flocked iogether, crying that the people of Rome defired the fame. Claudius expected no tonger, but went and met them at the Forum, and shewed himselfe to such as were glad thereof. And entering into the Senate, demanded that a decree might be enacted, hy which, marriage betweene the uncles and neeces, daughters to their brothers. should from thence forward be accompted just and lawfull. Yet for all that onely one there hath been called Talledius Severus, a Gentleman of Rome, who hath oreatly defired to marry in that fort, whom most men think to have done it to winne Agrippinaes favour. By that marriage all was turned upfide downe in the City, and all men obeyed this woman; yet not as when Messalina abused the government through licentiousnesse: but as it were with as great and severe subjection, as if they had been under a man. Openly the shewed severitie, and often pride; nothing done in her house dishonourably, unlesse it were so expedient for the furthering of roleand government: her exceeding greedinesse in raking money had a cloake, which was the maintenance of the state. The day of the marriage Silanus killed himfelse, either because untill that time he had hope of prolonging his life, or else chose that day to make the marriage more odious. Calvina his fifter was expulsed Italv. Claudius added certaine facrifices according to the laws of King Tullus and certaine satisfactions by the chiefe Priest in Dianaes wood; all men laughing Claudius to skorne, that punishment and purging facrifices of incest should bee fought at that

III. Betrothing of Domicius Agrippinaes sunnewith Octavia, Claudius daughter. Seneca is recalled out of exile. The Parthians demand that Meherdates may be their King.

DUt Agrippina, left she should be famous onely for infamous actions, got remis-I fion of Anneus Senecues banishment, and withall obtained him the Prætorship; perswading herselse it would be gratefully accepted of the communaltie, by reason of his great fame in learning, and because Domitius childhood might be trained up under fuch a mafter, and use his advise and counsell to attaine to the Empire which shee hoped after. Because it was thought Seneca would be trusty to Agrippina, for the remembrance of this benefit received of her, and an enemy to Claudiss for the griefe of his injurie. Then thinking it convenient not to delay the matter any longer, Memmius Pollio Confull elect was induced through great promifes to propound, and perswade Claudius to hand-fast Octavia to Domitius, a thing nothing inconvenient, both their ages considered, and might be an entrance to greater matters. Pollio gave his opinion in words, not unlike to those which Vitellius of late used, and thereupon Octavia was betrothed. Now Domitius besides the kindred which was between them before, being betrothed and fonne in law to the Emperour, beganne to be made equall to Britannicus, by his mothers practifes, and policie of fuch as feared the fonne would revenge upon those which procured Messalinaes accusation. About the same time the Embassadours of the Parthians sent, as I have faid before, to demand Meherdates for their King, entered into the Senate, and began to utter their charge as followeth. "They came thither notignorant of "the league between them and the Romans, nor disloyall to the family of the Arfa-"cides,— "cides; but to aske for Vonones fon, Phrahates nephew; against Gotarzes tyranny, a. "like intolerable to the nobility and communaltie. Now that his brothers are ex-"tinguished by murder, his neerest kinsmen, and such as were farthest off; he would "do the like to women with child, and small children; thinking it a means being un-"fortunate in wars abroad, to cover with that cowardline see his crueltie at home "That their amity with us was ancient, and publikely confirmed; and therefore reafon we should aide our allies, which might in strength compare with the Romanes. "but in decd yeeld for reverence. Therfore the Kings children were given for ho. "flages, that if they grew weary of their domesticall government, they might have "recourse to the Prince and Lords of the Senate, under whose manner of living the "Ming being brought up, should be prefumed to be the better. Whe they had uttend these and the like speeches, Casar began his Oration with the greatnesse of the Romane Empire, and dutifulneffe of the Parthians, and maketh himfelfe equall to Asgustus; declaring that a king had been demanded of him also, not mentioning Tiberius at all, notwithstanding he had fent aide likewise. He gave certaine Precepts to Meherdates, who was there prefent, advertising him that he should not think himfelfea Lord and master to command over his subjects as slaves; but a guide; and they Citizens: and that he should use clemency and justice, vertues so much the more gratefull unto these Barbarians, by how much the lesse knowne among them. Then turning himselfeto the Embassadors, he highly commended the youth which had beene brought up in the Citie, as one, whose modestie had beene well tried: that the dispositions of Kings were to bee borne withall, because often changes are not profitable. That the Romane estate was growne unto that height with fulnesse of glory; that it desired peace and quietnesse even to forreine nations. After he had thus said, he commanded C. Cassius governor of Syria, to conduct the young man to the river of Euphrates. Cassius at that time did excell the rest in the knowledge of the laws. For military skill is unknowne in time of rest and quietnesse: and peace effeemed alike of the coward and couragious. Neverthelesse as much as those quiet times gave him leave, he renewed the ancient discipline; kept the Legionsin practife with care and forefight, as if the enemie had beene at hand; thinking it thing worthy of his ancestors, and Cassian familie, renowned among those people Having therefore fent for them, through whose consentment the king was deman ded, and planted his campe at Zeugma, where the river is most puffable: after that the noble men of Parthia, and the King of the Arabians called Abbarus was come, he shewed unto M cherdates, that the first brunt of the Barbarians was sierce and hot; but by delay and lingring became cold, or turned into treason; and thereforeher should couragiously goe through his interprise. But his advise was contemned through Abbarus fraud, who detained him like an unexperienced young man in the towne of Edessa; as though the highest degree of fortune and princely felicitie had confifted in riot and wantonneffe. And when Carrhenes called them in , and affured them, that all was in a good readyneffe if they would make haft, they did not march straight to Mesopotamia, but turned to Armenia in an unseasonable time, because the winter was begun. Then wearied with fnowes and mountaines, coming need to the plaine, they is yned with Carrhenes forces. And having paffed the river of Tigris, they entered into the countrey of Adfabeni; whose King Iuliates in open shew professed himselse a confedrate of Meherdates, but under hand was more faithfully bent to Gotarzes.

IIII. Gotar-

IIII. Gotarzes overcometh Meherdates, and cutteth off his eares: Mithridates usurpeth the Kingdome of the Dandarides: and goeth about to drive out Cotys.

TEverthelesse in passing by, Meherdates tooke the citie of Ninos, the most ancient feat of Affyria, and a famous Castle; because that in the last battell betwixt Darius and Alexander there; the Persian power was brought to utter ruine. In the meane time Gotarzes at a hill called Sambulos, offered vowes to the gods of the place, among which Hercules was chiefely honoured: who at a certaine time admonisheth his Priests in a dreame, that neere unto the Temple, they should havehorses ready prepared for hunting: the horses loaden with quivers full of arrowes prawnfing up and downe the woods, returne at night, breathing and panting with their quiversempty. The god againe declareth to them in a dreame, what woods they have courfed up & down in whither they goe and finde wilde beafts killedin many places. But Gotarzes not having fufficiently strengthened his army, useth theriver Corma for a defence. And although he were fummoned by divers meffengers and hard speeches to battell: yet he sought delayes; changed place; & sent some to corrupt the enemy, & draw them to for fak their obedience. Among which Ezates Adiabenus, and anon after Abbarus King of the Arabians, with their army began toshrink through a certain lightnesse incident to that nation: and because it is tryed by experience that the Barbarians had rather come to Rome to demand a king, then when they have him, keepe him. Now Meherdates seeing himselfe stripped of his ftrongest succour, and suspecting lest the others would betray him, determined for his last refuge to commit his matter to chance, and hazard it in a maine battell. Gotarzes being very fierce, that his enemies forces were diminished, refused not to fight. They met with great flaughter and a doubtfull iffue; untill Carrhenes making cleare way before him, and driving and pursuing the enemies too farre, was compatied behinde with a fresh company and staine. Then all hope being lost, Meherdites trusting the promises of one Parrhacis a follower of his father, by his falsehood was taken prisoner, and delivered to the Conquerour. Who intreated himnorlike a kinfeman, or one of the Arfacis stocke; but reviled him like a strangerand a Roman: and having cut off his eares, gave him his life, as ashew of his clemency; and dishonour and reproach unto us. Not long after Gotarzes dyed of a disease; and Vonones then governour of the Medes, was called to be King. There happened nothing in his reigne either prosperous or unprosperous, worthy the telling: he lived but a short and an inglorious time; and the kingdome of the Parthians was translated to his sonne Vologeses. But Mithridates the Bosphoran wandering up and downeafter hee had lost his forces; understanding that Didius the Roman Captaine with the strength of his army was departed: and that not onely Cotys a raw and rude youth, was left in the new kingdome with some few bands under the conduct of Inlines Aquila a gentleman of Rome; contemning both of them, began to follicite the countries about him, and allure fugitives: and at last, having affembled anarmy, chafeth out the King of the Dandarides, and injoyeth his kingdome. Which being understood, and looking every houre that he would invade the Bofphoran: Aquila and Cotys distrusting their owne forces, because Zorsines King of the Soraci had taken armes againe, fought for forreine ayde, and fent Ambassadors to Eunones King of the Adorsian nation: being no hard matter to drawe him to their fellowship.

fellowship, after he had declared what ods there was betweene the Roman forces and the rebell Mithridates. Whereupon they agreed that Eunones should have charge of the horsemen, and the Romans besiege townes. Then having mustered their armie in order, they march in battellarray; the Adorsi defended the front and the rereward; the cohorts and Bosphorani the middle battle, armed after our fashion. And so driving back the enemy, we came to Soza the cheife towned Dandarica, which Mithridates forfooke; where we left a garrifon, as being doubt. full of the inhabitants fidelitie. From thence they marched to the Soraci: and ha. ving puffed the river Panda, they befieged the city Vipe, fituated on a high place, & fortified with wals and ditches, faving that the wals not being made of stone; butof hurdles iovned together, and earth in the middle, were too weake against the befig. gers: who having erected towers higher then the wals, with fire and darts disorde. redthe besieged: and had not the night broken off the battell; the townshad beene assaulted and taken the same day. The next day they sent Ambassadors toin treat for the freemen; but of flaves they offered tenthousand, which the Conque. rours refused. And because that to flay such as yeelded would be a cruell part; and to keepe fo great a multitude hard, they thought it best to hold on the siege, and kill them by right of warre: and thereupon the figne was given to such souldiers as had scaled the wals to put them to the sword,

> V. Mithridates being for (aken by Zorfines King of the Soraci, yeeldeth to Eunones King of the Adors, and came to Rome after he had made a peace.

Hestaughter of the Vspensians stroke the rest into a seare, thinking now that there was no fafety in any thing: feeing their armes; their fortresses, highand hard places; rivers and townes, were forced alike. Zorfines then long waigh ing with himselfe, whether he should succour Mithridates desperate case, or provide for his fathers kingdome: at length the love of his countrey swaying him, he ving given pledges, he prostrated himselse before the image of Casar, to the great glory of the Roman army; which without any losse of bloudshed on his side came (asit is most manifest) victorious, within three dayes journey of the river Tanas. But in returning fortune was not alike; because some of the shippes carried onthe Taurian shores, were by the Barbarians surprised, and the presect of the cohorts, and most of the Centurions slaine. In the meane time Mithridates finding no safetyin armes, dabareth with himselse whose mercy he should trie: He seared his brother Cotys, because he betrayed him once, and was now his enemie. There was noned the Romans of such authoritie, that their promises should greatly be regarded: in fine, headdreffed himfelfeto Eunones his enemie for private grudge; but great, and of better credit through the friendship newly contracted with us. Therefore compoling his countenance, and attiring himfelfe sutable to his present estate, goetho "the Kings palace, and casting himselfe at his knees saith: Behold here Mithridate, "whom by tea and by land you have fo many yeeres fought. Behold I am here of my "owne voluntary will. Vieasthou wilt the sonne of great Achemenes, which is the "onely thing which the enemies have not taken from me. But Eunones moved with the nobility of the man and the change of his fortune; at his prayer which argued 100 base minde, lifteth up the suppliant, and commendeth him that he had chosenthe Adorsian nation, and his right hand for obtaining of pardon. And withall sendeth "Ambaffadors and letters to Cafar withe these contents. That the first friendship, be-

wixt the Emperours and Kings of other mighty nations, proceeded of conformity "and likenes of fortune: but Claudins amity and his, of a victoric common to them "both. That the end of warre were most notable, when peace was made with pardoring. So when Zor finus was conquered nothing was taken from him: for Mithri-"dates although he had deserved worse; no power, no kingdome was entreated for "but onely that he might not belead in triumph, and lose his life. Neverthelesse Claudius, although he were milde and gentle towards forraine nobilitie: vet doubred, whether it were best for him to receive the captive under condition of life, or demand him by force of armes. For on one fide the griefe of injuries received, and "desire of revenge pricked him; and on the other, reasons to the contrary: That he "should take a warre in hand in a hard countrey, and a havenlesse sea: with all that "the Kings were firce and the people scattered, and the soile fruitlesse and needy of "victuals; then that lingring would bring tediousnesse, and haste danger: the praise "should be small to the conquerers; the infamy great if they took the repulse: the:-"fore it were best to take the offer, & keepe the exiled: who being poore, how much "the longer he lived, so much the more punishment he should indure. Moved with "these reasons he wrote to Eunones. In very truth, that Mithridates deserved exam-"plary punishment; neither wanted he power to execute it: neverthelesse it hath "feemed best unto our predecessors, to use as great benignity towards humble sup-"pliants, as hard and rigorous dealing towards the enemy: for triumphes were gotten of whole nations and kingdomes. Then Mithridates was delivered and carried to Rome by Iunius Celo Procurator of Pontus; and thought to have spoken more boldly to Cafar then his estate required. His speeche was carried to the people in "these termes. I am not sent back unto thee, but am come; and if thou believe me "not, let me goe and try. There appeared no figne of fearein his countenance, when as guarded with keepers neere unto the court, he was shewne unto the people. The Confulary ornaments were given to Colo, and the Pretorian to Aquila.

> VI. The death of Lollia Paulina, through Agrippinaes jealousie. Calphurnia driven out of Italy.

7Nder the same Consuls Agrippins boiling with deadly hatred and malice against Lollia, because shee had contended with her for the marrying of the Prince, left no meanes unfought, untill she had stirred up some to accuse her of conference had with the Chaldeans, and Magicians, and counfell asked of the idoll of Apollo Clarius, concerning the Emperors marriage. Hereupon Claudius, the defendant unheard, having spoken much before the Senat of her noblenes of birth, that the was L. Volufius fifters daughter; that Cotta Meffallinus was her great uncle, and the once wife to Mennius Regulus, (for of purpose the left out that the had beene married to C. Cxfar) added in the end; that he had practifed dangerous things, against the state; and that all occasion and matter of evill was to be taken away: therefore he was of advice that shee should lose her goods, and depart out of Italy; leaving the banished woman of the infinite wealth which she was mistresse of, but * fiftie hundred thou fand festerces. And Calphurnia, a woman of great birth was o- * About verthrowne, only because the Prince had praised her beautie; not for any amorous 10, sullings, affection, but by changes were found on the land of the prince had praised her beautie; not for any amorous 10, sullings, affection, but by chance: yet Agrippina stretched not her malice to the uttermost against her, but sent a Tribune to make away Lollia. And Cadius Rusus was condemned for bribery, and extortion, at the instance of the Bithynians. And in confideration of the great reverence the inhabitants of Gallia Narbonenfis bare the

Lords of the Senate, it was granted to the Senators of that Province, that without licence of the Prince they might go visite their houses, and dispose of their goods with the like priviledge, as they which were of the Province of Sicilia. The Iturai and Jews, after their Kings Sohemus and Agrippa were dead, were joyned to the Province of Syria. It was ordained that the ceremonies of the auguration of health intermitted five and twentieyeers, should be renewed, and continued from thence. forth. Cafar inlarged the circuit of the citie, according to the ancient custome: hv which licence was given them which had inlarged the bounds of the Empire, toinlarge the bounds of the citie. Nevertheleffe none of the Romane captaines, L. Sylla and Augustus accepted, although they had subdued mightie nations, had underraken to doit: but whether the Kings which then ruled the citie did it for ambition or vain-glory, there run divers reports. But it shall not be impertinent, as I thinke. to lay down the beginning of the foundation of Rome, and what circuit Romulus first assigned. He therefore began the circuit at the oxe market called forum boarinm where he fet up a picture of a brazen Bull (because that kinde of beaft is broken in the plough) from thence drawing a furrow as a plat of the circuit of the citie, which contained within it the great altar of Hercules. From thence by certaine distances stones were put by the foot of the hill Palatine, unto the altar of Confus; then to the old Curies; then to the chappell of the houshold gods. For some have thought, that the forum Romanum, and the Capitoll, were not added to the city by Romulu, but by T. Tatius. After that, the circuit or pomorium was augmented, according to the fortune and riches of the Kings. And for the limits that Claudius then put, they are easily knowne, and are written in the publike actes.

VII. Domitius sonne of Agrippina is adopted by Claudius. The Catti send hoftages to Rome. Vannius driven out of his countrey, goeth to Rome.

Antistius, and M. Suilius being Consuls, the adoption of Domitius was haftened through Pallas credit, who being wholy at Agrippinaes devotion, as • a principal I meane of working the marriage between Clendius and her, then bound unto her, for unlawfull company of her body; urged Claudius to provide for the common-wealth, and strengthen Britannicus estate whilest he was young. "So " Augustus wives children did flourish, although he had nephewes of his owne for "flay to his house: and Tiberius having iffue of his owne, adopted Germanicus "therefore that he should also strengthen himselfe with this young man, who would "take part of the care upon him. Claudius yeelding to his perswasion, preferreth Domitius, being but two yeeres elder, before his owne fonne; and makethan oration before the Lords of the Senate, which he received of his freed man Palla. The skilfulland wife did note, that there had never been any adoption before that time in the Patrician family of the Claudians, and that the fuccession had never failed from Atta Clausus. Nevertheles great thanks were rendered the Prince, and exquifite flattery used to Domitius, and a decree set downe, by which he should be accounted one of the Claudian family, and be called Nero. Agrippina also was magnified with the furname of Augusta. Both which done, there was no man so voide of pity, which was not grieved and forty for Britannicus fortune: for by little and little he was abandoned and fcorned of his baselt servants, by shewing an unseasonable duty to his stepmother, which he well perceived, as not dull witted, but of good conceir, as it is reported, either because he was so indeed, or attributed to him in his diftreffe, the fame and opinion continued without triall. Agrippina to make her

credit and power known among the confederates also, commanded the old fouldiers, and a Colony to be brought to the City of Ubium, where she was borne, which was afterward called of her name Agrippina. It hapned by chance, that when that Nation passed the Rhene, her Grandfather Agrippa took them into his protection. About the same time upper Germany quaked with feare, through the coming of the Catti, which robbed and spoiled all where they came. Whereupon L. Pomponi-Lieutenant, gave advertisement to aid the Vangiones, and Nemetians, adding unto them a company of horsemen, to get before those Forragers, or if they slipped away, compasse and surprise them on a sudden. The diligence of the soldiers followedthe Captains counfel, and dividing themselves into two companies, those which took the left hand came upon them, and flew them, as they newly returned from nillage, riotoufly abusing their booty, and heavy asleep. Their joy was increased because they had delivered from servitude some of their fellowes, which sourty yeers before had been taken when Varus was defeated. But those which took the right hand, and the neerest way, meeting the enemie in the face, & daring to encounter, made a greater flaughter and loaden with booty and fame, returned to the hill Taunus: where Pomponius was expected with the Legions, if the Catti desiring a revege, would offer occasion to fight. But they fearing lest the Romanes would set on them on one fide, and the Cherusci with whom they are alwaies at jarre, on the other, sent Embassadors and hostages to Rome, where the honour of triumph was awarded Pomponius, a small part of his fame with posterity, being more renowned for skill in Poetry. About the same time Vannius made king of the Suevians by Drusus Casar was driven out of his kingdome: in the beginning of his rule well liked & accepted of the people; but in the end growing proud, partly by the hatred of the borderers. and partly by civill discords, was put to the worst. The authors of this practice were Iubillius King of the Hermunduri, and Vangio, and Sido, Vannius fifters children: yet Claudius although often intreated, whileft these barbarous people were together by the earcs, would no way intermeddle, onely he promifed Vannius refuge if he were driven out : and wrote unto P. Attilius Histrus Governor of Pannony, to lodge a Lcgion, and all the aid he could levy in the province, on the bank of Danubius, as an aid to the conquered, and a terror to the conqueror, left puffed up with prosperous fortune, they would so difturbe our peace. For an infinite power of the Ligians and other Nations were coming, drawn with the fame of the wealth of Vannius kingdome, which for thirty yeers space he had inriched with pillages and tributes. Vannus owne forces confifted in footmen, his horsemen were of Sermates, called Jazygines, unable to encounter the multitude of the enemies power, & therfore defeded himselfe in fortresses, and purposed to protract the war. But the Jazygines not able to endure to be befieged, but wandring and wasting the Champion adjoyning, drove Vannius to a necessity of fighting, because Ligius and Hermundurus were presfing in on the backs of them. Vannius therefore issuing out of his Fort, lost the battell, but not without honour, even in his diftresse: because in person he shunned not the battell, and face to face received wounds in his body; and at last fled to his shipping which waited for him in Danubius: by and by his Vassals following him, having received land to dwell in, planted themselves in a part of Hungaria. The kingdome Vangio & Sido parted between them, shewing great loyalty towards us. Their fubjects either for their defert, or fuch being the disposition of those which are kept under, whilest they were yet a getting the kingdome, shewed them all tokens of love and affection: but after they had gottenit, as the greater their love bofore, fo the greater their hatred after.

VIII. Oftorius

VIII. Ostorius governour of great Britannia, gaineth a battell against the Iceni, and tocke Caractacus King of the Same countrey, and fent him to Rome. The warres of the Romans against

Ostorius Propretor of Britannia, at his landing found all in an uprore: thee. nemy ranging the allies countrey, and using so much the greater violence, be-*cause he thought the new captaine as unacquainted with his armie, and the winter also begun, would not come forth to encounter him. But he knowing well that the first successe breedeth either feare or confidence, gathered with speede his readiest cohorts, made toward the enemy, slaying those which made head against him pursued the residue stragled abroad, for feare lest they should joyne again. and left a faithleffe and cloked peace should neither give the captaine nor the fouldier any rest, he disarmed those he suspected, and hemmed them in with garifons betweene Antona & Sabrina (2). Which the Iceni (b) first of all refused, a strong people, and unshaken with warres, because that of their owne motion they had Vide Cambol fought our alliance and amitie: and at their instigation the people adjoyning chose a place to fight, compassed in with a rude and common trench, and narbringsflire, and row entrance, to hinder the comming in of horsemen. That fence the Roman Cantaine, although he wanted the ftrength of the legions, went about to force with the ayde of the allies alone: and having placed his cohorts in rankes, fetteth the trooms of horsemen in a like readinesse to their businesse: then giving the signe of battell brake the rampire and disordered the enemies in their owne fortresses. Who stroken in conscience with a remorse for their rebellion, and seeing all passages of esc. ping stopped up, shewed great courage and valour in defending themselves. In which fight M. Oftorius the Lieutenants sonne, deserved the honour of savinga citizen. But by flaughter of the Iceni, those which wavered betweene warre and peace were quieted, and the army lead against the (4) Cangi. Whose countrey they wasted and spoiled; the enemie not daring to shew himselfe in field: or if privily and by fleaith they attempted to cut of any which dragged behind, they paved for their coming. Now the Roman army was come neere unto the sea coast which looks towards Ireland, when as certaine tumults forung up among the (4) Brigan tes brought backe the Captaine, certainely resolved not to attempt any new matter, untill he had fetled the old. But as for the Brigantes, some few put to death which first began to take armes, the residue being pardoned, all were quieted. The (c) Siluri could neither by cruelty nor faire meanes bee hindred from making warre: and as Herefordline, therefore no remedy left to keepe them under, but with a garrison of legionary soldiers. The which to performe more easily, a colonie called (1) Camalodunum, of Montanial fline, firong company of old fouldiers, was brought into the subdue countrey, as an and and Glamorgan- and falegard against the rebels, and inducement to the confederates, to the observation of lawes. From thence they marched against the Siluri; besides their owne courage trufting to Caractacus strength, who having waded thorow many dangers and in many adventures prosperous and luckie, had gotten such reputation, that he fine, menoral- was preferred before all the Brittish Captaines. But in craft, and skilfulnesse of the Bire, Carnaroon- countrey, having the advantage on us, but weaker in strength, removeth the warto Thire, Denoight the (1) Ordovices: and there all those joyning to him which seared our peace, resolution ved to hazard the last chance, chusing a place for the battell, where the coming

Huntingdon. merfeishire men or Cheshre, Conful Cam. 4 York fline, Lancashire, E. of Tombam, Wefin vland, Cumberland.

Radnorfline,

Brecknothire,

f Maldon in

& Northmales

Siire.

Effer.

Nen, at

Northhampton

and Severne.

Suffilke,

they got to the top of a hill: and if there were any easie passage unto them, they stoppedit up with a heape of stones, as it were in manner of rampire. Not farre off. ranne a river with an uncertain foord, where a great troop of his best souldiers were ready in order before the rampire. Besides this, the leaders went about, exhorted and incouraged the fouldiers, taking all occasion of feare from them, and putting them in hope, with all other inducements of warre. And Caractacus courfing hither and thither, protested: "That that day, and that battell should be either the begin-"mng of the recovering of their liberty, or perpetuall fervitude. He called upon the "names of his ancestors, which chased C.esar the Dictator out of the Ile, by whose "valour they were delivered from hatchets, and tributes; and injoyed freely their "wives and childrens bodies undefiled. Whilft he uttered these or the like speeches. the people made a novie about him, and every man fwore according to the religion of his countrey, that he would yeeld, neither for wounds nor armes. That courage and cheerefulnesse greatly assonied the Roman Captaine: and considering the river before his face; the fort they had cast up; the high hills which hanged over them: all things deadly to them, and commodious for the enemy, drove him into a doubt of the successe. Neverthelesse the souldier demanded battell, crying that there was nothing which valour could not overcome. The Prefects and Tribunes using the like speeches, greatly incensed the ardour and courage of the rest. Then oftorius having viewed what places were of hard passage, and which of easie, leadeth his army boyling with choler, with small difficulty over the river. But when we were come to the rampire, as long as wee fought with throwing of darts, wee received most wounds, and many of our men were flaine, but after we had made our target fence * * Videannot. . ? thicke, and broken downe those rude compacted heapes of stones: and that the hist. iib. 3. Nauro. fronts of both the armies came close to handy strokes, without ods: the Barbarians fled to the hill tops. But thither also as well the light harnessed soldiers, as the corslets brake in: after whom the one galding them with darts and Javelins, and the others marching thicke and close together, brake the rankes, and difordered the Britaines, having neither head-peece, nor coat of fence. If they thought to relift our ayd-souldiers, they were beaten down with swords and Javelins by the legionaries: if they turned to make head against them, they were slaine with the pikes, and two handed swords of the auxiliaries. That victory was famous; Caractacus wise and daughter were taken, and his brothers yeelded themselves. He himself (as generally all fuccor failes in adversity) craving defence & protection of Cartifmandua, Queen of the Brigantes was by her taken prisoner and delivered to the Conquerours nine yeeres after the warre was begun in Britannia. Whereupon his fame being carriedover the Hands, and spread abroad throughout the Provinces adjoyning, was allorenowned in Italy: and they defired to fee who hee was, that so many yeeres had contemned our forces. Neither was his name meanely esteemed of at Rome. And whileft Calar extolled his owne worth, hee made the conquered more glorious. The people was affembled, as to fee a notable spectacle. The Emperors guard was all inarmes, and good order, in the field before their Campe then Caractacus vaffalsand retinue going before, the Capariffons, his Chaines and all other things gotten in warre against strangers, were brought after; then his brothers, his wife, and daughter; and last of all, he himselfe was shewne to the people. The prayers of the rest were base for feare: but Caractacus neither hanging downe the head, nor

in words craving mercy, when he stood before Cafars tribunall, spake as followeth.

of Cornelius Tacitus.

in and going out was very incommodious to us, and to his great advantage. Then

"If my moderation in prosperity had been as great as my nobility & Fortune, I had "come rather as a friend into this City, then a captive: neither wouldest thou have "difdained to have received me with covenants of peace, being descended of anci-"ent progenitors, and commanding over many nations. My present lot, as it is to me "dishonourable, so is it to thee magnificent. I have had horses, men, armes, wealth: "What marvell is it if unwillingly I have loft the? for if you will command all men. "it followeth that all men become bondmen. If presently I had yeelded and been "delivered into thy hands, neither my fortune, nor thy glory had been renowned. "and oblivion would have followed my punishment. But if thou keepe me alive,] shall be for ever an example of thy elemency. Having spoken these words, Casar pardoned him, his wife, and his brothers. And being all unbound, they did theirre. verence likewise unto Agrippina, who sate alost in another high chaire; and gave her the like praises and thankes, as they had given the Prince. Surely a new and strange thing, and of our ancestors never used, that a woman should six and command the Roman enfignes; but she carried her felfe as a fellow and affociate of the Empire gotten by her ancestors. After this the Lords of the Senate being called together, they made long and glorious discourses touching Carattacus captivity: affirmingit to be no leffe honourable then when P. Scipio flewed Siphaces unto the people, and L. Paullus Perfes; or if any other had exhibited to the view of the people Kings vanquished and overcome. Then publike honors of triumph were ordained for Offorius. his forrunes untill then prosperous; but not long after doubtfull: either because that Caraitreus being removed, as though thereby all had beene vanquished and subdu ed, service was carelesty intertained, or else because that the enemies having compullion of to mighty a King, were more fervently enflamed to revenge. For they in vironed the Camp matter, and the Legionery Cohorts, which were left behindeto build fortresses in the Silures countrey; and if they had not been speedily rescuedby the Villages and Forts adjoyning, they had beene put to the fword every man. Ne. verthelesse the Camp-master, and eight Centurions, and the forwardest common fouldiers, were flaine: and anon after they put to flight our Forragers, and the troopes of Horse-men which were sent to rescue them. Then Ostorius sendetha broad certaine light harneffed Companies, which yet could not ftay their flight, if the Legions had not undertaken the battell. By their strength they fought with finall oddes on either hand, till at length we had the better of it, and the enemy be tooke him to his heeles with small losse, because the day began to faile. After that time they had divers skirmishes, though for the most part in woods and marishes, according as occasion was given, in manner of roades, either by chance, or of valour; fometimes by their Captaines commandement, and fometime without warrant: but principally by the obstinacy of the Siluri, exasperated with a speech which the Roman Emperour should have used: which was, that as the Sugambri were destroyed, and transported into Gallia, so the name of the Siluri should utterly be extinguished. And in this heate they intercepted two ayde-bandes, uncircumfpectry wafting and fpoyling through the avarice of the Captaines; and by diftributing the spoyles and prisoners, drew the residue of the Nations to revolt; when as Offerius wearied with care and travell yeelded up his Ghoft: the enemy rejoyeing thereat, as at the death of a Captaine not to be despised, though nor in battell, yet spent by reason of the warre. But Casar being advertised of the death of his Lieutenant, left the Province should be destitute of a Governour, sent A. Didim in his place. He being gone thither with great speed, yet found not all

quiet: Manlius Valens in the meane space having had with a legion committed to his charge an unluckie fight. The fame whereof the enemy made greater then it was, to terrifie the Captaine which was coming: and he used the like policie, and augmented the fame of that which he had heard, to win more praise by appealing the flurres, or if he could not, to purchase pardon more easily. The Siluri did therein endomageus, and waste and spoile far abroad, untill by Didius coming they were drivenbacke. But after that Caractacus was taken, Venutius a very expert man in milirary affaires, borne at the city of the Iugantes *; and as I have fayd before, a long * E civitate Bris time trusty unto us, and defended by the Roman power, as long as the marriage be-gantum, sayth twist him and Cartismandua continued; rebelled against us, by reason of a divorce Camdia. and warre betweene them. But at the first the strife was onely betweene them two. untill Cartismandua by bolicie had taken prisoner Venutius brother and neerest kinsemen. Whereupon the enemies kindled with rage, and ignominy pricking them forward, lest they should be brought under the yoke of a woman, they invaded her kingdome with a strong power of armed and choise youth. Which was foreseene byus, and the cohorts fent to second her, fought a hot battell, which at the beginning was doubtfuil, though the end more joyfull. A legion also which Cesius Nasica commanded, fought with the like fuccesse: for Didius being stroken in veeres. and having received many honours, thought it sufficient to execute hischarge, and drive away the enemy by the helpe of others. These exploits although they were atchievedby two Propretors, Oftorius tnd Didius in many yeeres, yet I thought good to joyne together, left being fevered, they should not so well have beene remembred.

IX. Nero Agtippinaes soune, is preferred before Britannicus Sonne to Claudius.

JOW I will returne to the order of times. Tib. Claudius being the fifth time Confull, and Ser. Cornelius Orfitus, great haft was made to make Nero of full yeeres, * that he might seeme more capable of the government. And * Toga virilis in Cafar willingly yeelding to the flattery of the Lords of the Senate, consented that opposition to Neroshould be Confull at twenty yeeres of age: and being elect, in the meane noble mens feafon, have the Proconfulary authority out of the city; and be called prince of children word youth. There was also given in his name a donative to the souldiers, and a liberality to the people. The Circensian playes being exhibited to win the favour of the virilem ton s people, Britanicus in his pretext, and Nero in triumphing attire; because the vique memoria people strangers in his pretext, and Nervin triumphing active, because the quantum (enfering people should feethe one in the magnificence of an Emperour, and the other in quantum, came the habit of a child; thereby to presume what fortune to either of them should protesta position hereafter fall. Withall, if any of the Centurions or Tribunes bewailed Britannicus fumigli vintem hip, they were removed either by fained pretences, or under colour of preferment; 109 am. Senec. yea of the freedmen, if any were faithfull, he was not suffered about him. As these two met upon occasion, Nero saluted Britannicus by his name, and Britannicus rendered him the like by the name of Domitius. VV hich Agrippina taking hold of, as abeginning of a quarell, carriesh to her husband with a grievous complaint, faying that the adoption was nought fet by, the decree of senate, the ordinance of the people broken and abrogated in his owne house: and if such contemptuous frowardnesse of Britannicus teachers were not severely looked unto, it would burst out into some publike mischiefe. Claudius moved with these complaints, as though they had beene faults indeed; either banished, or put to death the chiefe bringers up

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of his fonne, and placed such over him as his stepmother would appoint. Nevertheleffe Agrippina durft not levell at her chiefest marke, which was that her fon should fucceed in state, unlesse Lusius Geta, & Rufus Crispinus captaines of Casars guard were first discharged; whom she thought would be mindfull of Messalinaes favors towards them, and therefore bound unto her children. Agrippina therefore beareth the Emperour in hand, that the guard was devided into factions through ambition of the two captaines striving for superiority; that the discipline of service would be better kept if the fouldiers were commanded by one alone. The charge of the cohorts was transferred unto Burrhus Afranius, a man of great fame for matter of service, vet knowing well by whose practife and favour he came to the place. Agrippina began also to raise her owne estate to a higher degree, by entering into the Capitol ina Chariot, which in times past was a custome only lawful for the priests in sacred rites, which augmented the more the state of this woman, because she was the onelyexample unto this day of any one, who being daughter of an Emperor, hath beenealfo fifter, wife, and mother of an Emperor. In the meane feafon her chiefest buckler Vitellius, being in highest favour, and very old (fo slippery is the state of great personages) was accused by lunius Lupus Senator, of treason, and aspiring to the Empire. and Cafar ready to give eare to the acculation, if he had not rather changed his opi nion by Agrippinaes threates then intreaties, and so to banish the accuser, which was the punishment Vitellius best liked. That yeere many prodigious sights hapned: as that many birds portending evill lucke lighted upon the Capitol, many houses ruined by often earthquakes, and the feare spreading among the astonied people, many in throngs were smothered. The want of corne, and the famine which insued thereof was also construed as a presage of evill lucke. Neither did they complaine in secret onely, but came about Claudius as he gave audience, with turbulent clamors, & having thrust him to the end of the forum, followed him, untill that with a band of fouldiers he brake through the prease. It was most certaine that the city was not victualled for above fifteene dayes: but by the great goodnesse of the gods, and mildenesse of the winter, the city was releeved in necessity. But truely in times past provision of corne hath beene transported out of Italy into other provinces fare distant. And at this present we stand not in want through the barrennesse of the countrey, but wee doe rather manure Africke and Egypt, and hazard the life of the people of Rome by sea, whereof depends want or abundance.

X. Warres betweene the Romans and the Parthians.

He same yeere a warre begun betweene the Armenians and Hiberi, was cause of great troubles betwixt the Romans and the Parthians. Vologefes was King of the Parthians, descended by his mothers side of a Greek concubine, yet got the kingdome by consent of his brothers. Pharasmanes had a long time possessed the Hiberians countrey as a King: and his brother Mithridates the Armenians through our forces. Pharasmanes had a sonne called Rhadamistus of a comely tall stature, and of a very strong and able body, trained up in the qualities and practiles his father before him had beene, and greatly renowned among his neighbours. He was wont to fay that the kingdome of Hiberia was small, and yet kept from him by his father, who was very old: and fo oft he did cast forth those speeches, and so fiercely, that it was eafily feene how greedy a defire he had to reigne. Phar a smants then feeing this young man fo defirous and ready to rule, misdoubting the peoples affection bent towards him, by reason of his declining yeeres; thought it

helt to feed him with fome other hope and fet Armenia before his eies, telling him that he had given that kingdome to Mithridates, having first expulsed the Parthians. Yet that it was not his best course to set on it by force; but use policie against Mithridages, and intrap him when he least looked for it. Rhadamilt is under colour of fome discontent with his father, through the insupportable dealing of his step-mother, goeth to his uncle: where being intreated with all curtefie as if he had beene hisownchild, foliciteh the cheife Noble-men of Armenia to rebellion: Mithridues knowing nothing, but still entertaining him with all favor and kindnesse. Rhadamifus under colour of reconciliation returned unto his father, and declared unto himtowhat a forwardnesse he had brought matters by policy; and that the rest was to be accomplished by armes. In the mean time Pharas manes seeketh occasions ofwarre: and faineth that when he made warre against the King of the Albani, and demanded succour of the Romanes, his brother was against him, which injuriehe would revenge to his utter ruine and overthrow. And therewithall giveth his some a strong power; who having terrified Mithridates with a sudden irruption and driven him out of the field, forced him to flee into a Fort called Gorneas, strong by fituation, and garded with a Garrison of fouldiers: Calius Pollio being their capraine, and Casperius their Centurion. The barbarous people knew nothing lesse then engines and subtile devises in belieging and affailing of fortresses: and to us that part of service is most familiar. And Rhadamistus in vaine, yea with his loffe having tried to approch the Fort beginning the fiege; and feeing how little good was tobe done that way, tryeth what marchandise he could make with the captaine for money: although Casperius protested that a King confederate, or Armenia the gift of the people of Rome, ought not to be bought and fold by corruption and money. In the end, because Pollso pretended the multitude of enemies, and Rhadamilius his fathers commandement; Casperius having agreed to a suspension ofarmes, departed: with intention that if he could not with-draw Pharasmanes from making warre against Mithridates, he would informe T. Vinidius Quadratus President of Syria in what estate Armenia stood. By the departure of the Centurion, the prefect being as it were delivered of a keeper, began to exhort Mithridates to make a peace: "Shewing him the unity that should be betweene brothers, that "Pharasimanes was his elder brother; with other respects of freindship & alliance; as "he had married Pharasmanes daughter, and how he was Rhadamistus father in law. "The Hiberi refused not to mak a peace, although at that time they were strong, & "theperfictiousnesse of the Armenian well knowen; and Mithridates had no other "refuge but the Castle destitute of munition: & therefore that he should not doubt "rather to accept conditions of peace without blood, then try the hazard of warre. "Mithridates refolved not on the fudden, suspecting the captains counsels; because "he had lewdly behaved himselfe with the Kings Concubines, was a man easily cor-"rupted with mony to all lewdnesse. Casperius in the meane space goeth to Pharasmanes, and is very instant that the Hiberi should depart from the siege of Gorneas. But the King giving openly uncertaine answers, and for the most part gentle and milde, by secret messengers advertiseth Rhadam: stus by all possible memes to haften the affault. The price of the treason is augmented, and Pollio secretly corrupting the fouldiers, perswadeth them earnestly to demand a peace, and threaten that they would abandon the Fortreffe. Through which necessity Mithridates taketh a day and place to treat of apeace, and goeth out of the Fortresse. Rhadamistus running immediatly to imbrace him; faineth great obedience; calleth him father in law, and father, and sweareth hee would use no violence towards wards him, neither by fword, nor poison. And withall draweth him into a wood hard by, faying: that there he had caused a sacrifice to be provided to conclude and confirme the peace in the presence of the gods. The custome of those kings is that when they make any atonement, to joyne their right hands, and bind their thumbs together, and draw them hard with a knot; then when the blood is run to the out. ward parts, with a small pricke let it out, & then licke the one the others: that atom. ment is counted facred, as it were hallowed with their mutuall blood. But he which should have tyed their thumbes together, faining as if he had fallen, catcheth holde of Mithridates knees, and overthroweth him: immediatly many ran in and bound him in chaines and fetters, and fo drew him away, which the Barbarians reputes great ignominy and dishonour. The common people whom he had rigorously ty. rannifed, reviled him, and offered to strike him. But contrariwise there were some which had compassion of so great a change of fortune: and his wife following with her little children filled all with lamentation; who were all thrust into sunday covered wagons, untill Pharasmanes pleasure was knowen. But the Kingdome was dearer unto him, then his brother and daughter; and therefore his minde was ready bent to all wickednes: onely be tooke order that they should not be murdered in his fight. And Rhadamistus as it were mindfull of his oath, used neither swond nor poison against his fifter and uncle; but laying them on the ground covereth and stifleth them with a heavy burden of clothes. And Mithridates children were slaine likewise, because they wept and bewailed the murdering of their parents. But 944. drates understanding that Mithridates was betrayed, & that the murderers injoyed the Kingdome, calleth a counfel, and declareth the matter, and confulteth whether he should revenge or not. Few had care of the publicke credit; most were of opinion that they should imbrace the surest way. That they should be glad of all wicked nesse committed among forraine Nations: yea, that they should cast seedes of sedition and hatred among them: as oft the Roman Princes had bestowed the same Anmenia under colour of liberalitie now to one, now to another, as an occasion to put those Barbarians together by the eares. That Rhadam: stus might injoy his ill gotten Kingdome, so as withall he be odious and infamous: seeing that it was better so so the Romans, then if he had gotten it with credit. They all condescended unto this advise. And yet left they should seeme to approve that wicked fact, and less cala should command the contrary, messengers were sent to Pharasmans, advising him to depart Armenia, and withdraw his sonne away likewise. At that time Iulius Re-I gaus a daftardly coward, and no leffe despicable, a jesting stocke for mishap and detormitie of body, was Procurator of Cappadocia; but of inward familiarity with Cafar; which being a private man in times past, in his company he spent his idle time with delight and contentation. This Pelignus having gathered togetherthe forces of the Provinces, as if he would recover Armenia, but wasting and spoiling the allies more then the enemies, his owne revolting from him, and the Barbarians making incursions; being without succour came to Khadamistus, who with gifts so wonne him, that of his owne motion he exhorted him to crowne himfelfe King, and affilted him as the Author and approover of the action. Which dishonest sad being bruited abroad, lest the credit of the rest shold be measured according to this fact of Pelignus: Helvidius Prifcus, Lieutenant was fent with a Legion to redreffe those sturres as the present occasion required. Who having with all convenient speed passed over the hill Taurus, and setling the assaires there rather with moderation, then force; was commanded to returne to Syria; lest he should be a beginning of warre against the Parthians. For Vologeses thinking there had fell out just occasion of invading Armenia, which possessed of his Ancestors, a formine King now occupied by a lewde practife, affembleth his power: and because none of his house should live without rule and soveraigntie, goeth about to invest his brother Tiridates in the Kingdome. By the coming of the Parthians, the Hiberi were driven out without stroke striking: and the Cities of the Armenians, Artaxata, and Tigranocerta, submitted themselves to the yoake. But the sharpe and hard winter or else feartery of victuals and other provision, and the ficknesse proceedig of both confrained Vologefes to forfake his pretended enterprise; and Rhadamistus invadeth Armenia afresh, having none to resist him; more cruell then before, as against rebels, readvat all times to rebel if occasion were offered. In so much that they, though accuftomed to bondage, yet brake all patience, and befieged the Kings house. Rhadamillus having no other refuge, then the fwiftnesse of his horses, saved both himselse and his wife. But his wife being great with childe, endured the first flight so so. for feare of the enemy and love of her husband: afterward by continuall haft and overmuch jogging and shaking, she began to pray her husband that with an honest death the might be delivered from the reproch of captivity. He at the first embraced her, comforted her, encouraged her, then admiring her ftoutnesse, then sick with grief, left leaving her behinde him, any should enjoy her: at last overcome with love and being no babe in wicked attempts, draweth his Cymeter; and having given her a wound, drew her to the banks of Araxis and committed her to the river, left her body should be carried away; and posteth himselfe to Hyberia his fathers kingdome. In the meane time the Shepheards espied Zenobia (for so was Rhadamistus wife called drawing breath and alive, upon the quiet shore of the river: and judging her by the comelinesse of her person, of some Noble race, bound up her wound, and applied such medicaments as the countrey affordeth. Then understanding her name and chance carried her into the Citie Artaxata: from whence at the charge of the common purse she was conducted to Tiridates, who entertained her with such curtesie as beseemed a Kings wife.

XI. A decree against the Mathematicians. Cumanus and Foolix, Governours of Indaa at variance: Warre against the Clites.

Hen Fanflus Sylla, and Salvius Otho were Confuls; Furius Scribonianus was banished, as searching out by the Chaldeans the time when the Prince should die. And Iunia his mother who before exiled was touched with the same crime, as bearing impatiently her former fortune, Camillus Scribonianus father had heretofore stirred vp wars in Dalmatia: & therfore Cafar thought it a point ofclemency to keep alive the progeny of his enemy. Nevertheles the banished man enjoyed not any long life after this: but ended his daies, either by naturall death, or by poison; every man giving out as he believed. Of banishing the Astrologers out of Italy there was a straight decree of Senat made, but tooke no effect. After this the Prince commended fuch in an Oration, who knowing their own estate decayed gave up their Senators roome of their owne accorde; and those put from it, which continuing in it, joyned impudency to their poverty. Among other things the matter was debated in Senat touching the punishment of such women as married with llaves: and an order fet downe that shee who without the privitie of her Lord, had falne into that folly, should as if she had consented thereto, become herselfe a bondflave, and the children borne of them be taken as Libertini. And Pallas whom Cafar publikely

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publikely confessed to have beene author of this relation, was by the advise of B4. rea Sgranus Confull elect, honored with the Prætorian ornaments, and received fur. * About 11718 ther * a hundred and fifty hundred thousand sesterces: and it was added by Scipio pound 15 fill. Cornelius, that thanks should be publikely given him, that being descended from the Kings of Armenia he would prefer the publike good before his ancient family, and vouchsafe to be accounted one of the Princes officers. Claudius affirmed that Pallas was contented with the Prærorian dignitic onely, and would continue in his former povertie. Whereupon a decree of Senate was publikely engraven in Brasse in com. mendation of this freed man, who being possessor of there hundred millions of se. fterces, was content to live according to the provident manner of sparing of our anceftors. But his brother furnamed Felix of late made Governour of Judza, used nor the same moderation; but bare himselse upon his authoritie as a sufficient warrant for all lewdnesse whatsoever. The Jewes made shew of a rebellion through a sedition * after they understood of the death of Caius: they were still afeard lest some other Prince should command them the like things. In the meane season, Felix going about to redreffe all by unseasonable punishments, exasperated them the more. And Ventidius Cumanus unto whom part of the Province was committed and was his fecret enemy, egged him forward. For the countrey was fo divided, that the Galileans were governed by Cumanus, and the Samaritans by Felix, enemies of old; and now more then ever shewing themselves through the contempt of the Governours. And therefore made inroades one against the other; set in Companies to robbe and spoile; laide ambushes: and sometimes they met in battell, and carried the booties and spoiles to their Governours. Who at the first were glad of it; but in the end perceiving the mischiese to grow greater, they sent in souldiers to quiet them, which were all flaine. And the whole Province had beene in an uproarc: if Quadratus the Governour of Syria had not found meanes of redresse: who staved not long untill he had revenged the death of the Roman fouldiers, which the lewes had flame. Cumanus and Felix drew the matter at length, because Claudius having understood the occasions of the rebellion, had given authority to the Governours determine, and punish the Procurators Cumanus and Felix, if their demerit had fore quired. But Quadratus caused Felix to sit among the Judges, and received him into the Tribunall to him, to the end the heat of the accusers should thereby be cooled: and condemned Cumanus for all the misdemeanour which both of them had committed; and by that meanes he fet the Province at quietneffe. Not long after the Peafants of the Cilician Nation furnamed Clites, which at divers other times had rebelled, having Trofobor for their Captaine, encamped on a rough and high hill, And from thence running downe to the fea shores and Cities, ventured on the hulbandmen and Citizens; and often fet on Marchants and Sea-men. And then having besiegd the city of the Anemurienses, the horse-men sent out of Syria to aide them were put to flight with Curtius Severus their Prefect, by reason of the difficulties and uncleannes of the place round about fit for foot-men, was most incommodious for horse-men to fight. Then Antiochus King of that quarter, using faire words to the Countrey people, and craft and fubtilty towards the Captain, when he had severed the forces of the Barbarians having flaine Trofobor and a few of the ring leaders; appeased the residue by clemency. The same time betweene the lake Fucinus and the river Lyris, the better to behold the fight and magnificence of the spectacle, a Mountaine was cut thorow, and in the very lake a Sea fight was represented. Augufus in times past had done the like, by making a standing poole on this side Tibris, but with light boates and few in number. Claudius armed Gallies with three and

fourcoares on a feate, and nineteene thousand men, and environed the Lake with frames of timber-work, because they should not run out at randome, yet left space enough for the rowers and Pilots to shew skill, and such encounters as had been accustomed in a sea fight. On the buildings about the Lake stood certaine companies of foot-men and troopes of horsemen of the Emperours guard, with sences before them to shoot with warlike instruments & engines. The rest of the Lake, sea-souldiers occupied with covered ships: the shore and small hil tops as it had been a Thearre, an infinite number of people filled, as well out of the townes adjoyning, as the City, through defire of feeing the pastime, or to please the Prince. He himselfe in a rich and princely coat-armour, and Agrippina not farre of fate aloft, in a garment wrought with gold. They fought although they were malefactors and condemned persons, with great courage and valor; and after many wounds were parted and hindered from killing one another. But after that the shew was ended and the water let out: the infufficiency of the worke which was not thrust down, nor digged deepe enough to the bottome was discovered. Whereupon not long after the disches were digged deeper, and to draw the people agains together, a shew of Fencers was made on bridges built over the Lake to represent a land fight. And at the mouth of the Lake a banket prepared, drove them all into a great feare through the violent gushingout of the water, which carried with it all that was by, and things farther off breaking downe, with the crash and noise, strooke them all into a maze. Whereupon Agrippina taking advantage of the Princes feare, rebuked Narcissus who had charge of the worke, of covetousnesseand thefr. And he for his part held not his tongue, but cast in her teeth her intolerable pride, and over haughty hopes.

XII. Nero marrieth with Octavia: the inhabitants of Cous exempted from subsidies: the like is granted to Byzance.

7Hen D. Iunius and Q. Haterius were Confuls, Nero at the age of fixteene married Casars daughter, Octavia. And to win credit and reputation by honourable studies and glory of eloquence, undertaking the Ilienses cause, declared that the Romans were descended from Troy, & that Aeneas was the roote of the Julian family, and many other matters, not farre unlike old fables; which being delivered with a good grace and fit words, obtained that the Ilienses flould be released from all publike duties and charges. He pleaded also for the Bononian Colony which was wasted with fire, and obtained for their reliefe* tenne * About millios of sefterces. The inhabitants of Rhodes were restored to their liberty, often 78125. taken from them, or confirmed, according as they had merited by fervice abroad, powed. or demerited by fedition at home. The Apameans ruinated by an earth-quake were discharged of tribute for five yeers. Claudius was incensed to much cruelty by Agrippinaes practifes; who gaping after Statilius Taurus Gardens, esteemed very rich, never ceased untill she had overthrowne him, Tarvitius Priscus, being his accufer. This Prifcus had been Taurus Lieutenant, when he was Proconfull in Affricke: and when they returned objected that in some things he had used extorsion and bribery; and withall, that he confulted with Magicians. But he not able to endure such an indignitie by a false accuser, slew himselse before the Senators had givensentence: yet notwithstanding all the suite Agrippina could make, this Tarquitius was expulsed the Curia: fo odious he was to the rest of the Lords of the Senate. The same yeare the Prince was often heard to say, that the causes adjudged by his Procuratour', should be of the same validity, as if himselfe had given sentence.

And left those words might seeme to have escaped him by chance, adecrees Senate was inacted thereon, fuller and ampler then before any had been conceived. And Augustus of famous memory had granted, that all causes mighthe heard before the gentlemen which governed Egypt; and commanded that the fentences fet down by them should be kept, as if they had bin given by a magistrate of Rome. After that, in other Provinces, and in the citie, many things were granted, which in times past belonged to the hearing only of the Pretor. Claudius yeeld, ed them all their right and jurisdiction, for which there had been such warres and fedition: as when the order of gentlemen by the Sempronian lawes, were effablish ed in the possession of Judicature; or when the Servilian lawes on the other side had given the Senate power judicially to determine causes: and for which Marin and Sylla in times past more then all the rest, made warres the one against the other. But in those daies factions reigned among the citizens; and the conquerors bare publike fway, having all power in their hands. C. Oppin and Cornelin Balbus were the first, which with authoritie from Calar could handle conditions as well of peace. as of warre. It were to small purpose to speake of the Matians and Vedians after these, which were gentlemen of marke, and of noble families: seeing that Claudiu hath made freedmen: unto whom he had committed the charge of his houshold affaires equall to himselfe, and to the laws. After that, Casar propounded, whether those of Cous should be released of tributes, alleadging many things concerning their antiquitie: as that the Argivi, and Ceus, Latonaes father, were the old inhabitants of the Ile; and that after by Aesculapius arriving there, the An of Phylicke was brought in; a man highly esteemed of posteritie; naming them by their names, and in what age every one of them flourished. Further, heaffir. med that Xenophon whose skill himselfe used in Physicke, descended from the fame family; and that in regard of his defire, the Ile of Cous devoted to the fervice of fo great a god, should be discharged of all tributes. Neither was it to be doubted, but there might be alleadged many merits of theirs, towards the people of Rome, and many victories obtained by their alliance. But Claudius according to his accustomed facilitie and simplicitie, went not about to shadow that wither ternall helps, which he had bestowed in favour of one alone. The Byzantines has ving obtained audience, delivered how grievous their impositions and tributes were, and defired they might be released; and ripped up all reasons they could, even from the first alliance which they made withus, when we warred against the king of Macedonia; who for basenesse of minde, and want of courage, was called the false Philip. How after that, they had sent their power against Antiochus, Perses, Arifonicus: and how they succoured Antony, in the wars against the Pirats: calling to mindelikewise that which they offered Sylla, or Lucullus, or Pompey: then the late good turnes and fervices done to the Cafars, when they came into those parts, when there is a most convenient passage both by land and by sea, for the captaines and armies with all carriages of necessary provisions. For the Greeks sited Byzance in the utmost part of Europe, in a very narrow straight, which divideth Europe from Asia: for having confulted with Pythius Apollo, in what territory they should build their citie; the oracle answered them that they should seeke out a seat which was opposite to the land of blindmen. By that darke speech, the Chalcedonians were pointed at; because that having first arrived in that place, not judging a right of the commodiousnesse of it, made choise of the worst: for Byzance is seated in a fertile soile, and a plentifull feat because great abundance of fish going out of Pontus, and frighted ith the rocks and stones under the water, forsaking the creekes of the other fhore, is brought all to these havens. Whereby first all the City became rich and wealthy: but then oppressed with charges and impositions: and therefore intreated they might either have an end or a mean of so heavy a burden. The Prince was ready to do them good, alleadging that they were to be helped, as people wearied with late wars against the Trachians, and Bosphorans: and thereupon they were exempted in tributes for five yeers space.

XIII. Why Agrippina seeketh Claudius death: the Emperour dieth impossoned by the Physician Xenophon.

Hen M. Asinius, and M. Acilius were Consuls, a change of state to the worse was portended, and fore-knowne by many prodigious signes. For the enfignes and fouldiers Tents were burnt with fire from heaven. A fwarme of Bees lighted on the top of the Capitol: monsters and children born with two shapes: and a Sow brought forth a Pigge with talons of a Hauke. It was accounted a Prodigious matter, that the number of Magistrates was so small; a Ouxflor, Aedill, Tribune, Prætor, and Confull dying but a few moneths before. Bur Agrippina of all others was most afeard, by reason of a word which Claudius cast forthbeing drunk; which was, that it was fatall unto him, first to beare the lewdneffe of his wives; then to punish them. Thereupon she bestirred her selfe and that with all speed: but first having made away Domitia for light cause, and womens quarels. For Domitia Lepida, being daughter to the younger Antonia, and Neece to Augustiss and cousen germane to Agrippina and fifter to Gn. Agrippinaes first husband; thought her felfe to be of as great nobility as Agrippina, and as well descended: neither was there any great difference betweene them in beauty, age and wealth. And being both unchaste, infamous, peremptory and proud; they no lesse hated one the other for their vices, then for the graces and gifts of fortune. The ground of this bitter and deadly hate was, which should have more credit, and greatterinterest in Nero, the Aunt or the Mother, For Lepida had won the young mans heart by gifts, and faire words: Agrippina contrariwife cruell and threatning, could give her fonne the Empire but not indure that he should rule. The crimes imputed toher were, that she went about to destroy the Princes wife by incantations, and divelishinyocations: and that by not bridling and punishing herswarmes of slaves in Calabria, the had diffurbed the quietnesse of Italy: for these causes she was commanded to die. Narcissus mightily repenting and grudging at it, who began more and more to suspect Agripping, and was faid to have uttered unto his necrest friends, "that he was fure to dye, whether Britannicus or Nero came to be Emperour. Yet he "had received fo much good at Casars hands, that he efteemed more of the Prin-"cestafety then his own life: Meffalling and Silius had been convicted; the like oc-"casions of accusations will be offered againe, if Nero should reign. If Britannicus "fhould fucceed, he had deferved no favour of him: and the whole house would be "shaken, and utterly overthrown, with the divellish devices of his Step-mother; "and with more wicked prectifes, then if he had concealed the impudicity and un-"clean life of his other wife: although the house be as shamefully defiled by Pallas "adultery as then it was; because no man should doubt what small account she "made of her credit, reputation, shame, body and all what soever, so as she might "rule and command. After he had uttered these or the like speeches he embraced Britannicus, wished he were come to ripe yeers, lifteth up his hands sometimes to the gods, fometimes to him; praying that he might grow in yeers, drive out his fathers enemies, and revenge on the murtherers of his mother. Claudius in this great heape of cares was strucken with ficknes, and to recover his strength with the temperatenesse of the city, and wholesomnesse of the waters, went to Sinuessa Then Agrippina long before resolved in her villanous designement, and desirous to haften the occasion offered, wanting no ministers, began to thinke with her selse what kinde of poison she were best to use: for by a speedy and quick working poi. fon, the feared left her wickednesse should be discovered; yet if the should choose a lingering flow working one, left Claudius drawing by little and little to his end and understanding the treachery, should turn his minde and shew love and affecti on to his own some in the end she resolved to thinke on some singular thing which should trouble his braines, and not worke his death over-hastily. A Schoolemistris of fuch practises was chosen of purpose, called Locusta of late condemned of empoisoning, and long referved among other instruments of State. The poison was prepared by this womans skill, and the minister to give it was Holotus, an En. nuch, one accustomed to carry in and taste his meate: all came afterward so cleere. ly to light, that the Writers of those times have affirmed, that the poison was infu. fed into a Mushrome which Claudius tooke pleasure to eate of: which then he perceived nor, either by reason of his blockishnesse, or over much quaffing of wine; and having a solublenesse of body withall, it was thought the receipt would not worke his effect. Whereupon Agrippina greatly aftonied, and fearing her uter destruction, nothing regarding what envy she might presently incurre, consereth with Xenophon the Phyfitian, whose conscience before-hand she had wrought to serve her turne. He as though he would helpe the Prince, endevouring to wo mit, was thought to have put downe his throat a feather dipped in a ftrong and speedy poison; knowing well that foule attempts are begun with danger, and ac. complished with reward. In the meane time the Senate was affembled, and the Confuls and Priefts made vowes for the health of the Prince; and being already dead, he was covered and cherished with cloathes, whilest things necessary to alfure the Empire upon Nero were a preparing. And first of all Agrippina, as one overcome with griefe, and feeking comfort, held Britannicus betweene her armes, calling him the very image of his fathers face, and by divers policies entertained him, for feare he should goe out of the chamber: and with like practifes held Antonia and Octavia his fifters; and at every doore and paffages placed a strong Guard: and often gave out that the Prince waxed better and better, to the endth fouldier should live in good hope, and she enterprised her attempt at such a time as the Magicians should think lucky and prosperous. Then about the middestel the day, the third before the Ides of October, the Palace gates being suddenly laid open, Nere accompanied with Burrhus, goeth forth to the Cohort, who kept ward according to custome; where at the commandement of the Captaine of the Guard hee was received with shoutes, and acclamations of joy; and put into Chariot. It is reported that some were in a doubt, and looking about them, and asking where Britannicus was? then feeing no beginner of any attempt to the contrary, they followed that which was offered: and fo Nero being brought to the rest of the Guard, and having made a speech fit for the time, and promiseda donative according to the example of his futhers largesse, was saluted Emperour. A decree of Senate confirmed the fentence of the fouldiers; neither was there any doubt made of it in the Provinces. After that honour due to the gods was ordained for Claudius, and the Funerals as folemnly celebrated as when Augustus of famous memory was buried, Agrippins imitating the magnificence of her grandmother Livia. Claudius Testament was not publikely read lest the people should bee incensed to disdaine, and envy against Nero, by seeing him who was onely a sonne in law, to bee preferred before the Emperours naturals sonne.

THE

THIRTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES

OF CORNELIVS TACITUS.

I. Silanus is put to death, and Narciffus. Neroes good beginning.



HE first whose death was contrived in this new government was 14. nius Silanus Proconfull of Asia, and that without the privity of Neroby Agrippinaes treachery and malice; not because he had by any sedition demeanour procured his own ruine: for he was so heavie and dull so. rited, and the other Emperours did fo finally regard him, that C. Cafar

was wont to call him a golden sheepe. But Agrippina having wrought the ruine of his brother L. Sillanus, seared revenge; being a common speech among the people that this deserved to be preferred to the Empire before Nero, yet scarce out of his childhood, and having gotten it by wicked means, for he was a man of a letledage fincere and just in his dealing, noble of birth, and (which at that time was greatly efteemed) descended of the Casars, being in the fourth degree to Augustus. This was the cause of his death, the ministers being P. Celer, a Gentleman of Rome, and Aelius a freed-man, both having charge of the Princes peculiar revenews in Asia. By them the poison was given the Proconfull in his meate, and that so openly, that it could not be denied. With no leffe speed Claudius freed man, Narcissus (of whole jarring with Agrippina I have already spoken) was brought to his end, by hardimprisonment, and extreame necessitie, against the Princes will; whose vicious humours yet unknowne he did exceedingly well fit in covetousnesse and prodigalitie, and had gone forward in murders, if Afranius Burrhus, and Annaus Seneca had not stayed them These two were the young Emperours guides and governours, andin equall authority, well agreeing, bare equall stroke in divers faculties. Burrhus inmilitary discipline and gravity of manners; Seneca in precepts of eloquence, and comteous carriage; helping one the other in their charge, the easier to bridle the yours slippery age with honest and lawfull pleasures, if he contemned vertue. Their care was both alike in keeping under Agippinaes fierce humour, who boyling with allde fires of wicked rule and dominion, had Pallas for her counseller; by whose advite Claudius through his incestuous marriage, and pernicious adoption, wrought his owne ruine. But Neroes disposition was not to be ruled by a Rave; and Pallas withan odious arrogancy exceeding the moderation of a freed-man, bred his owne diflike. Neverthelesse, all honours were openly heaped upon Agrippina, and the Tribune according to the order of service asking the watch-word, had this given him by No ro, Of the very good mother. The Senate decreed she should have two sergeants, and Claudius a Colledge of Priests called Claudians: and withall, that he should have the funerals of a Cenfor and be after deified and put among the gods. The day of hisfunerals, Nero made the oration in his praife, and as long as he spake of the antiquitie othis flock, of the Confulfhips and triumphs of his ancestors, he and the rest were astentive: and likewife whil'st he spake of the love he bare to liberal sciences, & that during the time of his government the common-wealth was not molested by forren power, all men gave good eare: but after he descended to his providence and wis-

dome, no man could forbeare laughing; although the oration composed by Seneca shewed the exquisite skill of that mans pleasant vaine, fitted and applied to the eares ofthattime. The old men (which were at leafure to compare things past with the present) noted that Nero was the first Emperour that needed another mans elquence. For Cafar the Dictatour, was equal with the famous Orators: and Auguhus had a ready, fluent and eloquent speech, such as well becommed a Prince. Tiherius had great skill in weighing his words, uttered much in few words, but was obscure of set purpose. Yea, C. C. sfars troubled mind hindred not his eloquence: neither wanted Classics elegancy when he had premeditated. Nero in the beginning of his childish yeers bent his lively spirit to other matters, as to ingrave, to paint, to fing, to manage horses, and sometimes in composing a verse he shewed some smattering of learning. When the funerals were ended, he entered the Curia, and having first spoken of the authority of the Lords of the Senat, love and concord of the fouldiers, he reckned up certaine deseignments and presidents he intended to sollowin the governing of the Empire, adding: that not having beene nuzled up in civill warres, nor domesticall discords, he would bring with him neither hatred, nor grudge, nor defire of revenge. Then he layd downe aplatforme of his future regiment, especially avoyding those things, the hate whereof did yet freshly boyle in mens hearts; that he would not be the judge of all matters, left the accusers and defendants being as it were shut up in one house, the power of a few might have full fwayto work their will: there should nothing be fet at fale in his court, or exposed toambition; his house should be divided from the Common-wealth; the Senate thould retaine his old preheminence. Italy and publicke Provinces should make their appearance before the Confuls tribunall, and they give audience like Lords of the Senate, and he himselfe would looke to the Army committed to his charge. Neither did he faile in his promise. For many things were ordayned by the arbitrement of the Senate: As that no man should be bought for reward or gift to plead a cause. That the Ourstor elected should not be constrained to set forth the shew of Fencers, which was a matter the Senators obtained contrary to Agrippinaes will, under colour that Claudius acts were thereby infringed. And thereupon she caused the Senate to be called to the Palace, to the end that the might fland in a fecret place, separated from the Lords by tome vaile, which might not hinder the hearing ofthem, and yet not be seene. Yes, when the Embassadors of Armenia came to plead the cause of their Nation before Nero, she was ready to pearch up to the Chaire of audience, and by his tide to give answer with him, if (the rest surprised with agreat feare \ Senera had not advited him to meete his mother, as shee came; and founder colour of doing has duty, prevented the difcredit.

11. Ner es preparatives to defend Armenia.

Nthe end of the sect sit was a common rumour that the Parthians had burst out againe, and walled Arruebia, driven out Rhadamistus, who having beene first King, and after a frigitive, had then given up this war. Whereupon in the City greedy of talke, they has n to enquire, how the Prince which was yet scarce path feventeene veeres of age. could either undertake or acquit himselse of so great a burden: what helpe could be expected at his hands, who was led by a woman: whether battels and warres also, and befieging of townes, and other duties of fervice, could be accomplished by his masters? Contrariwise others said it had fallen out better, then if Claudius a weake and cowardly old man, should have beene "called to the labours of war, ready to obey the commandements of his flaves. Yet "Burrhus and Senecs had been prooved by experience of many matters: and what "wanted to the Emperors full strength, seeing that Cn. Pemponius at eighteen veers "of age, and Casar Octavianus at nineteene, sustained civill wars? Most thingsin "high fortune are atchieved rather by good luck, conduct, and counsell, then wea-"pons and hands. That he should give an evident proofe, whether he used honest "freinds or not, if he would rather make choise of a notable & valiant Captain, en-"vy layd afide, then a rich, graced and favored by ambitious fute. Whilft the Decple thus discoursed, Nero commanded a muster to be made of the youth in the Provinces bordering upon the Parthians, to supply the Legions of the East; and the Le gions themselves to be planted neere unto Armenia: and withall, wrote to the two old Kings Agrippa and locchus, to prepare their forces, and enter the bounds of Parthia, and make bridges over the River Euphrates: and gave charge of leffer Armenia to Aristobulus, and the Sophenian Nation to Sohemus, honouring them both with royal marks and ornaments. And in very good time it fel out that Vardanes fon began to rebell and beard Vologeses, which caused the Parthians to depart Armenia as though they would defer the war. But all things were made more then they were to the Senat, amplified by those who gave advise that processions should bee made in honour of the Prince : and that that day he should we are a triumphall garment, and enterinto the City ovant: and that his image of the same greatnesse that Man the revengers was, should be placed in the same Temple; being besides their ordi. nary flattery, joyfulland glad, that he had made Domitius Corbulo Governourof Armenia: perswading themselves, that the way was now made open to vertue. The forces of the East were so divided, that part of the ayd souldiers with two Legions should remain in the Province of Syria, with the Lieutenaut Quadratus Vini. dius : and that the like number of Citizens and Allies should bee under Corbulous charge, with other Cohorts and Coronets of horse-men, which wintered in Cappadocia. The Kings which were confederate with the Romans, were warned to bein a readinesse as occasion of warre should require. But their affections were best more upon Corbulo, who to purchase fame (which in new enterprises is of greate importance) making away with all speed at Agas a City of Cilicia, met 9ma dratus; who was come fo farre, left if Corbulo should have entered into Sym to receive the forces, all mens eyes would have beene cast upon him, beingosa comely and tall stature, magnificall in wordes; and besides his experience and wisedome, in shew of vaine hope and promises, wonne the people to what he lusted. In fine, both of them by messengers admonished King Vologeses to desire rather a peace then warre, and giving hoftages, continue the like reverence tothe people of Rome as his predecessours had done. And Vologefes to make preparations of warre with more advantage, and such as might match the Romans, or to remove those he suspected as concurrents under the name of hostages, delivereth the noblest of the Arfacides family, whom Hostorius the Centurion sent before by Vinidius for other occasions received. Corbulo understanding this, commandeth Arius Varus, Captaine of a company of Foote-men, to go and receive them: from whence grew a quarell betweene the Captaine and Centurion (which because they would no longer be a jefting stocke to the strangers) they referred to the arbitrement of the pledges themselves, and Lieutenants which conducted them: who preferred Corbulo before the other, partly through the fresh renowne which was yet in every mans mouth, and partly through a certaine inclination which the enemies themselves bare him. Hereupon grew a jarre betweene the Captaines, Vinidim

Vinidius complayning, that, that was taken from him which was compaffed by his advife: Corbulo protefting on the contrary part, that the King was never drawen to offer pledges, untill that he being chosen captaine of the war, had turned his hopes into feare. Nevoto fet them at one, caused it to be published, that Quadratus and Corbulo for their prosperous successes, should have bayes added to the bundle of rods, which was carried before great captaines of warre. I have joyned these things together, although they were done under other Consuls. The same yeere Casar demanded of the Senate that there might becan image dedicated to his father, and the Consulary ornaments given Asomus Labeo, who had beene his tutor; and sorbad that any image of massive gold or silver, should be offered in honor of himselse. And although the LL of the Senat had decreed, that the yeere should begin on that day of December that Nero was borne, yethe retayned the old ceremony of beginning the yeere the Kalends of Ianuary. Neither wete Carrins Sceler a Senator, accused by allave, or Iulius Densus gentlemen, called into question, although it was layd to their charge, they favoured Britannicus.

III. Nero beginneth to hate his mother, and falleth in love with Acte.

Laudius Nero and L. Antistius being Consuls, when the magistrates tooke an oath of observing the ordinances of the princes; he would not suffer Antistius his fellow officer to sweare to the observation of his; which the LL. of the Senate did highly commend in him; to the end, that the youthly minde of the Prince being stirred up with the glory of small things, should continue in mattersof greater moment. After this followed his lenity towards Plantius, Lateranus who being removed from the order of Senators, for adultery committed with Messalina, was restored by him to his room; binding himselfe to continue this clemency, with many orations: which Seneca, to testifie in what honest precepts he instructed him, or for a bragge of his owne wit, published by the voice of the Prince. But Agrippinaes credit and authority by little and little began to waine and Nero casta liking to a freed woman called Acte: two comely youthes, Otho descended from Confulary house, and Claudius Senecio, sonne of one of Casars freed men, being partakers of his counfels, his mother being at the first a stranger to the matter, and in vaine at last striving to the contrary. So far she had possessed him by difsolute behaviour and riot and secret conversation, that his greatest friends and severeftfeemed not to knowe it: confidering that this woman fatisfied his lufts, without theoffence of any. For Octavia his wife, a woman of noble birth, & of appoved good life, either by some secret destiny, or because things unlawfull are most greedily defired, he uterly difliked. And some feared also that if he were bridled of that love, he would lust after the defiling of noble women. But Agrippina fretted and fumed that a freed woman should beard her, & a bond-woman become her daughter in law, with otherfuch like womanish complaints; not having patience to see whether her son would either repent or be filled: and the more opprobriously she upbraided him the more she inflamed him; till at last overcome with the rage of love, he shaked of all duty and reverence towards his mother, & committed himselfe wholly to Senecs. Amongst his familiars was Annaus Screenes, who faining love to the fame freed wom in, covered & cloked with his owne name, the first heats of this young princes and such things as the prince had bestowed on her by stealth, he openly advouched to be his gitts. Then Agripping changing her ftyle fecketh to win the young man by faire alluring speeches, offereth rather her owne chamber and bosome to hide those things which his youth and high fortune defired. Yea she confessed her untimely se. verity, and offered him the use of all her wealth, which was little inferior to the Em. perors: as before too severe in correcting her some; so now unreasonably humbled and cast downein courage. The which chaunge did neither deceive Nero, and gave his nearest freinds cause of feare; and prayed him to beware of the treachery of this woman alwaies fell &cruell, and then false and diffembling. Nero having by chance feene the wardrobe where the apparelllay, which Princes wives and parents were wont to shine in, made choise of a garment and jewels, and sent them his mother most bountifully : seing he sent of his ownethe chiefest, and which by others were most of all defired. But Agrippina exclameth that these ornaments were not so much given her to adorne and trim her selfe, as to exclude her from the rest; and that her sonne would divide those things with her, which came wholly from her. Neither wanted there some to carry these speeches, and make them worse then they were Whereupon all fuch growing odious unto Nero, upon whom this womans pride chiefly relied, displaceth Pallas from the charge which Claudius had given him in which he carried himselfe as if he had beene chiefe Lord and master of all. It is no ported that when Pallas departed with a great retinue following him, Nero very and ly faydthat Pallas went to refigne his office. True it is, that Pallas had covenanted with the Prince not to be called in question for any act past; and that he had made even with all accounts of the common wealth. Agrippina after this, more mad and wilfull then ever, gave out threatning and thundring speeches: yet not forbearing the Princes eares, but crying, that Britannicus was now growen to manseftate : 2 true and worthy plant to receive his fathers Empire, which a grafted fon by adoption now possessed by the injury and trumpery of his mother. There should be note in her, but that all the villanous practifes of that unfortunate house should be laydo pen: and first of all her own marriage, and her impoisoning of Claudius. That only thing was provided by the gods to her good, that her fonne in law was alive. Shee would go with him to the camp, where on one fide Germanicus daughter should be heard: on the other fide that base companion Burrhus and Senecathe banished the one his hand cut off, and the other with his professors eloquence quarelling and debating of the rule and government of the whole world. In uttering of this she bent her fift towards him; heaped one injury upon another; called Claudius, and the infernall ghofts of the Silaniens: and so many fruitlesse wicked attempts, which it had beene author of. Nero troubled with these speeches, and the day now at hand, On which Britannicus had accomplished the full age of fourteene yeeres, began to ponder with himselse, sometimes the violence of his mother, sometimes thew wardlinesse of Britannicus knowen of late by good proofe: and which hath wome him great favour and good will. On a festivall day dedicated to Saturne, amongstother pastimes of his equals, drawing lots who should be King, the lot fell to Nan, who commanding divers things unto others, which could not turne to their shame; commanded Britannicus to rife up and stand in the middle and begin a song, hoping the child should be laughed to skorne, as one ignorant how to carry himselfe in so ber company, much leffe in drunken. But hee very constantly began a verse, which fignified that Nero had thrust him from his fathers seate, and government of Empire which moved them all to open compassion, because the night and lascivious wantonnesse had taken away all distimulation.

IIII. Britannicus empoysoned. Agrippina chased from the Emperors house.

Terofeeling himselfe toucht, augmented his hatred, and incensed with Agrippinaes threats, because he could lay no just cause against him, nor openly durst not command the murdering of his brother, practifeth secret meanes. and commandeth poison to be prepared, Polico Iulius Tribune of the Pretorian cohort being his minister in the action. Vnder whose charge Locusta, a woman infamous for lewd practifes, and before condemned for empoisoning, was kept prifoner. For it was long before provided that fuch as were neerest about Britannicus should have no regard either of honesty or faith. He tooke the first poison of his hingers up; which not being strong enough, he voided by siege, or els because it was rempered, left it should worke immediatly. But Nero impatient of lingring and long working wickednes, threatned the Tribune, commanded the poisoneresse to be put rodeath, because that whilest they respect the rumour, and forge excuses for their own lafety, they drove off his security. They the promising as speedy a death, as if he hould be flaine with a fword, neere unto Cafars chamber, a poison was fod ftrong and violent, by proofe of poisoning. The custome was for princes children to fit with other noble mens, of the same age, in presence of their neere kindred, with spare diet at atable by themselves: Britannicus there taking his repast, because one of the servitours did taste his meats and drinkes, lest the custome should be omitted, or the villany disclosed by both their deaths, this policy was devised: A drinke yet not hurtfull, but very hot, and tafted of, was prefented Britannicus, then that being refused by reason of the heat, the poison was powred into cold water, which so foread throughout all the parts of his body, that his speech and spirit were at once takenfom him. Those which sate about him were in amaze; the other which knew nothing ran away: but they which were of deeper judgement stirred not, but looked Neroin the face, he leaning on the table like one that knew nothing of the practife, fayd he was often wont to fall into fuch fits, through the falling ficknes, which Britunnicus had been grievously afflicted with from his infancy; and that his fight and speechby little and little would come to him againe. But Agrippina was possessed with such a great fear, and an astonishment of senses, although she indevored to hide it in countenance, that the was eafily judged to be as ignorant of the fact, as Britannicus filter Octavia: for the faw that the was bereaved of her greatest stay, &perceived wellthat it was a beginning of parricide. Octavia also although of young veeres, yet had learned to hide her griefe, her love and all affections; and so after a little filence, the mirth of the banquet began againe. Britannicus body was burnt the same night he dyed, all funerall preparation having beene provided before hand, which was but small : nevertheleste he was buried in Campus Martius, in such storms and showers, that the people believed that portended the wrath of the gods against so hainous a fact : which yet many excused in Nero, calling to mind the ancient discord of brothers in termes of soveraignty, and how Kings admit no companions. Many writers of that time doe deliver, that Nero many daies before had abused Britannicus body, and therefore that now his death could not feeme neither untimely orcruell, although it happened in the facred liberty of his table, his fifter not having so much as time to imbrace him, hastned before his enemies face against the lattof Chudius bloud, and his body defiled before he was poisoned. Casar excused the hastines of the obsequies by an edict, saying that the custome of ancient times

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"was celebrate in fecret manner, and not openly dolefull and bitter funerals, with-"out either folemnities or praifes. As for himselfe having lost the ayd and comfort "of his brother, the reft of his hopes were anchored wholly in the common-wealth "and that the Lords of the Senat &people should so much the more favor and main. "taine that Prince, which was only left of the family borne to rule and absolute do. "minion. Then he enriched with gifts the cheifest of his friends. Neither wanted therefome which blamed men pretending gravity, that they divided housesand possessions; as though they had beene booties. Some thought the Prince forced them thereto, as guilty of his fact, and hoping for pardon if he could bind unto him the mightiest and strongest in power. But his mothers wrath could by no munifi cence be appealed, but the embraced Octavia, and had often fecret conference with her friends: and besides her naturall covetousnes, scraping money together of all hands as it were for some purpose to pinch, she entertained the Centurions and Tribunes with all curtefie: the honoured the names and vertues of the nobility which then were in towne, as though the had fought for a head to make a faction Nero perceiving that, commandeth the guard of fouldiers which heretofore was appointed to guard the Emperors wife, and now her, as his mother, to be taken from her, and certaine Germans which she had, besides the former appointed to guard her, to depart and be gone. And left the should be frequented with multitudesol faluters, he divideth his house, and sendeth his mother to that which was Antonianand as oft as himfelfe came thither, guarded with a company of Centurions, after fhort falutation, departed againe.

V. Agrippina accused for conspiring against Nero. Silaua punished.
Pallas, and Burrhus accused.

Here is no mortall thing more mutable and flitting, then the fame of great nesse, not sustained by his owne force and strength. Agrippinaes house was now utterly forfaken; no man went to comfort her; no man to visite her, aving a few women and uncertaine of them whether for love or hatred. Among which Iunia Silana was one, who as I have already declared, at Meffalinaes infligutons was separated from her husband C. Silius; a woman of great parentage, of alle ring and wanton beauty, and a long time welbeloved of Agrippina. Yet afterwards there was a privy grudge betweene them two, because Agrippina had dehoned Sext. Africanus a noble young gentleman from marrying of Silana: faying, fix was unchast and growne into yeeres, not because she meant to reserve him for herfelfe; but fearing lest he should enjoy silanaes goods if she died without issue. Silanaes na having a hope of revenge offered, folicited Iturius and Calvifius, followers of her owne, to accuse Agrippina: yet not for any old and stale matter, as that she bewailed the death of Britannicus, or published the injuries done to Octavia; butthat she intended to stirup Rubellius Plantus (by the mothers side, as neere to Augustus) Nero was) to new enterprises against the state, and by marrying of him, and empire gotten by her meanes, afflict and invade the common-wealth afresh. These things Iturius & Calvisius discovered to Atimetus a Freed-man of Domitia, Aunt unto New Who glad of the occasion offered (for betweene Domitia and Agrippina there was deadly hatred) urged the stage player Paris a Freed-man likewise of Domitia to got with all speed to Nere, & informe most bitterly against her. The night was wel spent and Nero well tippled, when Paris entereth as one accustomed at other times to entertaine the Prince with sports and jests: but then his countenance setled to

fadnes, and declaring the whole order of Asimetus tale, did fo terrifie and daunt the Prince, that he determined not onely to kill his mother, and Plantus; but difcharge Burrhus of his office as advanced by Agrippinaes favour, and ready therefore forequite her with as good a turne. Fabius Rufticus reporteth, that letters were writren to Canina Tufcus to come and take charge of the Guard; but that Burrhus credit was faved, and kept in his office by Senecaes meanes. Pliny and Cluvius feemethere was noe doubt made of Burrhus loyalty: and in very deed Fabius inclineth much to the commendation of Seneca, as one of his preferment. But our meaning is to follow the confent of Authours; and if any affirme contrary, we will deliver it under their names. Nero trembling for feare, and exceeding defirous of the death of his mother, could not indure the delay, until Burrhus had promifed to performe it, if the were convicted of the crime. But every man might alleadge what he could for "his defence, much more a mother. Neither was there any accusers present & no-"thing to ground on but one mans report out of an enemies house. He was to confi-"der that it was night, and that spent in banqueting; and therefore all would sceme "to finel of raffines & folly. The Princes feare formwhat lightned by these speeches and the day come, one went to Agripping to let her understand of the accusation. and to purge her felfe or looke to fuffer. Burrhus was to doe the meffage in prefence of Seneca, with fome Freed men as witnesse of the speeches. Then Burrhus having declared the accusation, and the Authors of it, used threatning tearnes and Agrip-"pina not forgetting her old fiercenes, returned him his answere: saying, I marvell Inotif Silana never having had child, know not what the affections of mothers are: "neither are children changed by their parents, as adulterers by shamelesse women: "neither of Iturius and Calvifus, having wasted their substance, bestowed this their "last labor in undertaking this accusation: therefore I am to sustain the infamy of "patricide, or Cafar have scruple of conscience, that I would commit it: as for Domi-"tial would thank her for the hate she beareth me, if she would likewise in good will "and love towards my Nero, strive with me. Now by her concubine Atimetus & Paris "the stage plaier she doth as it were compose fables for the stage. She was busic a-"bout her fish pooles of Baia, when by my counsels, Neroes adoption; proconfulary "authority election to be Conful, & other steps, to mount to the Empire, were pro-"cured. Or elfe let fome one be brought forth to make it appeare, that I have prac-"tifed with the City-cohorts; corrupted the loyalty of the Provinces; or folicited "bond-men, or freed men to rebellion. I might have lived if Britannicus had beene "Soveraign: but if Plantas or some other should get the rule of the common wealth, "forfooth there should want accusers to lay to my charge, not words sometimes un-"advifedly escaped through servency of love; but such crimes also from which I "could not be acquitted, but as a mother by her fon. The affiftats moved with thefe feeches and indevouring to appeale her anger; the requireth to speake with her some: before whom she spake nothing in detence of her innocency, as if she had distrusted; or of her benefits, as to upbraid him: but obtained revenge of her accufers; and rewards for her friends. The charge and office of provision of corne was given to Senius Rufus; the commission of playes which Casar was a preparing, to Aruntius Stella; Egypt to C. Balbillus Syria was appointed to P. Anteius, then abused with diverse devises, and in the end detained in the City. But Silana was banished; Calvisius also and Iturius: Atimetus was executed: Paris being in greater credit (by reason of pleasures ministred to the Princes) then that he should be put to death. Plantus was sent away for the time with silence. Pallas after this and Burrhus were accused to have practised to call Cornelius Sylla, for noblenesse of birth

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and affinity with Claudius, whose some in law he was by marriage of Antonia, to the Empire. The author of that accusation was one Palus, a man infamous, by caufing debters to forfeit their goods: and then manifeftly convicted of vanity and fallhood. Neither was Pallas innocency fo gratefull, as his pride iniupportable: for when some of his Freed-men were faid to have beene privy to the practife. he made answer that in his house he appointed nothing to be done, but with a nod of his head or hand; or by writing, if he had much to fay, lest if he should have spo. kenunto them, he should seeme to have made them his fellowes. Burrhus although accused, yet gave sentence among the Judges. P.etus the accuser was banished, and the writings burnt, by which he went about to renew the records of the treasury already cancelled. In the end of the fame yeer, the guard of the fouldiers which was wont to be at the plaies, was taken away, for a greater flew of liberty: and because the souldier being absent from the disorder of the Theater, should be less corrupt', and the people flew by proofe, whether they would use modest vif the guard were away. The Prince hallowed and purged the City with facrifices, by advise of southsaiers, because Inpiters and Minercaes temples were set on fire with lightning.

VI. Neroes diforders: the cafe of the franchifed debated: an or lar for certain magistrates.

Volutius and P. Scipio being Confuls, there was peace abroad, and filthylafciviousnesse at home: during which, Nero gadded up and down the streets, to infamous brothell houfes, & by-corners, in flaves attire, to be unknown accompanied with fuch as fnatched away wares from mens stalles, wounded such as met them, and with fuch fmall regard whom, that Nero himfelfe hath received and carried away blowes and markes on the face. And when it was known tobe C. far which played those pranks, the disorder grew greater against both men and women of accompt; and with like licentiousnes abusing Casars name, many practifed the same infolencies, gathered together in particular companies, and so spend. ing the night as it had been taking a town, and captivity. One lulius Montanus a Senator, who had not yet taken upon him the dignity, by chance coping with the Prince in the darke, and rudely thrusting him back as he offered him violence; then knowing him, and craving pardon, was inforced to die, as though thereby lie had reproched him of folly. Nero more wary and fearfull after that, went not without a rabble of fouldiers and fencers; which medled not at the first, and whilest the prince made his party good: but after, if he were overmatched, by fuch as he abuled they laid hands immediatly on their weapons. He turned the difordered licencest plaies, and part-taking in favour of stage players, almost to a mutiny, by giving impunity and rewards, himselfe privily or for the most part openly looking on; until the people growing to fedition, and fearing greater stirres, no other remedy was found then to expell the stage players out of Italy, and place a guard of souldiers again on the Theatre. At the fame time the deceit and ungratefull behaviour of Freed-men was debated in Senat; and instant sute made that the patrons might have authority to revoke the Freedome given to fuch as deserve it not: for many there were of that opinion. But the Confuls not daring to determine the matter, without the privity of the Prince; yet wrote the common confent unto him: And that he should be the authour of the decree, few being of a contrary opinion, and some grudging that the irreverence of their late bondmen, by reason of liberty was "growne to that, that they cared not whether they carried themselves towards "their patrons dutifully or not : nothing at all weighing what they faid unto them: eyea, bend their fists towards them: thrust and elbow such as would have any law a made to bridle them. For what other redreffe was there granted unto patrons ofof fended, but to banish his Freed man above twenty miles of, to the coast of Campainia? all other actions were indifferent and equall to both. Some weapon therfore "should be given the patron, which the freed man should not despise. Neither could sit seme hard if the manumised should with the same obedience keepe their liber-"ty, by which they got it. And fuch as were openly convicted of crimes, were wor-"thily brought again to servitude, that such might be bridled by fear, whom bene-"fits could not change. Some spake to the contrary, saying: That, that fault of a few "fhould be prejudiciall but to themselves, and not derogate from the priviledges. "common to them all; because it was a body farre spread abroad. From them were "taken many Tribs and Decuries, fit men for magistrates and priests &city cohorts "and many gentlemen and Senators could derive no beginning but from thence. If "the freed men should be severed from the rest, the number of the free born would "appeare very smal. Not with out cause our auncestors when they divided the citi-"zens into degrees and callings, left liberty in common. Yea they had inflituted "twokinds of manumifing their bondmen, because it might be in their choise to "repent or yeeld new favour. Those whom the patron did not manumise Vindicta "before the magistrate, remained still as it were in the bonds of servitude. That "every man would looke into the merits of his flave; and grant that flowly, which "being once given could not be taken away. This opinion caried it away. And Cafar "wrote to the Senat that they should privately examine the cause of the Freed-men asoftas they were accused by their patrons: and derogate nothing from the whole body of them. Not long after, Paris the late bondman wastaken from Domitia, Nerves Aunt, under colour of civill law; not without a difgrace to the Prince: by whose commandement judgement of free condition was given him. Neverthelessethere remained a certainessew of a free common-wealth. For a contention being growne between Fibullius the Prætor, and Antiflius Tribune of the people, for releating out of prison certaine unruly favourers of the Stage-players, committed by the Prætor: the Lords of the Senate approved the Prætors fact, and blamed Antifine boldnesse. Whithall the Tribunes were forbidden to usurpe any thing belonging to the Prætors or Confuls authority 3 or call fuch before them out of Italy, whose right was to be determined by law, L. Piso Confull elect added further, that they should not exercise their authority in punishing of any in their own houses: and that the Quaffors of the treasury should not enter into record before foure months werepalt, the mercements adjudged by them: and that in the meanetime it might belawfull to speake against them; and the Consuls determine the matter. The authority of the Aediles is also restrained, and order set down how much the Curules, and the people might take to pawne, and how farre they might punish. Thereupon Helvidius Prifeus, Tribune of the people, shewed his privat grudge against Obultronuu Sabinus Quæstor of the treasury, as though he had too severely enforced the execution of open sales of goods against the poore. Then the Prince transferred the records of publicke debts from the Questors to the Provosts of the city: albeit, the forme of that office had beene diverily used, and often changed. For Angustus gave the Senate licence to choose the Provosts; then canvaling of voices being suspected, they were drawne by lot out of the number of the Prætors. Neither uid that long continue, because the lot fell oft upon the unmeetest. Then Claudius restored

restored agains the Quæstors to the office, and bestowed extraordinaty promotion upon them, left for feare of offence they should be flacke in their duty. But because there wanted authority of age in many which were in that office, as being the first they were possessed of; Nero chose such as had beene Provosts, and tried by long experience. Vipfanius Lenas was condemned under the fame Confuls, for behaving himselfe too ravenously in the Province of Sardinia. Cestim Proculus was acquired of extorsion, his accusers, letting fall the suite. Clodins Quirinalis, Captaine of the gally-flaves at Ravenna, accused for molesting Italy with riot and cruelty, as the least of all nations, prevented his condemnation by poisoning himselfe. Aminim Rebius a principal man for the skill of the lawes and of great wealth, escaped the griefes of fickly old age by letting himfelfe bloud in the veines, although he was thought to be too cowardly to kill himselfe; by reason he was given too effeminatly to lufts. But L. Volutius died with great fame, having lived ninety three yeeres very rich by good meanes, and never once hurr by any of those unjust Emperors, under whom he lived.

The thirteenth Book of the Annales

VII. What Annales ought to intreat of : playes forbidden.

T Ero being the second time Confull, and L. Pifo, few things happened worth of memory; unlesse some would thinke it well done to fill up volumes in praising the foundations and timber imployed by Cafar in the huge building of the Amphitheater in Campus Martius, feeing it is meete for the dignity and honor of the people of Rome to commit famous acts to their Annales, and fuchas those to the diurnall of the city. Capua and Nuceria both colonies, were reenfor. ced with a supply of old souldiers. There was bestowed a gift of * forty sesterces by * About 31250 poll to the people, and * foure hundred thousand sesterces to the publicke treasury to maintaine the people faithfull unto him. The tribute of the fift & of the twentieth for the sale of slaves was released in shew rather then in deed: for when the seller was commanded to pay it, he enhanced the price still to the buyers losse. Cafar commanded by an edict, that no magistrate, procurator of any province, should fet forth a shew of fencers, or wild beasts, or any other pastime. For heretofore the fubiects were no leffe endamaged by fuch liberalities, then by taking their mony from them; whileft they cloaked with favor gotten by fuch specchacles, their faults committed by robbing the people. A decree of Senate was made as well for revenge as fecurity, that if any man had beene flaine by his bondmen, those also who being manumifed by testament, & continued in the same house, should be punished as the other bondmen. L. Varius fometimes Confull was restored to his dignity, removed before for covetous dealing and extorsion. And Pomponia Gracina a noble woman, and wife to Plantins, who returned with a small triumph out of Britannia, and accused of strange superstition, was remitted to the judgement of her husband; and he according to the ancient cultome, in the prefence of her neerest kindred heard her cause of life and death, and pronounced her inocent. This Pomponia lived long, and in continual forrow: for after that Iulia, Drusus daughter, was murdered by Messalinaes treachery, the was not seene forty yeeres but in mourning apparell, and very fad and dolefull. Which she might lawfully do whilest Claudius reigned, & afte ward turned to her glory. Many citizens were accused that yeer, of which number P. Celer being one, at the information of the inhabitants of Afia, because Cafar could not acquit him, he prolonged his cause till he died of age. For Celer (as I have already faid) having beffirred himfelfe in the murdering of Silanus the Proconful,

cloaked allother villanies under the greatnes of that lewd action. The Cilicians accufed Coffutianus Capito, criminally noted and difcredited with many vices, thinking he had had the fame priviledge of using infolet behaviour in the province, as he had done in the city. But turmoiled and molested with an overthwart accusation, in the end letting fall his defence, was condemned of extorsion. Great suings prevailed so much for Eprius Marcellus, of whom the Lycians demanded reftitution, that fome of the accusers were banished, as though they had indangered an inocent man.

VIII. A liberality of Nero towards certaine decayed gentlemen. The warre of Armenia renewed. Tiridates departeth the countrey.

7 Hen Nero was the third time Confull Valerius Messalla entered the same office, whose great granfather Corvinus an orator, some old men remember to have beene companion in office with Augustus of famous memory, Nerces great grandfathers father. But the honour of this noble family was bettered by giving Meffalla by yeer * five hundred thousand sesterces to relieve * About 3906. his harmlesse poverty. To Aurelius Cotta likewise, and Haterius Antonius, the found 5.5. Prince graunted that an annuall fum of money should be given, although they had wasted riotously the wealth their ancestors had left them. In the beginning of that veere, the warre which was drawne at length with foft and mild beginnings untill then, betweene the Parthians and the Romans for obtaining of Armenia, was now hotly pursued : because Vologeses would neither suffer his brother Tiridates to be deprived of the kingdome in which he had invested him, nor that he should injoy it as a gift from another Lord; and Corbulo thought it worthy of the greatnesse of the people of Rome to recover that which by Lucullus and Pompey had been once gotten. The Armenians being doubtfull, and faithfull to neither fide, invited both: vetby the fite of their countrey & conformity of conditions, being more neere unto the Parthians, and intermingled with them by marriages; and not knowing what liberty was, inclined rather to that lervitude. But Corbulo had more adoe with the flothfulnes of the fouldiers, then perfidiousnes of the enemies: for the legions removedfrom Syria, by a long peace grown lazy and idle, could hardly endure the labour and paines of the Roman discipline. Certaine it was there were old souldiers in that campe, which had never kept watch nor ward; a rampire or trench they gazed at, asatanew and strange devise: without head peices; without curasses; neate and fine; hunting after gaine; having spent all their service in townes. Wheteupon the old and feeble being difinissed, he defired a supply, which was had out of Galatia and Cappadocia. And to them was added a legion out of Germany with wings of horsemen, and all the army kept in campe; although the winter were so hard, and the earth covered with yee, that they could not pitch their tents, unlesse they had first digged the ground. Many of their limmes were starcke with extremity of cold; and many died in keeping the watch. And there was a fouldier noted carrying a fagot, whose hands were so stiffe frozen, that sticking to his burden, they tell from him as though they had been cut from his arme. Corbulo flightly apparelled, bare headed, was with them when they marched, when they laboured, praised the stout; comforted the feeble; and gave example to them all. Then because many retuting to indure the hardnes of the season, and such rigor of discipline, forfooke him; he fought a redreffe by feverity: for he did not pardon the first and fecond fault as in other armies, but he suffered death presently who for sooke his enfigne: by which experience proved more profitable, then clemency. For fewer forfooke that campe, then where there was much mercy shewne. In the meane seafon Corbulo having kept the legions in campe untill the fpring, and disposed the aidcohorts in convenient places, charged them not to give the onset. The chargeof the garrisons he committed to Pactius Ophitus, once Captaine of the first ensigne: who although he wrote to Corbulo that the Barbarians were carelesse and disorde. red, and a fit occasion offered of atcheiving some exploit; yet was he commaunded to keepe within his garrison, and expect greater power. But breaking his commandement when he sawa few troups of horsemen issue out of a castle hard by, and unskilfully demand battell, he encountred the enemy, and went away with the loffe, And those which should have seconded them, terrified with that discomsiture, sled as fast as they could every man to his hold; which to Corbulo was an exceeding griefe. Who rebuking Pattius, and the Captaines, and the fouldiers, commanded them all to pitch their tents out of the campe: and there kept them in that difgrace. until they were delivered by the intercession & suite of the whol army. But Tiridates besides his own followers, succoured by his brother Vologeses; not now by stealth, but with open warre molesteth Armenia, spoiling all such he thought faithfull tous: and if any forces were brought against him, he deluded them, by flying hither and thither , terrifying more by fame then fight. Corbulo therefore feeking occasion to joyne battell, but in vaine; and conftrayned to make war now in one place, nowin another, as the enemy did, severed his forces to the end that the Lieutenants & cap. taines might invade divers places at once. Withall, he advertised King Antiochus to fet on the government next adjoyning to him. For Pharasmanes, his sonne Rhadamistus being slaine, as a traitor towards him, to testifie his loyalty towards us, shewed more willingly his inveterate hatred against the Armenians, Then the Isichians, a nation never before confederate with us, being now brought to our fide, invaded the hardest passages of Armenia, whereby all Tiridatus deseignments were croffed. He sent Embassadors to expostulate in his owne, and "the Parthians name, Why having of late given hostages, & renewed amity, which "opened the way to new benefits, he should be driven from the ancient possession "of Armenia? therefore Vologefes was not yet moved to war, because he had rather "debate the matter by reason, then by force. But if they would persist in warre, the "Arfacides should neither want courage nor fortune, often experimented to the "loffe of the Romanes. Hereupon Corbulo knowing well that Vologe ses was troubled with the Hircanians rebellion, perswadeth Tiridates to deale with Casar by intreaty; that he might obtaine a firme possession of a kingdome without bloudshed; ifleaving offalong and flow hope, he would imbrace that which was prefentand more fure. Then they refolved, because by entercourse of messengers they profited nothing, for the full knitting up of peace, to appoint time and place for a parly. Tiridates fayd, that he would come with a thousand horse for his gard: how many of what foever fort of fouldiers Corbulo should bring, he weighed it not, so as they came without curaffes & helmets, as a better shew of peace. The barbarous treachery was palpable to all men, much more to an old circumspect captaine; therefore a small number was limited on one part, and a greater permitted to the other, that the treason might be the better effected: for to oppose against practised horsemen archers, unarmed men, the multitude would availe nothing. Yet Corbulo making as though he had not perceived the treason, answered, that publicke affaires would better be debated in the face of both the whole armies. And for the purpole chose a place whereof the one part had hils of an easte ascent fit for rankes of footemen; the other stretched out into a plaine, convenient to display troopes of horsemen. And the day agreed on Gorbulo appeared first in this order: He placed the cohorts of allies, and succours sent by Kings, in the wings: and in the middle, the six legion; among which he had intermingled three thousand of the third, sent for by might from other garrisons, with one ensigne, as if all were but one legion. Tiridates the day being well spent, shewed himselfe aloofe, where he might better be seen then heard: so the Romane captaine without parly, commandeth his souldiers to depart every man to his owne campe. The King either suspecting fraud, because demenwent at once to divers places, or to intercept our provision of victuals, coming from the sea of Pontus, and the towne Trapezunt, maketh away with all speed. But he could not hinder the coming of the victuals, because it was brought through mountaines possessing the suspection of the warre should draw to an end, and the Armenians constrained to defend their owne, goeth about toraze their Castles.

IX. Cotbulo having taken the Castles, destroyeth Artaxata the chiefe towne of the countrey.

orbulo chose to himselfethe strongest place of the countrev called Volandum to affault; the lesser hee committeeth to Cornelius Flaccus Lieutenant. and Isleus Capito camp-masters. Then surveying his forces, and seeing all things in a readinfle for the affault, incourageth his fouldiers to unneftle the vagabond enemy, neither ready for peace nor warre; acknowledging by his fleeing away hisperfidiousnesse and cowardife; and so win at once both glory and wealth. Afterthis, having devided his armie into foure partes, he ledde fome close and thicke ranked together, for a target fence to undermine and beate downe the rampire: others to scale the walls: others to let flee fire and darts out of engines of warre: the fling-casters and stone-throwers had a place appointed them, from whence they might a farre off throw pellets of iron and stone, that the besieged might have no refuge or comfort one of another, all places being full of like feare. The courage of the affailants was fo great, that within the third part of the day the walles were naked of defendants : the gates broken downe ; the fortresse scaled ; and all of lawfull yeeres put to the fword; no one fouldier lost on our side, and very few hurt; the weake and unable people were fold in a portfale and made flaves; the rest of the booty fell to the Conquerours share. The Lieutenant and camp-master had the like fortune, three castles taken in one day; the rest for feare and by consent of the inhabitants yeelded: which encouraged the Romans to fet on Artaxata the chiefe towne of the countrey. Yet the Legions were not brought the next way, because that passing the river Araxis which washeth the walles, by the bridge they should have come under the danger of blowes; but went over a farre off at broade foords. But Tiridates affayled with feare and shame, lest if hee should suffer the belieging, he might feeme not to be able to fuccourit; if hinder it, encumber himfelfe and his horsemen in dangerous and difficult places, resolved in the end to shew hisarmy in battell aray, and a day appointed, give the onfet; or making as though he would flee, dreffe an ambush. Whereupon on a sudden hee environeth the Romans our Captaine not ignorant thereof, who had marshalled his army in such aray, that it might both march on, and fight. On the right fide the third legion; on the left the fixt marched; in the middle a company chosen out of the tenth; the carriages betweene the rankes, and a thousand horsemen in the rereward, with 192

commandement that they should resist and make head against the enemy if they passed in; but if they fled, not to follow. In the wings went the footmen archers with the residue of the horsemen; the left wing stretched somewhat longer to the bottome of the hils; that if the enemy should enter on them, he should have been received both in the front and middle. Tiridates on the contrary fide, came about the Romanss freely; yet not within a dartes cast; now threatning, now makeing as though he were afraid; and so retiring, to see whether we would open or breakeour rankes to follow, and so intrapus being scattered. But not seeing any thing disorde. red, or any ranke broken by raffines; and only one under-Captaine of horsemen ventering boldlier then the rest to have beene slaine with an arrow, and the rest by his example to obey, the night being almost come, he departed. Corbulo having pit. ched his campe in the same place, considerd with himselfe, whether he should goe by night to Artaxata, and besiege it with light and uncumbred legions, supposing that Tiridates had retired thither. Then the foouts having brought intelligence that the King had taken a longer journey, doubtfull whether to the Medes or Persians, he stayed untill it was day : lending before a company light armed, to environ the wals and begin the affault a farre off. But the townsimen opening the gates of their owne accord, yeelded themselves and althey had to the Romans, wherby their lives were faved. But Artaxata was burnt & razed to the ground, because it could not be ken without a firong garrison, by reason of the compasse of the walls, and our forces were not fo great that we could leave there a sufficient garrison, and withall keep the field: or if the should be left standing and ungarded, there would be neither profit nor glory that she had been taken. There is a miracle, reported, as it were by some divine power happened: for all things out of the houses, were lightned by the sun but that which was invironed with the wals, was on such a sudden covered with a darke cloud and separated with lightning, that it seemed the will of the gods wa it should be destroyed. Hereupon Nero was faluted Emperour, and processions made by decree of Senate; and images and triumphall arches fet up, and the Conful thip continued on him: and ordained that the day the victorie was gayned, the day of the newes, the day wherein they talked of in Senate, should beekept holy, and other fuch like; so farre beyond measure, that C. Cassius consenting unto the restor the honcurs given him, touching the processions; sayd, that if they would give the gods thankes for fo many favours of fortune, all the yeere would not bee enought make them processions. And therefore they should distinguish working dayes from holy dayes, in fuch fort that the gods might be honoured, and temporall businesse not hindered.

> X. Suilius is banished. Octavius tribune of the people killeth Pontia, with whom he was in love.

Bout that time, P. Suilius, a man croffed with many adverfities, and justly in A curred the hatred of many, was called in question, and condemned; not with out some touch of Senecaes credit. This Suilins in Claudius reigne was both cruelland corrupt, and by alteration of times brought low, though not fo much as his enemies defired; and who rather would feeme culpable, than as a suppliant crave pardon. For it was thought that the penalty of the law Cincia, against such as pleaded causes for mony, was set on foote againe, onely to subvert and overthrow him. Yet Suitius never forbare complaints and hard speeches, besides his natural fiercenes, more free by reason of his old age, laying in Senecaes dish that he was

"an enemy to Claudius friends, under whom he had fultained a most just banishment. withall, that with his idle and dead studies, applying himself to the unskilfulnesse "of raw youth, he envied fuch as used a lively and uncorrupt eloquence in defending "the citizens. He had been Questor to Germanicus; and Seneca, and adulterer of his house. Wasitto be judged a grievouser offence to receive a suiters reward freely "offered for a mans honest travell, then to defile the beds of Princes wives? with "what wildome, with what precepts of Philosophers within foure yeeres friendship "with the King, had he gotten *three thousand times three hundred thousand fe- * About "flerces? At Rome he confened men of their Legacies, & fuch as died without chil- 23 43759 "dren, as if he had laid a snare to intrap him. Italy and the Provinces were drawn "drie by his excessive usury. As for himselt, he had but small store of wealth got-"ren by his labour and fwear. He would fuffer the accufation, perill, and what "else might fall, rather then subject his old credit and estimation to a new upstart. Neither wanted there fuch as reported these or worser speeches to Seneca again: and other informers were found, which accused Suilius that he had polled and pilled the allies when he was governour of Afia, and purloyned the common treafure. Then because he had obtained a yeeres space for to make enquiry of these matters, it feemed to be the shorter course, to begin with crimes committed neare about the City, because of such, witnesses were at hand. They objected against him. that the bitternesse of his accusation drove Q. Pomponius to a necessity of civill war: that he had brought Inlin the daughter of Drujus, and Sabina Poppaa to destruction; and fallly accused Valerius Asiaticus, L. Saturninus, and Cornelius Lupus: yeaa great company of Gentlemen of Rome had been condemned by his meanes: in fine, all Claudius cruelty was imputed to Suilius. He for his defence answered, that he had undertook none of those things of his own will, but to obey the Prince, untill Casar caused him to hold his tongue, saying, that he was affured by his fathers memoriall, that he never inforced any man to accuse another: then he pretended Messalinaes commandement, and his defence began to fail him. Why was there no other chofento speak for that cruell unchaste dame? the instruments of evill actions are to be punished, when as having received the reward of their lewdnesse, yet goe about to layitto others charge. Therefore part of his goods being taken from him (for part was left his foune and his neece, and that also was excepted which was given them by their mothers or Grandfathers testament) he was banished into the Hands of Baleares, never loofing courage either in the time of his danger, or after condemnation. And it is reported that he suffered that separation from company, living both aboundantly and delicately. The accusers had overthrown his sonne Nerulinus, for the envy they bare the father, and his own extortions, if the Prince had not opposed himselte, as though the revenge had been sufficient. About the same time Octavius Sagitta, Tribune of the people, mad in love with Pontia a married wife, by great gifts bought her unlawfull love, and use of her body; then to forsake her husband, promiting her marriage, and inducing her to the liking of him. But when this woman was free from her husband, the began to finde delayes, thisting it off that her father was unwilling, and in the end finding a hope of a richer husband, went from her promise. Octavius on the contrary side sometimes complained, sometimes threatned, protesting his credit was lost, and his mony confumed, finally put his life which only remained in her hands. But being rejected, craveth one nights pleafure for his fatisfaction, then promifed he would defift. The night was appointed, and Pontia gave charge of watching the chamber to a maid which was privy to their dealings. He with one freed-man conveyeth in a weapon under his garment:

Then as the maner of lovers is, sometimes angry, sometimes chiding, sometimes in treating, sometimes upbrayding and spending some part of the night in voluptuous pleasures, at last kindled with grief and complaints, with his sword ran thorow this woman, which seared no such thing, and wounded the maide which ran in, and so rushed the out of the Chamber. The next day the murder was known, and the murderer not doubted of, being known manifestly that they had been together. But Freed-man protested it was his doing, in revenge of the injuries done to his Patron, and moved some with the strangenes of that example to believe him, until the maid recovered of her wound, discovered the truth. Then Ostavius accused of the murder before the Consuls by Pontius stather, at the end of his Tribuneship was condemned by the Senate, according to the Law Cornelia against murderers.

The thirteenth Book of the Annales

XI. Nero taketh away Sabina Poppaa from her husband.

He same yeere, an untemperate life, no lesse infamous then the former, was a beginning of greater mischiefes in the common-wealth. There was in the city one Sabina Poppea daughter of T. Ollius: but she had taken the name of Sabinus Poppaus, her Grandfather by the Mothers fide; a man of worthy memory honored with the Confulary dignity, and ornaments of triumph: for Sejanus friend. ship did overthrow ollius before he came to any dignities. This woman was graced with all things faving an honest minde: for her mother surpassing other womenof her time in beauty, gave her both glory & beauty: wealth she had sufficient to maintain her nobility: her speech affable and gracious, nor no grosse wit; but knowing well how to pretend modelty and live lasciviously: she came little abroad, and then part of her face covered with a veile, either not to fill the eie of the beholder, or because becomed her best: of her credit regard she had never: making no difference between her husbands and adulterers: neither subject to her own will, nor anothers, but where profit was offered, thither the carried her affection. This woman then being wife to Rufus Crispinus, a Gentleman of Rome, by whom she had a sonne; Otho seduced through his youth and riot, and because he was most inward in friendship with Name It was not long but they joined marriage to adultery, otho either because he was uncircumfpect in love, or because he would enflame the princes lust; praised his wives beauty and comely feature in his prefence; that both enjoying one woman, hiscredit and authority might by that bond grow greater. He hath bin often heard to say, as he hath rifen from banketing with Cafar, that he would go to her in whom was all beauty and nobility, & to her who kindling all mens defires, was able to make them most happy. Through these and the like provocations, there was no long delay made. Nero then finding accesse unto her, Poppea at the first by allurements and cunning, began to inveigle him, faying, that she was not able to withstand his love, and that she was overcome with his beauty. Then perceiving the Princes lust to be growen hor; she began to grow proud; and if she entertained him above a nightor two, it was all the could affoord him; faying, the was a married wife, and that the could not abandon her husband as being bound unto Otho, for his manner of carriage and behaviour, which few came neare unto: that he was in courage and demeanour magnificent; and in all respects worthy of highest fortune. As for Nero using a bondslave for his Concubine, and tied to Attes familiarity, he had learned nothing of that fervile company, but basenesse and niggardice. Other after this was barred of the accustomed familiarity with the Prince; then of his company and retinue: and last of all, lest he should be his concurrent in the City, he made him Governour of the Province of Portingall. Where he lived untill the cirill warres, not as before diforderly, but honeftly and uncorruptly, as one loofly given when he had little to doe; but in office and rule more stayed and temperate. All this while Nero fought to cloake his vitiousnesse and licentious life. Afterward he began to be jealous of Cornelius Syllaes dull and heavy disposition, interprering it contrary to that which it was, deeming him a crafty and subtill diffembler. Which jealousie Graptus a freed-man of Casars by age, and experience, and time, unrillthen well practifed in Princes houses, augmented with this lie. The Milvian bridge in those daies was notorious for a haunt of diffolute and unruly persons in the night. Whither Nero reforted also to enjoy his licentious persons more freely, being out of the town, and returning back by the Flaminian way, Graptus put him in the head that there had beene wait layd for him, which he escaped by destiny, because he went another way to Sallustius Gardens, and falfly accused Sylla to be the authour thereof: Because that some of the Princes servitors returning that way by chance. were, by some licentious behaviour of youth, which in that place was very common, put in greater fright then danger. Yet there was no one of Syllaes fervitours or vassals known. His faint heart and not daring any enterprise being well known to be far from any fuch fact: yet neverthelesse as though he had been convicted, he was commanded to depart his Country, and live within the walls of Marsiles. Under the same Consuls the Embassies of the Puteolanians were heard, which the Senators on one fide, and the communalty on the other, fent to the Senate: the Senators charging the communalty with infolency; and the people charging the magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen with covetousnesse. And when the sedition was already grown to throwing of stones, and threatning to fire one another, and like to draw on murder and war, C. Cassius was chosen to order the matter: but knowing that they could not endure his feverity at his request, that care was committed to the brothers the Scribonians, with a band of the Emperours guard: through the terror of which and punishment of a few, the Townesmen were set at quietnesse again. I would not speak of the very common decree of Senate, by which the City of Syracusa waslicensed to exceed the number prefixed in the shew of Fencers: If Patus Thrasea had not spoken against it and given matter unto backbiters to reprehend his judgement: For faid they, if he believed that the Common-wealth wanted the liberty of Senators, why did he meddle in fuch trifles? He should rather have perswaded or diffwaded matters of war or peace; of tributes, of lawes, and other things wherein confifted the estate of Rome. It was lawfull for the Lords of the Senat as oft as they thought convenient to give their opinion, to propound what they lifted, and ask for a confultation upon it. Was it onely worthy of correcting, that at Syracufa the Playes should not be so long? Be all other things in the Empire, as well as if, not Nero, but Thrasea had the government thereof? The which if they were let passe with great diffimulation, how much more should they for beare vaine trifles? Thrasea on the contrary, his friends demanding him a reason why he contradicted the decree, made answer; that he did it not as being ignorant of the present estate of things; but for the greater honour of the Lords of the Senate: and shew manifeftly that they would not diffemble in important affaires, which would look into fuch imali matters.

THe same yeere, through the often and importunate suit of the people, bls. ming the coverousnesse of the Farmers of the common rents, Nero doubted whether it were best to command that there should no more subsidies and tributes be levied; and give so faire a gift to the world. But this sudden pang having first commended the bounteousnesse of his minde, the LL. of the Senate stayed. as. firming it to be the diffolution of the Empire, if the revenewes by which it was sustained should be diminished: for if custome were taken away, it would follow that the abolishing of tributes would be demanded. Many societies of tributes and talla. ges were established by the Consuls and Tribunes of the people, even when the Communalty had greatest liberty. Things afterward were so proportioned, that the receits and revenewes should be answerable to the laying out. Indeed the covetous nesse of the Farmers was to be moderated, lest things tolerated so many yeers with out complaint, should turn to further mischiese and hatred, by their strange greedinesse. The Prince therefore by edict commanded, that the taxation of everyoustome which hitherto hath been concealed, should not be published: and that the Farmers should not after the yeere was expired demand any thing let slip or forgotten during that time: that in Rome the Prætor, in the Provinces those which supplied the places of the Prætors and Confuls, should extraordinarily determine against the Farmers of common rents: that fouldiers should keep their immunity. those things excepted wherein they trafficked: and many other just things, which observed a short time, afterward came to nothing. Neverthelesse the abolishing of one in forty and one in fifty continueth, and what other names the Farmers had invented for their unlawfull exactions. The carriage of Corne to parts beyond the feas was moderated: and ordained that Merchants ships should not be valued in the generall estimate of their goods, nortribute paid for them. Casar discharged Sulpitius Camerinus, and Pomponius Silvanus, who had been Proconfuls in Africk, and accused by the Province, objecting against Camerinus, rather cruell dealing against a few private men, then extortion in generall. A great number of accusers came about Silvanus, and required time to produce witnesses, but the defendant defined his defences might prefently be heard: which being rich, childelesse, and old, heobtained; and overlived those by whose suite he had escaped. The estate of Germany was quiet untill then, through the industry of the Captaines, who seeing the honour of triumph common, hoped for greater glory if they could continue peace, Paullinus Pompeius and L. Vetus had charge of the army at that time; yet left they should keep the souldier in idlenesse, Paullinus finished a bank begunne threescore and three yeares before by Drusus, to keep in the river of Rhene. Vetus went about to joyne Mosella and Araris by a ditch cast between them, that the Armies conveighed by sea, then by Rhodanus and Araris by that ditch, anon after by Mosa into Rhene, in the end should fall into the Ocean; that all difficulties of the palfages taken away, the West and North seas might be navigable from the oneto the other. Aelius Gracilis Lieutenant of Belgia envied the work, dehorting Ve. tus, left he should bring the Legions into an others Province, and seek to win the hearts of the Gallois, affirming it to be dangerous to the Emperour: a pretext which often hindereth honest indevours. Through the continual rest of the armies a rumour was spred, that the Lieutenants were forbidden to lead them against the enemy. Whereupon the Frifians placed their youth in the woods and marishes fent their feeble old men to the banks of Rhene, planting them in void grounds appointed out for the use of fouldiers; Verritus and Malorieis being the authors thereof, who then governed the country which the Germans were Lords of. Now they had built houses, fowed the ground, and tilled it, as though it had been their mitive countrey, when Dabius Avitus having received the province of Paullinus. threatning to fend the Roman forces, unleffe the Frifians would return to their old homes, or obtaine a new place of habitation of Calar, enforced Verritus and Malorigis to fall to intreat. And taking their journey to Rome whileft they attended for Nero, busied in other matters, among other things wont to be shewne to barbarous people, they went to Pompeius Theater to behold the multitude of people. There at their leisure (for being unskilfull in those plaies, took no great delight in them) whilest they inquired of many things touching the assembly, skasfolds, differences of degrees, which were gentlemen, where the Senators fate, they perceived fome in a strange attire in the Senators roomes: and asking who they were, when they understood that that honour was done to the Embassadours of those countries which excelled in vertue, and friendship with the Romans; they cried that There were none in the world more valiant and faithfull then the Germans; and fo went and fate among the Lords of the Senat, which was courteously taken of the beholders. asa forwardnes of their old good nature, and a commendable emulation of vertue. New gave them both the priviledges of a citizen of Rome, and commanded the Frisians to depart the countrey they had possessed: who refusing to obey, a troup of aid horsemen sent on the sudden forced them to it, and those taken and slaine which most obstinately resisted. The Ansibarians entred the same territory, a stronger nation then the other: not onely by their own strength, but by the pity their neighbours take on them; because they being driven out by the Chauci, and wanting dwelling places, they defired they might have it as a fure place of exile. They had for their conduct a man of great reputation in that countrey, and unto us likewise trusty, called Boiocalus: who declared, how by the commandement of Arminius he had been taken prisoner when the Cherusci rebelled: then how he had served the Romans fifty yeeres under Tiberius and Germanicus. He said further, He "would put his nation under our dominion. What need was there of fuch spatious "waste grounds, to put at sometimes only the souldiers herds and cattell to feed? "That they might reserve those grounds they had received for their flocks (albe-"it men died with famine) fo as they defired not rather a wildernes then an habita-"tion of people their confederates. In times past those fields belonged to the Cha-"mavorians; then to the Tubantians; and in the end to the Usipians. As the hea-"ven was given the gods, so the earth to mankinde; and that which was not posses-"fed, as common. Then beholding the fun, and calling upon the reft of the stars, "he asked as it were in their presence, whether they would see the land naked? That "they would rather overwhelme the takers away of the earth with the fea. Avitus moved with these speeches; answered that the commandement of their betters was to be obeied. It was the will of the gods whom they called upon, that the arbitrement should belong to the Romans, what they should give; and what take away; neither would they suffer any judges but themselves. These things he answered the Ansibarians in publice, to Boiocalus he would give grounds in memory of his friendship. Which as if it had been a reward of treason contemning added: We may want land to live in but to die in we cannot: and fo they departed both discontented. They called the Bruckeri, and Tencteri, and other nations further off, their

confederates to joyne in warre with them. Avitus having written to Curtilius Mancia Lieutenant of the upper Army, that he should passe over Rhene, and shew the forces behinde them; conducted the Legions himself into the Tencterans Coun. try, threatning their destruction unlesse they would break with the Ansibarians These therefore desisting, the Bructeri daunted with the like fear, and the rest fleeing from other perils, the Ansibarian Nation alone retired back to the Usipians and Tubantians: from whose Territories being expulsed, as they went to the Catti then to the Cherusci, by long wandering strangers, poore, enemies, in a strange Country, that youth that was left was flain: those that for age were unfit for warre. divided for a prey. The same Summer there was a great battell fought betweene the Hermunduri and Catti, each fide striving by force to be master of a River which veelded aboundance of falt, fited in the confines of both their Countries. And befides a defire of ending all strifes by warre, they had a religion rooted in them, that those places are above others neere heaven; and the praiers of mortall men no where fooner heard, then from thence. For they were of opinion, that by the goodnesof the gods in that River, and in those Woods came increase of falt, not as in other Countries, of the wooes of the fea, when the water is dried up; but by that water cast upon a pile of wood set on fire, by the vertue of two contrary elements, fire and water, which becommeth thick and congealed. The warre was prosperous on the Hermundurians side, but the utter ruine of the Cattians, because of a vow then made, that if they were conquerours, they would dedicate the contrary Armym Mars and Mercury, protefting, horses, men, all things overcome, should be putto the fword; and truely those deadly threats were turned against themselves. Butthe City of the Iuhonians confederate with us, was afflicted with a fudden dyfafter: for fires issuing out of the earth, burned townes, fields, villages every where and spread even unto the walls of a Colony newly built; and could not be extinguished, neither by raine, nor River-water, nor any other liquor that could be emploied, untill for want of remedy, and anger of fuch a destruction, certain Peasants cast stones afar off into it; then the flames somewhat flackning, drawing neare, they put it out with blowes of clubs, and other like, as if it had been a wilde beast. Last of all, they threw in clothes from their backs, which the more worne and fouler, the better they quenched the fires. The same yeere, the Figge-tree called Ruminalis, in the place of affemblies, which above eight hundred and forty yeeres before had covered Remus and Romulus infancy, having his boughes dead, and the body beginning to wither, was held as a prodigious figne, untill it began to flourish again and thrust out new shootes.

The thirteenth Book of the Annales

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THE FOVRTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES

OF CORNELIVS TACITYS.

I. Nero abused by Poppæa, determineth to put to death Agrippina his mother. Agrippinaes unchaste life to maintain her greatnesse.

Vipfanus and Fonteius being Confuls, Nero deferred no longer his long before intended wickednesse, his boldnesse by long rule being increased, and his lust to Poppaa more and more enflamed: who casting off all hope of marrying Nero, or feeing a divorce between him and Octavia whilest Agrippina lived, sometimes tauntingly, and sometimes

merrily, began to finde her felf grieved with the Prince, and calling him a Ward, and subject unto others controllement, said he was so far from the government of "the Empire, that he wanted his own liberty. For why was the marrying of her de-"laied? forfooth her beauty did not please his eie, nor the noblenesse of her Grand-"fathers, who had so oft triumphed? Or did he misdoubt her child-bearing and "true affection? or left being his wife, she should discover the injuries done to the "Senat, and the anger of the people against the pride and covetous nesses of his mo-"ther? But if Agripping could indure no daughter in law but fuch as her sonne can "worft away withall, let her be reftored again to othe her husband. She was content "to go any whither, where she should rather heare of the contumelies done to the "Prince then fee them, and take part of his dangers. These and the like pearcing fpeeches with teares and cunning by the adulteresse uttered, no man hindered: all mendefiring that the mothers authority were taken lower, and no man beleeving that the fons hate would extend to her death. Cluvius doth report that Agrippina through a burning defire of continuing her authority and greatneffe grew to that shamelesnesse, that in the middest of the day, when Nero was well tipled and full of good cheere, the offered herfelf to him drunk as he was, trimly decked, and ready to committincest: and the standers by noted her lascivious kisses and other allure ments, messengers of her unchaste meaning: And how Seneca having recourse to another woman for a remedy against their inticements, sent Atte a freed-woman privily to him, who carefull as well of her own danger as Neroes infamy, gave advertisement, that the incest was commonly spoken of, by reason his mother bragged thereof; and that the fouldiers would not indure the government of so profane a Prince. Fabius Rusticus reported that not Agrippina, but Nero lusted after that; but was discouraged by the cunning of the faid freed-woman. But what Cluvius had reported, is confirmed by other authors: and the fame inclineth that way; either because Agrippina had indeed conceived so hainous a fact in her minde, or that an intention of strange lust seemed more credible in her, who in her young yeeres blinded with hope of rule, forfeited her honesty with Lepidus; and with the like luft abandoned her body even to Pallas will, as one hardened and shamelesse in all loofenesse of life, by marrying her own Uncle. Therefore Nero eschewed her secret company. And when the went to her Gardens, or to Tufculanum, or Antiates, he praised her that she drove away idlenesse. At last, wheresoever she bestowed her felf, thinking her troublefome to him, determined to make her away, whether by poifon or by the fword, or any other violence, that only was his doubt, and fifther effolved to do it by poifon. But if it fhould be given her at his table, it could not be attributed to chance, Britannicus already dying the fame death: and to found the mindes of her fervants feemed dangerous; and being a woman long practifelin wickedneffe, as alwayes armed againft the like, and by taking counterpoifons before hand, it was to be feared it would take no effect. To kill her with the fword, there was no invention how to conceale the murder; and Nero feared left any chofen to fo dangerous attempt, should refuse to obey.

II. Anicetus worketh a meanes how to make away Agrippina Neroes mother.

Nicetus a Freed man, Captaine of the Navy at Misenum, one which had Drought up Nero in his childe-hood, hating, and hated of Agrippina, found out an invention for the purpose: which was, that there might a Gally be made loose by art in the bottome, that should let her fall into the sea when she suspected least. There is nothing more subject to chance then the sea, and if she should perish by shipwracke, who is so unreasonable as to ascribe that to any ungracious invention, which was the fault of the windes and waves? And to colour the matter with all the Prince should build a Temple in honour of the dead, erect Altars, and institute other ceremonies, to shew a love and reverence towards her. This subtill invention pleased the Princes humor, and fell out at a fit time, because Nerothen celebrated the feast of Minerva five dayes together at Baias. Thither by faire words he brought his mother, affirming, that the displeasure of parents was to be borne with and meanes to be fought to pacifie their anger: which he did to give out a reconciliation betweene them, and so receive Agrippina (as women by kinde areof easie beliefe) willing enough to see the sport. Then going to meet her on the shore of Antium, took her by the hand and imbraced her, and led her to Baulos, which was a countrey house betwixt the Promontory of Misenum and the Baian Lake, hard by the sea side, where a gally trimmer and the rest was ready prepared, as a thing among others to honour his mother: for the had beene accountomed to the Gally, and to be carried by force of Rowers. After that, she was invited to a banket, because the night might the better cloke the device. But sure it was some one or other had bewraied the plot, and Agrippina understanding the practise, and doubtfull whether she should believe it, caused herselfe to be carried to Baiasina bearing chaire: there Neroes careffes lessened her feare, being courteously entertained, and placed about him; entertained her with much communicatiou; fometimes with a youthfull familiarity, again as it were recalling himselfe, and interlacing it with serious talke, made the banket hold a long time: and his eyes fixed on her as she departed, embraced her more straightly then he was accustomed; either because he would omit no complement of dissimulation; or else because the last fight of his mother even ready to perish, did mollisse his heart thoughfell and cruell. A bright Starre-light night and quiet with a calme fea, as it were to manifest the wicked practise, the gods themselves did yeeld. The Gally not fare gone, Agrippina having only two of her own persons with her, the one Crepereim Gallus, which stood not farre from the sterne, and Aceronia lying at Agrippinass feet, with great joy discoursed of her sonnes repentance, and the savour she had recovered. But the watch-word being given, the covering of the place heavily loaden with lead, fell downe upon Crepereiss and prest him to death immediately: Agrippina and Aceronia, the uppermost bearing of the covering, by fortune being ftrongerthen the rest, though it shrunk with the waight, were saved, and the veffell not loosed as under: all being amazed; and some which were ignorant of the practife, hindered others which were given to it. Then the Rowersthought best roway the Gally on the fide, and so to fink her. Yet they could not agree upon so fudden an advise; but some swaying to the contrary way, caused the vessell not to fink on the fudden, but by little and little. But Accroma unadvifedly crying that she was Agrippina, and that they should help the Princes mother, with poles and oares, and fuch implements in the Gally as came first to hand, was slain. Agrippina not freaking a word, therefore not known, received onely one wound in the shoulder: then fwimming towards the bank, was succoured by small Barkes, and carried by the Lake Lucrinus to her own house. There casting in her minde how she had heen fent for by craft and false letters, entertained with especial honour: how the veffell neither toffed by windes, nor carried upon rocks, the upper part fell as it had heene a Land frame: noting Aceroniaes death, and beholding her own wound, thought it the onely remedie against the treachery, to make as though she perceiveditnot. And thereupon fent Agerinus a Free-man to tell her fonne, how by the goodnesse of the Gods and his good fortune, she had escaped a great danger; and prayed him, that although he were affrighted with his mothers danger, yet that he would for bear a time from visiting her, because that for the present she had need of rest. And in the meane while making shew of securitie, healeth her wound. and chearisheth her body. And commanded Aseroniaes testament to be fought for, and her goods to be fealed up, which was the onely thing wherein she shewed no diffimulation. But whileft Nero expected messengers to certifie him that his plot hadtaken effect; tidings came that the had escaped lightly wounded, but passed through great danger; the Author of it not once doubted. Nero stroken dead with feare, and crying the would revenge out of hand, either by arming her flaves, or flirring up the fouldiers, or run to the Lords of the Senat or people, there complain of the thip-wrack, her wound, and the murder of her triends, knew no thift, unleffe Burrhus and Seneva would bestir themselves, whom immediately he sent for, doubtfull whether they had understood the matter before or not. They stood mute a long time, fearing left their perswasions should take no effect; in the end concluded, that unlesse Agrippina were prevented, Nero should perish. Then Seneca hitherto forwarderotthe two, looked upon Burrhus, as though he should have asked, whether the fouldier should be commanded to exocute the murder? But he answered, that the Guard being bound to all C.efars house and so mindfull of Germanicus, would not undertake so cruell an enterprise against his progeny, and that Anicetus should accomplish his promise. He nothing at all staggering, demandeth the whole charge of the execution. At which speech Nero professed openly, that that day the Empire was bestowed upon him, and that the Author of so great a gift was his freed man, and therefore that he should make speed, and take with him such as were readiest to fulfill his commandement. He hearing that Agerinus Agrippinaes meffenger was come, maketh a colour of his enterprise in this fort: Whilest Agerinus delivered his message, Anicetus let fall a sword between his legges, and as it were taking him in the manner, as though he had come to kill the Prince, commandeth him to be cast in prison, that he might make the world beleeve, that the mother had pretended her sonnes death, and killed her selfe for shame that the plot was discovered. In the meane feason Agrippinaes danger being spread abroad, as though it had happened by chance, every man as he understood it, ran to the sea shore; some clammered up the lea dams, some gate into the next boates, some waded as farre as they could into the fea, fome ftretched out their hands to her. The coast was filled with complaints, vows and cries, or fuch as either asked divers questions, or answered doubtfully. And a great multitude flocked thither with torches, who understanding that she was escaped, set themselves in a readinesse, as it were to have welcomed her, untill they were dispersed by the fight of a threatning armed company of souldiers. Anicetus besetteth her house with a guard, and having broken the gate, laieth hand on all the fervants he meeteth, untill he came to the chamber doores, where there ftood but a few, the refidue terrified with those which burst in. There was but little light in the chamber and one maide only, Agrippina more and more perplexed that the heard not from her fonne, no nor of Agerinus. The face of the shore was nowal. most quite changed, every man gone and on the sudden a great noise, and tokensof extreame danger. Then that one maide, going away, speaking these words, Thou doest also for sake me, she espieth Anicetus, accompanied with Herculeus Captaine of the Gally, and Olaritus a Centurion of fea-fouldiers, unto whom she said, that if he came to visit her, he should go and say that she was well recovered; if to execute any villany she suspected her son no way, and that the parricide was not by him commanded. The murderers came about her bed, and the Captaine of the Gally fift strook her on the head with a cudgell. For to the Centurion drawing his weaponto killher, thrufting out her belly; she cried, strike my belly; and so having received many wounds, she was shaine. Thus many report with one consent. Whetherthat Nero beheld his mother when the was dead, and praifed the feature of her body. fome there are which affirme, some which deny. She was burnt the same nighting banketting bed with base funerals; and whilest Nero raigned never buried. Not long after by the care of her friends, the had a tombe of finall expenses neere the Milenian way, and Cafar the Dictators house, which from a high place looked upona gulf of the seaunderneath. When the funerall fire was kindled, Mnester her freed manthrust himselfethorow, but whether for love of Agrippina or seare of death, doubtfull. That this should be her end Agrippina many yeeres before did beleeve, but contemned it. For confulting of Nerges fortune, the Chaldeans told her that he should be Emperour, and kill his mother: and she answered, let him kill her, soas he be Emperour.

III. Neroes excuses in Senate for murdering his mother: the flattery of the people.

But after this unnaturall fact was committed, Casar began to waigh how hainous it was: and the reft of the night now in dumbe filence, often rifing upas affrighted, and out of his wits, looked for day as it had beene a meffenger of death. But at Burrhus perswafion the first flattery of the Centurions and Tribunes did animate him to hope: who taking him by the hand, rejoiced that he had escaped an unlooked for danger, and his mothers wicked practises. Then his friends frequented the Temples, and the example begun the free townes adjoyning to Campania, witnessed their joy with sacrifices and Embassadours. He counterfaiting the contrary, sad and as it were an enemie to his life, wept and bewailed the death of his mother. Yet because the sace of places is not changed like unto the counternances of men, the grievous sight of that sea and shore coming oft to his remembrance (and some there were which beleeved that there was heard a found of a Trumpet

Grumpet in those high hils adjoyning, and lamentations at his mothers tombe) he went to Naples and fent letters to the Senate, with contents as followeth. That " Agerinus one of Agrippinaes deerelt freed men, was found with a fword to kill him. "and that the with the fame remorfe of conficience, had fuffered the punishment, with "whishe had prepared her lewd enterprise against him. He added far fetcht crimes. asthat the would have beene equall with him in the Empire, and that his guard "thould have fworn alleagance to her being but a woman, hoping to have done the "fame dishonor to the Senat and people. And that perceiving these devises to want "effect, offended with the fouldiers, the Senators, and the people; she hindred a gift "which should have been given the people, and sought the ruine of many Noble "men. How greatly laboured he, that the should not rush into the Senate, and give formern nations their aufwers? And by a by glancing at Claudius reigne, cast upon his mother all the lewd actions of his government, affirming that the was dead for the common good of the estate. He declared her shipwrack likewise: the which to have happened by chance, who was so blockish as to beleeve? or that one man alone should be sent from a woman that had suffered shipwracke to force a guard and Emperours navie? Therefore now that Nero, whose cruelty surpassed all complaints, but Seneca was hardly spoken of, as one confessing the fact by that oration. Nevertheleffe proceffions were ordained with a wonderfull strife of forwardnes in every temple, and a bed made in the Temples in honour of their gods; and also that the five dayes feasts of Minerva called Quinquatrus, in which the treacheries were discovered, should be celebrated every yeere. And that an image of gold of Minerva should be set in the Curia and the Princes by it. And that the day of Agrippinaes nativity should be accounted among the dismall dayes. Thrasea Patus with filence or short assent accustomed to passe over others flatteries went out of the Senate, and procured danger to himfelf and opened not the way of liberty unto others. Many prodigious fignes happened likewife, but of no effect. A woman brought forth a fnake, and another companying with her husband, was striken dead with lightning. The funne was darkned on a fudden, and fourteen places of the city damnified with tempest from heaven: which chanced so without the care of the gods, that Nero many yeeres after continued the Empire and wickednesse. Butto make his mother more odious, and shew his own lenitic was augmented by her death, he recalled from banishment two noble women Iunia and Caliphurnia, and Valerius Capito, and Licinius Cabolus, who had been Pretors long before, banished by Agripping. He permitted also that Lollia Paullinaes ashes should be brought back, and a fepulchre to be built her, and released the punishment of Iturius and Calvifius, whom not long before he himself had banished. As for Silanashe died in coming back at Tarantum; Agrippinaes malice, which was her overthrow, either appealed, or her credit beginning to waine. Whilest he lingered in the townes of Campania, doubtfull how he should enter into the city; whether his best way were to feek the favor of the Senat, or good will of the people; the lewdest conditioned, whereof there was no court better stored, perswaded him that the name of Agrippina was odious, and that by her death the favour of the people was more bent towards him then ever: therefore that he should go boldly, and with his presence trie how he should be reverenced. And withall they earnestly entreated him to set forward: and found all things in a greater readinesse then they had promised: the Tribes came to meet him; the Lords of the Senate in their holy-day robes, wives and children placed according to their age and fexe: and all the way he should goe builded with staires as in publick shewes or triumphes. Thereupon puffed up with pride The fourteenth Book of the Annales

pride, as a conquerour of publicke fervitude, he went to the Capitoll, and gave thankes to the gods: letting loofe the reines to all lufts and licenciousnesse of life, which before badly restrained, yet the reverence towards his mother such as it was, did in some fort bridle.

IIII. Neroes exerciscs.

T was an old practife of his, never to be abfent from the race of chariots: and no leffe unfeemely was that other delight of his, at supper to sing to the Harpeas Minstrels did, which he faid to have been a custome of ancient Kings and Captaines, and a thing highly commended by Poets, and attributed to the honor of the gods. For melody is fure dedicated to Apollo, and in that attire he doth stand, not only in the cities of Greece, but also in the Temples at Rome: a principall deity and knowing things to come. Neither could be now be removed, feeming good alfoto Senecs and Burrhus to yeeld him the one, left he should persist in both. And there. upon a space was inclosed in the valley of the Vatican to manage his horses, and not to be seen indifferently of every man: and not long after of his own accordie called the people to fee it, who highly extolled him; as the manner of the peopleis, to be delirous of pastimes, and very glad if the Prince draw them to it. And his shame published abroad, brought him not, as it was thought it would, any loathing therein, but a farther provocation, thinking that the diffredit would be shaken of if he could dishonour many with the like. He brought to the skaffold many descended of noble houses, bought for poverty, which because they be dead, I will not name, as having regard unto their ancestors; being rather his fault to give money for ill doing, then left they should commit that which is naught. He constrained also the chief Gentlemen of Rome with mighty gifts to promife their labour in the Theater: unleffe you fay, that a reward given by him who may command, bringetha neceffity in obeying. Yet left he should be discredited by the publick Theater, he instituted playes called Juvenalia, as it were for the health of youth, to which every man willingly gave his name; not any ones nobility, not his age, or office borne, being any hinderance unto them, but that Greeks and Latines exercised the Art of a Stige-player, even unto gestures, and measures unseemly for men. Yea noble women practifed many geftures, and unfeemly to their calling. And in the wood which Augustus planted about the lake, where he represented a sea fight, Tavernes and meeting places were built, where all provocations of wanton lufts were fold, where money was given to the good to spend of necessfity, and to the intemperate to glory and brag of. From thence sprang all lewdnesse and infamy, never at any time (not when there was great corruption in manners in times past) more diffolute lasciviousnesse used then at those impure assemblies. Shame is scarceretained among men of honest example; much lesse among such which strived who should have most vices, can chastity and modelty, or any good behaviour be maintained. Lait of all, Nero himself entereth on the Stage, tuning and playing on his instrument with great care, and premeditating what to say; his familiars affishing him, and befides them a Cohort of fouldiers, Centurions and Tribunes, and Burrhus, both grieving and praying him. Then also were first inrowled the Gentlemen of Rome called Augustini, men for their age and strength of body highly esteemed: part of them shamelesse and saucy in behaviour, and part hoping therebyto rife to greater authority; day and night with clapping of hands made all to ring of them, commending the feature, and voice of the Prince with tearms attributed to the gods, and were respected by him as honorable personages for their vertue. And yet lest the Emperours skill on stage only and musicke should be published, he desired to be well accounted of for versifying, having gathered about him such as had any cuaning therein, much more such as were excellent. They sare together, and any charge they have severely have some content of the sare than a such that there are the same together which he made there or else where, and supplied

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any cuantify the properties and supplied made those verses hang together which he made there or essential supplied his words how soever they were uttered, which the sassinist selfe of his verses doth declare, not running with one and the same vehemency, and vaine of writing. He bestowed also some time after meat with Philosophers, taking pleasure to heare how every man defended his owne opinion, and overthrew the contrary. Neither wanted there some, which with their voyce and grave countenance defired to be thought pleasant with the Emperour.

V. A strife betweene the inhabitants of Nuceria, and the Pompeians.

Bout the same time, of a light quarell rose a greate murder betweene the in-A habitants of Nuceria, and Pompeians at a shew of fencers, which Livineius Regulus put from the Senate as before I have rehearled, represented to the people. For first provoking one another with bitter termes, as it is often seene in malanert and faucy townermen, they came to stones, and last of all to weapons: the Pompeians being the stronger, with whom the shew was set forth. Many of the Nucerians were brought lame and wounded to the Towne, and many wept for the death of their children and parents: the determining of which the Prince referred to the Senate, the Senate to the Confuls. And the cause being againe brought tothe Senators, the Pompeians were forbidden to affemble any such companies for tenneyeeres, and their corporations erected against the lawes dissolved. Livineius and fuch others as raised the stirre, were banished. Pedius Blasus also was put from his Senators roome, at information of the Cyrenenfians: who layd to his charge that he had robbed the treasure of the god Aesculapius, and mustered souldiers for mony and fuite. The same Cyrenensians accused Aelius Strabo sometimes Prator, and fent by Claudius as arbitrator of certaine lands which once belonging to King Apio, and left to the people of Rome with the Kingdome, their neighbours possessed and occupied, and by long licence and injury defended them to be theirs by right and equity. The lands therefore being given from them by fentence they envied the judge; and the Senat answered they were ignorant of Claudius pleasure, and that they should aske the Princes advise. The Prince approring Straboes sentence, wrote neverthelesse that he would aide the allies, and give them that which they had usurped. There died not long after, Domitius Afer, and M. Servilius two notable personages, which flourished with great honours and eloquence, he in pleading of causes, Servilius famous for long frequenting the Forum, and then for writing the Roman histories, carriage of himselfe, and neatnes of life, which made him more renowned; as equall to the other in wit, yet different in conditions.

VI. Whether it be convenient to have often plaies to entertaine the people.

Ero being the fourth time Confull, and Cor. Cossus, the play called Quinquennale was ordained to be played at Rome, after the manner of the Greek S

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combat, wherof there went divers reports, as almost it happeneth in all new things. for some there were which said that Cn. Pompeius was blamed by the ancient men "for building a permanent Theater. For in times past the playes were wont to be set "forthonascaffold built for that time, & seats to continue no longer then the play "lasted. Or if thou wilt look into more ancient times, the people beheld them stan. "ding, lest if they should sit, they would continue in the Theater whol daies in idle. "nes. Neither should the ancient fashion of playes be observed, when, as oft as the "Prators should set them forth no necessity was hid upon any of the citizensto "fight or look on. But the customes of the country being by little & little abolished "were now utterly overthrowne by diforders fet from thrange countries; that what. "foever elswhere might corrupt, or was corrupted was feen in the city; & the youth "unlike to that it hath been, through ftrange manners, wreftling naked; idlenes, & "licentious love, the Prince and the Senat being authors thereof, who have not on. " ly given licence to vices, but also given them strength & force. The noblemenof "Rome under color of making orations & verfes were discredited by stage-playing, "What remaineth then but only to uncloth them selves starke naked, and take the "cæsti in hand, and practise that fight in stead of armes and exercises of warre? Or "doethey thinke they shall better understand the knowledge of fouthsaving be "more skilful in the decuries of gentlemen, accomplish the honorable charge of la-"dicature, if they understand cunningly broken tunes & sweetnes of voices? whole "nights also were added to those shames, because no time should be left honest but "in that confuse multitude what every person most dissolute desired by day, durt venter on by night. That licence pleafed many, & yet they cloaked it with honest "termes. That the ancients did likewise not abhorre the delight of plaies and shews "according to their calling at that time, and that stage-players were sent for, from "Thuscia. The horse-race was represented by the Thurians: but since Achaia and "Asia was possessed by us, playes have been emore exactly set forth. Neither hath "there been any one in Rome nobly descended, which by reason of stage-players "hath discredited the stock from whom he came these two hundred yeeres, since L "Mummius triumphed, who first fet forth that kind of shew in the city. Farther, there " was a regard had unto thritt, in erecting a continuall standing Theater, rather then "with infinite charges every yeere fet up and build a new. Neither should the magi-" (trates wafte their goods as they have done; or the people have cause to be soim-"portunate with them for the combats according to the Greeks manner, feeingthe "Common wealth did defray the charge. The victories of Orators & Poets, would "be an incouragement unto wits: neither could it be offenfive to any Judge tolend "his eares to honest studies, & allowable pastimes. To mirth rather then lascivious "nes, a few nights in five yeers were given, in which there is fuch great lights of fires "that no unlawfull act can be hidden. In very deed that shew past without any notable dishonest part committed, neither did the people shew any great insolence, although the common vices were restored to the stage, and forbidden to shew theinselves in such plaies as were represented in honour of the gods. The praise of eloquence none carried away, but Cafar was pronounced victor: and the Greekish attire which many wore in those dayes, was laid aside.

VII. Nero

VII. Nero falleth sicke. Vring these things, there appeared a blazing starre, which in the opinion of the common people betokeneth the change of a prince. Therefore as though Nero had already been driven out, they were bufie to know who should fucceed him: Rubellius Plautus being famous in every mans mouth, by the mothers fide descending from the Julian familie. He was an observer of the old manner of liring upright, grave and severe, living with all honestie, as one retired in his owne house: and the more secret he was for seare of being accounted of; so much the more his reputation increased. An interpretation of a lightning begun by the like vanity, augmented the rumor. For Neroes meate being striken with lightning, and the table throwen downe at the lakes of Simbruinum, in a place called Sublaqueum in the confines of Tiburtum, from whence Plantus had his beginning by his fathers fide: all men believed that he was destined by the providence of the gods to the Emnire: and thereupon many fawned and courted him: which by a greedy and for the most part deceitfull ambition, admire new things, doubtfull and uncertaine. New moved with these rumors, writeth to Plantus, advising him to looke to himselfe. and his affemblies, and rid his hands of those which lewdly defamed him: and that in Asia he had possessions by descent from his Ancestors, in which he might passe his youth fafely and without troubles. Whereupon he went thither with Antifia his wife and a few of his familiars. At the same time too greedy a desire of pleasing his willin all he liked, bred Nero both infamie and danger : for swimming in the fountine of the Martian water which was brought to the city; it was construed that he had defiled the holy drinkes, and ceremony of the place with his whole body; and falling dangerously sickethereupon, it was constantly beleeved that it proceeded as apunishment from the wrath of the gods.

VIII. Corbulo conquereth all Armenia; over which Nero fendeth Tigranes to be King.

DVt Corbulo after the raising of Artaxata, thinking it is best to make profit of the fresh terrour: for the easilier forcing of Tigranocerta, by destroying of which he fhould augment feare in the enemie, or by fparing it, purchase the reputation of clemency: marcheth thither, using no hostility by the way, lest he should takefrom them all hope of pardon: yet with no remisnesse or carelesse proceeding, as one knowing that that Nation is easily subject to change: as flow to perill, so faithlesse when occasion is offered. The Barbarians every man according to his wit, some intreated; some forsooke their villages and conveighed themsel es to inacceffible places; some hid themselves, and the things they made most reckoning of in Caves. The Roman Captaine therefore, using divers policies, shewed mercie towards the humble; used celerity in pursuing those which ranne away; and cruelty against those which fled to the dennes and caves, stopping the mouthes of them with vine branches and small wood, and after set them on fire. And passing by the confines of the Mardians, a people well practifed in theeving and robbing ; they set on him, but fled to their Mountaines for their defence, when they saw he turned towards them. But Corbulo fent an Armie of Hiberians to waste them, revenging by that meanes with the blood of strangers the audaciousness of the enemie. Himselfe and his Armie, albeithe received no hurt by the battell, yet began to faint for want of victuals and overgreat travell, having no meanes to drive away hunger, but with the flesh of beasts. All this, with the want of water, fervent heat, long journeys, was mitigated by the only patience of the Captaine; himselfe induring more

The fourteenth Book of the Annales then a common fouldier. Then we came into tilled grounds, but where harvest was in : and of two castles into which the Armenians had fled, the one was taken by force; and the other which had refifted the first affault was forced with fiege. From thence paffing into the country of the Taurantians he escaped an unlooked for danger: for not farre from his pavilion, there was found a Barbarian of no small reputation with a weapon; which by torture discovered the order of a treason (himfelfe the inventor of it) and all his complices: and they were convicted and punished which under colour of freindship went about treason. Not long after embassa. dors sent from Tigranocerta, bring tidings that the gates are open, and the inhabitants willing to obey the Romans. Withall they prefented him a crowne of gold as a gift to honour a stranger: which honourably he accepted, and tooke away no puviledge from the town because they should more faithfully retaine their obedience. Nevertheleffe the Kings fortreffe, which the fierce youth had flut themselves in, was not gotten but by fight: for they came forth and skirmisht before the walles. but driven into their rampiers, & no longer able to resist, at the last yeeld to the forces of the affiylers. All which the Roman atchieved fo much the eaflier, because the Parthians were hindered with war against the Hircanians: who had sent to the Romane Prince to crave their alliance, declaring that for a pledge of their friendship, they had stopped Fologefes. Corbulo fearing lest those Embassadors in returning backe, having past Euphrates should be surprised by the ambush of the enemy, with a good guard conducted them to the red fea: whereby having escaped the confines of the Parthians, they returned fafe to their countrey. Besides this Corbulo drove away Tiridates farre of: and from all hope of warres entering the confines of Armenia by the Medes; by fending before the Lieutenant Verulanus with the confederates, himselfe following with uncumbred legions: and having wasted with fire and fword those he knew to be our enemies, and adhere to the King, put himself in polfession of Armenia: when as not long after came Tigranes chosen by Nero to take the kingdome, one of the nobilitie of the Cappadocians, & king Archelaus nephew: but by being kept a long time an hoftage in the City, was humble, and lowly even unto servile patience: neither accepted by consent, some still favouring the Arfaci des : but the most part hating the pride of the Parthians, desired rather the King given by the Romans. He had also a garrison sent him by the Romans, a thousandle gionary fouldiers, three bands of allies, and two wings of horsemen. And to theen he might the easlier defend the new kingdome, part of Armenia, as it is adjoyned to Nipolis, Aristobulus, and part Antiochus had charge of. Corbulo came into Syria, which by the death of the Lieutenant Vinidius was without a governour and committed to his charge.

IX. An earth-quake in Laodicea. An order for appellations.

He fame year, Laodicea one of the most famous cities of Afia, destroyed by an earth quake, without any help of ours by her own wealth, recovered her felfe againe. But in Italy the ancient towne of Puteolum, got of Nere the priviledges and furname of a colonie. The old fouldiers affigned to inhabite Tarentum and Autium, did not furnish the lack of people in those places: many of them being sent into Provinces, where they ended their service. And not accustomed to marry, nor bring up children, they left their houses without posteritie: for whole legions were not brought as in times past with Tribunes and Centurions and fouldiers of the fame band, that by confent and love they should make a common-wealth:

but strangers the one to the other, of divers companies, without a governour, without mutuall love, as it were gathered on the fudden, of another kinde of people, rather a number then a colonie. The election of Pretors wont to be chosen at the will of the Senat, which was now done by fuit and bribery; the Prince affumed to himselfe, and gave the charge of a legion to each one of the three which sued extraordinarily. And augmented the honour of the Senate, by ordaining that fuch as from ordinary Judges appealed to the Senators should incurre the same penalty, as they did which appealed to the Emperour: for before that was free to every man, and not punishable. In the end of the yeare Vibius Secundus a Roman gentleman, at the fuite of the Moores, was condemned of extortion and banished Italy, and supportedby the favour of his brother Vibius Crispus, that he had no grievouser a punish-

X. Warre in England. Suctonius Paulinus conquered the Ile of Anglesey. The Queene Boudicea abused by the Romans.

7 Hen Casonius Patus, and Petronius Turpilianus were Consuls, there was a very great overthrow received in Britannie: where neither the Lieutenant Avitus, as I have already faid, could do no more but keepe that which was already gotten; and his successour Verannius with small inrodes having wasted the Siluri*, was hindered by death from making any long warre: a man* southwater. whilest he lived, famous for severity, but in his last will shewed himself openly ambitious. For after much flattering of Nero, added, that he would have subdued the Province to his obedience, if he had lived the two next yeeres. At that time Paulinus Suctonius governed Britannie, in skill of service, & opinion of the people (which fuffereth no man without a concurrent) comparable with Corbulo, defiring to match hishonour of recovering Armenia by subduing the enemy of this country. He makethall preparation to invade the Ile of Mona* ftrong with the inhabitants, and a re- * Angles. ceptacle of fugitives; and buildeth flat bottomed veffels, because the sea is shallow, and landing uncertain. So the footmen having passed over, the horsmen followed by the foord, or by swimming, if the waters were high. Against them the enemies armie stood on the shore, thick in aray, well appointed with men and weapons, and women running among, in mourning attire, their haire about their eares with fire-brands in their hands like furies of hell: and the Druides round about, lifting up their hands to heaven, and pouring out deadly curses: with the newnesse of the fight amazed the fouldier, and flood flock flill close together, not once moving afoot, as though they had presented themselves to the wounds. Then by the encouragement of the captaine, and animating each the other, that they should not fearea flock of women, and frantick people, they displayed their ensignes and marched on: overthrew such as encountred them, and thrust them among their own fires. Which being done, they placed garrifons in their townes, and cut down their woods; which through their execrable superstitions among them were reckoned holy. For they accounted it lawfull to offer facrifice at their altars with the bloud of captives and ask counfell of their gods by the afpect of mans intralles and fibres. Newes came to Suetonius as he atchieved this enterprise, of a sudden rebellion of the Province. Prasuagus King of the Icenians*, very famous for his riches a * Suffalk, Nonlong time gotten, made Cafar with two of his daughters his heire by will, thinking fifth, Cambridge. that by that flattery his kingdome and house should have been warranted from in- was singlejurie;

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* Maldan in Effex.

jury, which fell out otherwise: for his kingdome by Centurions, his house by slaves was wasted and spoiled as lawfull booties. And to begin withall, his wife Boudices was whipped, and his daughters defloured. And the chiefest of the Icenians, as though they had received the whole Nation for a prey, were dispossessed of all their ancient inheritance, and the Kings kindred reputed as flaves. By reason of which contumely and feare of worse, (after that they were reduced into a forme of a Pro-*Middlefex and vince) they take armes again: the *Trinobantes being flirred to rebellion also and others not yet broken to the yoke of servitude, by secret conspiracies had vowed to recover their libertie, bearing a bitter hatred against the old souldiers. For those which were lately brought into the Colony of * Camoludunum, thrust out of their houses the ancient inhabitants, took their livings from them calling them captives and flaves: the new fouldiers favouring the infolent fiercenesse of the old, as wellfor likenes and conformity of life, as hope of like licence. Befides a Temple erectedin honour of Claudius of famous memory, was an eye fore, and an Altar of perpetuall dominion over them: and the Priests which were chosen under colour of religion. wasted all the wealth of the inhabitants. Neither did it seem any hard matter, to extirpate that colony undefenced & unfortified, which was not circumfpectly forefeen by our Captaines, whilest they had a greater care of pleasure then good government. Amongst these things the image of Victorie set up in Camalodunum fell down without any apparent cause why, and turned back, as though it would give place to the enemie. And the women diftempered with fury, went finging, that destruction was at hand. And strange noises were heard in their court, and the The. ater gave a found like to a howling, and a strange apparition in an arme of these was a foretelling of the subversion of the colony. Further the Ocean bloudy in shew, and dead mens bodies leftafter an ebbe, as they brought hope to the Britans, fo they drove the old fouldiers into a feare, who because Succonius was farre off, craved aid of Catus Decianus Procurator. He fent not above two hundred men, and those badly armed, and the number not great which was there before, trufted to the franchife of the Temple. And those hindering which were confederates of the secret conspiracy troubled their defignements: for they neither made trench nor ditch, nor fending away the old men and women, and keeping the young men only, being as fecure asia had been in a full peace, they were furprised with a multitude of barbarous people, and all overthrown, and wasted with violence, or consumed with fire: the Temple onely excepted, into which the fouldiers had fled, which also within two dayes was belieged and taken. And the Britain being thus conquerour, and meeting with Patter Cerealis Lieutenant of the ninth legion which came to succourthem, put to flight the legion, and flew all the footmen. Cerealis with the horsemen escaped to the camp, and defended himselfe in the fortresses. Through which overthrow, and hate of the Province, driven to take armes through the avarice of the Romanes, Cares the Procurator being afraid, failed into Gallia. But Suetonius with wonderfull constancie passing even among the enemies, went on to London, not greatly sa mous by the name of a Colony, but for concourse of Merchants, and provision of all things necessary, of great fame and renowne: and being come thither stood doubtfull whether he should choose that for the seate of warre or not: and considering the small store of fouldiers he had, and how Petilius had well payed for his rashnesse, he determined with the losse of one town to preserve the rest whole. Neither was he wonne by weeping and teares to give aide to fuch as demanded it, but gave figne of removing, and received fuch as followed as part of his army. If imbecillity of sex, or wearisomnes of age, or pleasantnes of the place kept any back, they were

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all put to the fword by the enemy. The free towne of *Verulamium received the * 5. Albores like overthrow, because the barbarians for saking their Castles and forts, and being well manned, spoiled the richest and fattest, and carrying it to a fure place, glad of the booty, went on to places more notable. It is certaine there were flaine in those places I have spoken of, to the number of seventy thousand citizens and confederates. Neither did they fell or take any one prisoner, or use any entercourse of traffick of warre, but kill, hang, burne, crucifie, as though they would requite the measure they had suffered, and as it were in the meane time hasten to anticipate revenge.

XI. Suetonius vanquished the Britaines, which Boudicea conducted: her stoutnes and death.

TOw Suetonius having with him the fourteenth legion, with the Standard-bearers of the twentieth, and the aides from places adjoyning, which came to the number almost of tenthousand armed men, resolved to lay aside all delay, and trie the chance of a maine battel. And chooseth a place with a narrow enrrance, and inclosed behinde with a wood, being well affured that he had no enemies but before him; and that the plaine was wide without feare of ambush. The legionary fouldier then marshalled together in thick and close ranks, and the light harnessed closely about them, the horsemen made the wings. But the Britaines forces triumphed abroad in troupes and companies, by fuch multitudes that the like had not been seen; and of such fiercenes of courage, that they brought their wives with them, and placed them in carts in the utmost parts of the plaine, as witnesses of the victory. Bondicen having her daughters by her in a charriot, now going to one, now to another: Told them that the Britaines were wont to make warre under the "conduct of women. But at that time, not as though she had descended of such "noble ancestors, she fought neither for kingdome nor wealth, but a revenge as "one of the common people, of their loft liberty, of her body beaten with stripes "and the chaltity of her daughter violated. That the defire of the Romanes was "grown to that paffe, that they left none, of what age foever, nor any virgin undefi-"led. Nevertheles that the gods favored just revenge; that the legion which durst "undertake the battel was flain; the rest had either hid themselves in their camp, or "fought means by flight to fave themselves: that they could not indure the noise "and cry of fo many fouldiers, much lesse their fury and strength. If they would "waigh with themselves the strength of the souldiers, if the cause of the war, they "should resolve either to vanquish in that battel or die. That, for her own part being a woman, was her refolution, the men might live if they pleafed and ferve. Suetonius held not his tongue in fo great danger, who although he trusted in the valour "of his fouldiers, yet interlaced exhortations and praiers. That they should con-"demne the loud and vaine threats of the barbarians; that there were more wo-"men feen in their army then young men; that being unwarlike and unarmed, "they would prefently yeeld when they should once come to feel the weapons and "valour of the conquerors, who had so oft overthrown them: yea where many le-"gions have been, a few have carried away the glory of the battel, and it should be "an augmenting to their glory, if with a finall power they could win the praise of a "whole army: that they should only continue the slaughter and butchery close to-"gether, by throwing of darts; then wth their fwords and pikes of their bucklers, not "thinking on booty, for the victory once gotten, all should fall to their share. Such a fervency and edge followed the captaines words; the old fouldier experienced in many battels fo bestirred himselfe, and shewed such forwardnes in lancing his darts, that Suctonius affured of the event, gave the figne of battel. And first of all the legion not stirring a foot, but keeping within the streight, as in a place of defence: after that the enemy was come neerer: and had fpent his darts to good purpose, the legion in the end salied out in a pointed battel. The auxiliary souldier was of the like courage, and the horimen with long lances breaking before themall they met, or made head against them. The residue shewed their backs, hardly sleeing away, by reason the carts placed about the plaine had hedged in the passages on every side. And the fouldiers spared not so much as from killing the women; and their horses and beasts thrust through, increased the heape of bodies. That was a day of great renowne, and comparable to the victories of old times: for some these are which report, that there were flaine few lesse in number then soure. fcore thousand Britaines, of our souldiers soure hundred slaine, and not many moe hurt. Boudicea ended her life with poison. And Panius Posthumus, Campmaster of the second legion, understanding of the prosperous successe of the sour. teenth and twentieth Legions, because he had defrauded his legion of the like glory and contrary to the order of fervice, refused to obey the Captains commandement. flew himselfe. After this gathering the army together, they encamped again, ready to end the residue of the warre. And Casar augmented his forces by sending out of Germany two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse: by whose coming the ninth legion was supplied. The cohorts and wings were lodged in new winter garrisons, and all those which were either openly against us, or doubtfull, were wasted with fire and sword. But nothing so much diffressed that nation as famine, being negligent in fowing of corne, and of allages givento war: and affuring themselves to live on our provision, being a fierce nation slowly gave care to any peace. For Iunius Classicianus sent to succeed Catus, and at vanance with succonius hindred the common good with private grudges: and had buited abroad that the new Lieurenant was to be expected, who without any hostile rancour, and pride of a conqueror, would entreat fuch as would yeeld with all clemency. He fent word likewise to Rome that they should look for no end of the warres, unlesse some other should succeed Suetonius attributing his perverse luck to his own overthwartnesse; and the prosperous, to the good luck of the commonwealth. Whereuponto see what state Britanny stood in, Polycletas a Freed-man was fent, Nero greatly hoping, that by his authority there should not only an agreement be made between the Lieutenant and Procurator; but also the rebellious mindesof the Barbarians be won to a peace. Neither failed Polycletus with his great hosteto feem burdensome to Italy and Gallia; and after he had passed the Ocean sea, shew himselse terrible even to our souldiers. But to the enemies he was but a laughing ftock, who being in full possession of liberty, knew not what the power of freed-men was: and began to marvell that a Captaine, and an army which had so atchievedso many great exploits could yeeld to obey a bondflave: all things nevertheleffe were made the best to the Emperor. And Suctonius being occupied in dispatching of bufines, after he had lost a few gallies on the shore, and the gally-slaves in them, as though the warre did continue, was commanded to deliver the army to Petronius Turpilianus, who had lately given up his Consulship, who neither provoked the enemy, nor egged by him gave his lazy and idle life, the honorable name of peace.

XII. Balbus

XII. Balbus a Senatours testament forged: and Pedanius Rufus killedby his bondmen.

■Hefame yeare two notable lewd parts were committed at Rome: the one by a Senator; the other by an audacious bondman. Domitius Balbus fometime Pretor, being aged, without children, and of great wealth, lay open to much rreachery. One of his neerest kinsmen, Valerius Fabianus, and Consullelect, forged a false testament in his name, having called thereunto Vicius Rusinus, and Terentius Lentinus Gentlemen of Rome: and they affociated unto them Antonius Primus, and Asinius Marcellus. Antony was ready and bold; Marcellus nobly descended. and nephew to Alinius Pollio; of a good carrriage and behaviour; faving that hee thought poverty the worst of all things. Fabianus then sealed the testament with those which I have named, and others of lesser calling: whereof he was convicted hefore the Lords of the Senate, with Antonius, and Rufinus, and Terentius, and condemned by the law Cornelia against forgery. But Marcellus the memory of his ancestors, and Casars entreaty, acquired rather from punishment, then infamie. The fame day overthrew Pompeianus Aelianus, ayoung man, who had been Quæstor and privie to Fabianus practife, and was banished Italy and Spaine his native countrey. Valerius Ponticus sustained the like ignominy, because that eschewing the judgement of the Provost of the City, he had informed against some before the Pretor first under colour of some lawes, then by prevarication to escape punishment. Wherupon a decree of Senate was ordained, that he who should either buy or sell any fuchactions, should sustaine the same punishment, as he who was publikely condemned for forging of crimes in false accusations. Not long after Pedanius Secundus Provost of the city was slain by his bondman, either because he had denied him his liberty, which for money he had covenanted; or hating himselfe for the unnaturall luft of a youth, as not induring his Lord to be his rivall. But when all the bondflaves of the house according to the old custome should have been condemned for that fact; through the flocking thither of people, which defended fo many innocent persons, they grew almost to a mutiny, and even in the Senate it selfe, among which there was a faction, some condemning that overgreat security; & many on the contrary fide holding it necessary that nothing should be chaged. Among which, C.Caffur uttered his opinion as followeth. "I have oftentimes been present in this affem-"bly, Lords of the Senate, when new decrees have been demanded contrary to the "laws and ordinances of our ancestors: neither have I ever gainfaid them, not that "Idoubted but that in times past they foresaw and took, better and more upright "order for al affairs then now; and that those things which were altered were chang-"eding the worfe; but left I should seeme by sticking too much to old customes, "to extoll the thing I affected: withall I thought it not convenient with often con-"tradiction, to overthrow this our authority what soever it be, to the end it might "remaine strong and entire, if at any time the common-wealth should need of "counfell. Which this day hath appeared, a Coful being murdered in his own house, "by treason of his slaves, which none either hindred or bewrayed, although the de-"cree of Senat be yet in force, which in this case threatned punishment to the whole "family. Decree in good truth impunity. But whom shall any mans dignity war-"rant, feeing the Provoftship of the city availed not? Whom shall a multitude of "flaves defend, feeing foure hundred have not protected Pedanius Secundus. Whom "hall any ones family helpe, if standing in feare of lawes our servants care not what danger we fall into. Shall we fay, as some are not ashamed to invent, that this murder revenged his owne private injurie, because he had compounded for his fathers inheritance; or that some old flave had been taken from him? Let us pro. nounce sentence without any further adoe, that Pedianus seemeth to us to have been justly slain. Give me leave to reason of that point, that hath beene determined by wifer men: If we were now first of all to consider of the matter, doe you thinke that a flave had had the heart to murder his Lord, if no threatning word had before efca. ped him? if he had uttered nothing rashly? for sooth he concealed his intention, he prepared a weapon amongst such as knew nothing of it. Could he passe the watch open the chamber dores, bring in light, commit the murder, all of his fellows igno. rant of it? If flaves would bewray fuch attempts, they can give many fignes: which if they discover, we alone may be safe among many lewd persons: in the endiswe must needs die, yet not unrevenged of the wicked. The disposition of slaves hathal. wayes beene feared by our ancestors; yea although they were borne in the same countrey and houses, and have just occasion presently to love their lords. But seeing we have nations of them in our families, using divers rites and customes, strangeor no ceremonies of religions at al, this rafcality thou shalt not be able to bridle but by fare. But some innocents shall be cast away. When an army is discomsitted, andevery enth fouldier is culled our and beaten with a cudgell, the lot falleth also upon the valiant. Every exemplary punishment hath somewhat in it which is unjust, which being in particular to the prejudice of some, yet is recompesed by the general good of the whole. As no one man durft gainefay Cassius opinion, so many confusedly an. fwered together, that there should commiseration be taken, of the number, age, sex, and undoubted innocency of many. Yet that opinion prevailed, which concluded they should be punished; but it could not be executed, a multitude being slocked to gether, threatning with stones and fire. Then Cafar rebuked the people by an edid, and befet all the way, by which the condemned parties were led to punishment with a guard of fouldiers. Cingonius Varro advised that the freed men which lived under the same roose with their master slaine, should be banished Italy. But that was with flood by the Prince, left the ancient custome which clemency had not diminished. should by cruelty be made worse. The same men being Consuls, Tarquitius Prisus was condemned for extortion, at the fuit of the Bithynians, the Senators greatly rejoycing thereat, who bare in minde that Statilius Taurus their Proconfull had been accused by him. The people were numbred and valued in Gallia by Q. Volusius, and Sext, Africanus, and Trebellius Maximus; and whilest Volusius and Africanus contend for worth and nobility, and both disdayning Trebellius, they preferred him before themselves. That year died Memmius Regulus, in authority, constancy, fame, as much as might be, the imperiall highnesse shadowing him, greatly renowned in so much that Nero being fick, and fuch as were about him flattering him, and faying that the Empire was at end if he should miscarry, made answer, that the common-wealth had a support and stay. Then they demanding in whom especially? he added, in Memmius Regulus. Nevertheleffe Regulus lived after this shrowded by his quiet life, and because he was of new nobility, and not envied for his wealth. The same yeare, place of all kinde of exercise called Gymnasium was dedicated by Nero, and oylegiven when they wrestled naked to the gentlemen and Senate, according to the courtesie of the Greeks.

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XIII. Libellers punished: of Veiento which sould Neroes favour.

Marius and L. Asinius being Confuls; Antistius the Prætor, who as I have faid before behaved himselfe licentiously when he was Tribune of the people, made opprobrious verses against the Prince, and published them in a solemne banket at Offorius Scapulaes house. Whereupon he was accused of treason by Cossuianus Capito, not long before received into the number of Senators at the request of hisfather in law Tigelliaus. It was thought that then first of all that law was put on foot, which wrought not so great an overthrow to Antistius, as glory to the Emperour: by which the condemned party, by the Senate was delivered from death, by the negative voice of the Tribune. And albeit oftorius protested he had heard nothing to be are witnes of credit was given to the testimony of his adversaries, and lunius Marullus Confull elect gave his censure, that he should be deprived of the Pretorship, and put to death according to the ancient custome. The rest after that veelding their affent, Patus Thrasea having fayd somewhat in the commendation of "Colar Charply rebuked Antilius, and declared: That it was not expedient, that "the extremity of punishment should be used under a good Prince, & when the Se-"nat was by no necessity bound to ordaine it: that there was no use now of an execu-"tioner and halter: and that there were penalties ordained by lawes, & punishments "inflicted without note of the feverity of the Judges, & infamy of times. With the "loffe of his goods he should be confined in some Hand, wherby how much the lon-"ger he drew his guilty life, by so much the more miserable it should be to himselfe "in particular; & in time to come a notable example of publick clemency. Thraseas liberty of speech broke the silence of the rest. And after that the Consul had permitted the going afide to agree in their opinions, all of them (a few excepted) condefreded to Thrafeas opinion: amongst whom the forwardest in flattery was A. Vitelliw, brauling and contending with every one of the better fort, but never replying to ananswere: a certaine note to know a timorous and faint heart. But the Consuls not daring to put the decree in execution, with common confent wrote to Cafar: who "wavering betwixt shame and anger, in the end wrote againe: That Antistius no in-"jury before offered him, had used most contumelious speeches against the Prince, "whereof a revenge was demanded of the Senat. And it was convenient that a pu-"nishment should be ordained answerable to the greatnes of the offence. As for "himself as he would have hindered the severity of their resolution, so he would "not be against the moderation of the punishment: therefore they might determin "as they thought good, giving them power if they lusted to acquit him. These or the like speeches recited, & his dislike manifestly perceived: yet for all that neither did the Consuls after this relation, or Thrasea shrinke from his opinion; or the rest goe from that which they had once allowed; part of them left they should seeme to have exposed the Prince to envy; many shrowding themselves under the number of voices. Thrafea by his accustomed stournes of courage, and because he would not fall from his glory already gotten. Fabricius Veiento was a cufed of the like crime, for uttering many flanderous speeches against the Lords of the Senate, and Priests, in those bookes which he called Codicillos. Talius Geminus his accuser added further of him, that he had fould offices and favours of the Prince, and the right of obtaining honours: which was the cause why Nero undertooke the hearing of that Judgement. Who after conviction banished Veiento out of Italy, and comman216 ded his bookes to be burnt, which as long as the reading and getting of them was dangerous, were much fought for; then liberty of having them granted they were forgotten.

XIIII. The death of Burrhus: and who Tigellinus and Rufus his succes-Cours were. The decay of Senecaes credit, with an oration of his to Nero, with Neroes answer.

Spublicke calamities dayly increase; so the remedies against them grewscarse. And Burrhus ended his life, but whether by ficknesse or poison, uncertaine It was conjectured by ficknesse, because that his wind pipe within swelling by little and little, and in the end stopped, he yeelded up the ghost. Most men affirme, that by Neroes commandement, making as though he would have applied a remedy to the palat of his mouth anointed it with poison; and that Burrhu understanding the practise, when Casar came to visite him turned his face from him: and asking him how he did, only answered, I am well. He was much lamented in the City for the memory of his vertue: and harmleffe floth of one of his fucceffor, and enormous wickednesse, and adulteries of the other. For Casar had made two Captaines of the Guard: Fenius Rufus through the favour of the people, because he dealt in Corne matters without gaine ; and Sofonius Tigellinus, who held on hisold course of uncleane and infamous life, which by custome was another nature in him. Tigellinus was more inward with the Prince, chosen as one privy to his secret pleafures. Rufus was of good reputation and fame with the people, and accepted of the fouldiers, which he found by experience to breed Neroes mislike. The death of δu thus weakned Senacaes authority, because his good arts wanted the strength they had: having loft one as it were of their guides: and Nero inclined to the worfer fort, "Which with fundry forts of calumniations fet upon Seneca, faying: That he confi. " nually heaped up wealth above the calling of a private man, and fought to winth "peoples hearts; that in pleasant gardens, and stately building he did almost exceed "the Prince. They objected also that he attributed to himselfe only, the praise of "loquence and made verses often, after he saw that Nero took a liking to them. For "shewing openly a dislike of the Princes pleasures; he detracted from his skilling "ding, & scoffed at his voice when he sang, to what other purpose, but that nothing "should seeme excellent in the Common-wealth, which was not thought to behis "invention? Nero was now out of his child-hood, and in the strength of his youth; "he should shake of his master, being already instructed with sufficient teachers, to "withis ancestors. But Seneca knowing of these accusations, by some web had a care "of honesty; and Casar more and more estranging himselfe from his familiarity de-"firethatime to be heard; and having obtained it, beginneththus. It is fourteene " yeeres Casar, fince I have been put to thee as a guide to thy hope: and eight fince "thou hast governd the Empire. From that time untill this, thou hast heaped on me " fo many dignities and fo much wealth, that there wanteth nothing to my felicity, "but the moderation of them. I will alleage great examples, not of mine owne cal-"ling, but of thine. Augustus thy great great grandfathers father licensed M. Agripps "to withdraw himselfe to Mitylenum to live a private life, and C. Mesenas to abide "in the City, yet at ease as if he had been in a forraine country. Whereof the onea "companion of his warres; the other toffed and wearied with many travels at Rome, "had received large rewards, but answerable to their manifold deserts. As formy " felfe, what was there in me for the requitall of thy munificence, save onely my stu-

(as I may fay, nourished in the shadow? By which I have gotten credit and reputaticon because I seemed to have been at hand & directed the youth with instructions: "agreat recompense in very deed of my travel. But thou hast done me besides this, great favours, and inriched me with infinite wealth; in so much that I do oft de-"bate the matter with my felf, faying: Am I, being but a gentleman only, and born "out of the city, reckoned amongst the chiefest peeres of the city? Can it be that "my new rifing can shine among noble men honoured with the marks of ancient "antiquity? Where is that minde of mine which once was contented with a little? "What, doth he make fuch goodly gardens; & walk in fuch mannor houses neare the "wals of the city: doth he abound in fuch fcope of grounds, and ufury in fo many pla-"ces? One defence cometh to mind for all, that is, that it was not in my part to strive "against thy gifts, but both of us have filled our measure, thou by giving as much as "a Prince could bestow upon a friend, and I in taking as much as a friend could take "of a Prince. That which is above this augmenteth envy, the which no doubt, as all "mortallthings, doth lie under thy greatnes, but lie heavily on my shoulders, there-"fore I need help: and as weary in service of war, or on the way, I would crave suc-"cour; fo in this journey of my life, old and unable to wade through the smallest "cares, seeing I cannot sustain the burden of my riches any longer, I crave thy aid "and helping hand; command them to be managed by the procurators, and be re-"ceived as thy own goods. Neither will I thrust my felf into poverty, but give up "those things, whose brightnes dimmed and dazeled me: that time which I was "wont to bestow in my gardens & houses of pleasure, I will imploy in recreation of "minde. Thou art in the floure of thy age, and the regiment of thy Empire establi-"shed and serled many yeeres, and we thy old friends may betake our selves to rest. "This also shall redound to thy glory, that thou hast raised such to great honours as "could have contented themselves with a mean estate. Unto which, Nero answered "almost as followeth. That I am able extempore to answer thy premeditated orati-"on,I am principally indebted to thee, who hath instructed me how not only to ac-"quit and discharge my self of things premeditate, but also of such as happen on the "fudden. My great great grandfathers father Augustus suffered Agrippa and Mecenas "after great labour to take their ease; but in such an age, that his authority might "maintain what soever had been bestowed; yet he never took those rewards from "them he had once given them. In war and dangers they had deferved them, for in "these things Augustus youth was imploied: neither would thy weapons and hands "have been wanting, if I had been in arms. But as the present state of times requi-"red, thou diddeft with reason, and counsell train up first my childhood, then my "youth: and therfore the gifts wen thou bestoweds upon me, whilest life lasteth shall "remain with me. Those things which thou hast received of me, thy orchyards, "usury, country houses, are subject to casualty; and although they seem much yet "many not equall with thee in knowledge have possessed more. I am ashamed to "speak of such as have been flaves, weh seem richer then thou. And therefore I blush "that thou, who in affection art deerest unto me, dost not surpasse all men in wealth "and fortune. And thou art of thy age a lufty man, and able to injoy thy wealth and "commodity thereof, and we enter into the first steps of the Empire, unlesse pardy "thou doest preferre thy selfbefore Vitellius thrice Consult, or me before Claudius. "But how much Volulius scraped by long sparing, so much my liberality cannot ful-"fill towards thee. If the slipperines of our youth be overprone to that it should not, "thou drawest it back, and temperest carefully with advise our unseemly and unru-'ly courage. Not thy moderation if thou shouldest restore thy wealth, not thy eafe "if thou shouldest for take the Prince: but my coverous fire, and the fear of my cru." elty shall be in every mans mouth. And although thy continency should be high. "Iy commended, yet were it not seemly for a wise man, from whence he procureth infamy to his friend, from thence to seek glory to himselfe. To these his speeches he joyned imbracements and kisses, framed by nature, and practised by custome, to cloake hatred with false flattering speeches. Sencea (which is the conclusion of all speeches had with Princes) gave him thanks, but changing the course and manner of life which he used in authority, forbidding the multitudes which came to salute him, and avoiding such as would follow him; shewing himselfe seldome in the city, as though he had kept home, either through sicknesse, or busine at his study.

XV. Tigellinus credit. Plautus and Syllaes death.

C Eneca being thus puld down, it was an eafie matter to abate Rufus Fenius credit. in accusing him of the friendship he had with Agrippina: but Tigellinus credit daily grew greater, and thinking that his lewd practifes, wherein only he was his crafts-mafter, should be more acceptable, if he could obliege the Prince by a league of naughty dealing, he began diligently to search out all his feares, and perceiving that Plantus and Sylla were suspected above others, Plantus being band shed of late into Asia, and Sylla into Gallia Narbonensis, he entreth into the confideration of their nobility, and how the one was too neare the army of the "East, and the other that of Germany. That he for his own part had not in his head "as Burrhus had, contrary hopes to the Emperours, but regarded onely his fafen "weh in some fort might be secured by his presence from the city practises: buth "what means could tumults far off be redreffed? the Galli became prechantat the "name of a Dictator, and the people of Asia no lesse to be suspected through the "renown of Drusus, Plantus grandfather. Sylla was poore and needy, and therefore "bold and venturous, counterfeiting a lazines, untill he found a fit opportunitien " shew his rashnesse. Plautus abounding in wealth, did not so much as pretendade "fire of a quiet life, but made open flew of imitating the old Romanes: havingu-"ken upon him the arrogancy and feet of the Stoicks, which maketh them bulk "headed and defirous to be fet a work. Neither was there any further delayuld but Sylla (those which were to doe the feat arriving at Marsils the fixt day) before feare or rumour, was flain being fet at table, and Nero skoffed when his headwa brought him, as evilfavoured by untimely hoarineffe. But it was not so secretly ken that Plautus death was intended, because many had a care of his safety, and thedi stance of the journey and sea, and the time between, had spread it abroad; and given out among the common fort, that he went about to flirre up Corbulo then Lord generall over great armies, faying, that if noble and innocent personages werethin murdered, he was most likely to come into danger. Further, Asia had taken arms In favour of this young man, and the fouldiers fent to go forward with the enterprises, being neither strong in number, nor in courage stout, seeing they could not performe that which they were enjoyned, turned altogether to new hopes. Thek speeches were common in idle persons mouthes. But Plantus Freed man having prosperous winde, prevented the Centurion, and delivered him a message sion L. Antistius his father in law, which was: That he should avoid a cowardly death "and not trust a lazy life, nor feeking starting holes; as to think that he should be pi "tied for his nobility: he should finde good men and of courage ready to take his "part; in the meane time that no aid was to be rejected. If he had driven back

threefcore fouldiers (for fo many came) whileft the meffenger could return to Nero, and another power befent back, manythings will follow, which may prosper and groweven toa warre. To be short, either he must provide for his safety by such counfell, or at all adventure there can come no worfe to him by ftoutnesse then cowardise. But those perswasions did nothing move Plantus, either foreseeing he wanted sufficient meanes, as being unarmed, and a banisht man, or for the irksomnesse of doubtfull hope, or for the love of his wife and children, to whom he thought the Prince would be more milde, if he troubled him not with care. Some report, that other messengers came to advertise him, that there was no cruell matter intended; and that two Philosophers Caranus a Greeke, and Musonius a Tuscan borne, perfwaded him to abide a conftant death, for an uncertaine and fearefull life. True it is, as he was found naked in the middle of the day, exercifing his body, the Centurion killed him in the prefence of Pelago an Eunuch, whom Nero had made overfeet of the Centurion, and of a band of men which ferved for the retinue of him which executed the Kings commandement. His head being brought to Nero, at the fight thereof he uttered these very words: Why doest thou not Nero (quoth he) haften the marriage of Poppaa hitherto deferred by fuch feares, and put from thee thywife Octavia, although of good and modest behaviour, yet for the memory of herfather, and affection of the people difliked and ill thought of Nevertheleffe, he wrote letters to the Senate, not confessing the murdering of Sylla and Plantus, but that both of them were of a busie and turbulent humour, and that he had a cire of the lafety of the common-wealth. Thereupon processions were ordained, and that Sylla and Plautus should be put from the Senate, a matter of greater scorne and mockery then hurt.

XVI. Nero putteth away Octavia, and marrieth Poppæa: and her complaints against Octavia, and her death.

Aving thus received a decree of Senate, and perceiving that all his ungraciousacts were taken for worthy exploits, he putteth away octavia, faying she was barren, and marrieth Poppea. She long a concubine, and having power over him as an adulterer, then as her husband, procurethone of Octaviaes fervitors to accuse her that she was in love with one Eucerus a bondman, a minstrell, borne at Alexandria. Thereupon many bondwomen were tortured, fome of them overcome by extremity of torment, yeelded to falshood; and many stood stoutly indefence of their miffres innocency. Amongst whom, one of them, Tigellinus earneftly urging her, answered, that Octaviaes secret parts were chaster then his mouth. yet at the first she was put from him under colour of a lawfull divorce, and Burrhus house and Plantus possessions assigned her, both presages of ill luck. Then she was driven into Campania, with a guard of fouldiers; whereof grew many complaints and lamentations, and those not in secret among the people, as having small wisedome, and little to lose, so subject to sewer dangers, by reason whereof, though no whitforry of that he had done, Nero recalleth his wife Octavia, and the people very joyfully went up to the Capitoll, and worshipped and thanked the gods, threw downe Poppeas images, and bare Ottaviaes on their shoulders, strawed flowers on them, and placed them in the Forum and Temples, praised and honored the Prince for taking her againe. And now they had filled the palace with multitudes and cries, when as companies of fouldiers fent, with blows and threats, thrust and scattered them some one way, some another; and changed all that the people had done by fedition, and restored Poppeas images to their places againe. Who alwaies fell and cruell with hatred towards Octavia; and then with feare, left a more forcible violence of the people should fal upon her; or Nero be changed, seeing how the peo. ple were affected, casting her self at his knees, said: That she stood not now on those termes that the might reason of her marriage, (although the esteemed it more then her fafety) but that she was brought into danger of her life by Octavias clients and flaves, which shadowing themselves under the name of the people, durit venter that in peace, which could hardly have happed in war. Those armes were takena. gainst the Prince: there wanted onely a Captaine, which in a tumult would easily be found octavia might now leave Campania, and go to the city, feeing that at a beck in her absence such tumults were raised. What fault had she committed? whom had she offended? Whether is it because she was likely to bring forth a true and lawfuli progeny to the house of the Casars? would the people of Rome there should be 12. ther brought into the imperiall highnesse the issue of a minstrell of Egypt? Tobe short, if that be convenient for the state, he should rather willingly then constravn. edly callshis miftres, or looke to his fafety with just revenge. The first tumults are appealed by easie meanes: but if they did despuire of having Octavia for Nerso wife, they would provide her a husband. This dolefull speech appliable to feare and anger, did both terrifie Nero, and incense him. But the suspicion of the slave was of imall credit, and the torture of the bondwomen had made the matter cleen: therefore it was thought convenient to have the confession of some one, which might be charged with some practife against the state. Anicetus the executioner of his mothers death feemed to be a fit instrument for the purpose, as I have already faid, Captaine of the navie at Misenum, in some small favour after the villand committed, but anon after most odious, because the ministers of great villanies are looked on as upbraiders of the same. Casar then causing him to be sention, putteth him in minde of the former fervice, and telleth him that he onely had been the fafeguard of his estate against his mothers treason, and that there was now an onportunity of no leffe favour, if he could rid him of his wife, which greatly diffiked him. Neither should he need hand or weapon, but only confesse he had committed adultery with octavia: and promifeth him great rewards, though for the prefentile world should not know them, and pleasant dwellings; or if he should deny it, threatned him death. He like a blockhead as he was, his first villany making an esse way to this, inventeth more then was commanded, and confesseth it to such of the Emperours friends, whose counsellas it were he had used in the plot. Then he was banished into Sardinia, where he endured no poore exile, and died naturally. But Nero accused her that she had corrupted the captaine of the gallies, in hope of winning him to her devotion: and forgetting that not long before he had accused her of barrennesse, publisherh by edict, that to hide her lascivious life, she had destroyed the children she had had by others then by him, and that thereof he was alfured, and therefore banished oftavia to the Iland Pandateria. No banished woman did ever move the beholders to greater pity then she. Some did yet remember Agrippina exilde by Tiberius; and Iulia banished by Claudius was fresher in memorie: but both besides the strength of age, had tasted of some pleasure, and comforted their present cruell hap with the remembrance of a better estate. Unto this woman, her first day of marriage was instead of a grave, being brought into a house in which she could finde nothing but what was dolefull and lamentable: her father poyfoned, & her brother anon after. Then the maid greater then the mistresse, and Poppaa married for no other end, but to ruine her; and last of all a crime objected

more grievous then any death. But this young princesse of the age of twenty years, heing between the Centurions and fouldiers as it were already deprived of life, with the prefage of fo many miseries, yet could not yeeld to death. A few dayes after she was commanded to be put to death, although she protested she was no wife but a widow onely, and a fifter of the Emperors, calling to Germanicus ghost to aide her and Agrippinaes likewife, in whose life time she should indeed have indured an unhappy marriage, but without danger of death. Notwithstanding she was shut up in prison, and all the veines of her body opened; but because the bloud stopped with feare iffued forth flowly, she was killed with the vapor of a very hot bath. And a deadlier cruelty also added, that Poppea faw her head cut off, and brought to the city, for all which it was decreed, that gifts should be offered in the Temples. Which we have uttered, that who soever shall either by us, or other writers, understand the events of those times, may be affured, that as oft as the Prince commanded either hanishment, or murder, so oft thanks were given to the gods; and those things which in times past were marks of prosperity, were then badges of publicke calamity. Yet nevertheleffe we will not hold our tongue if any decree of Senate hath been ordained, new and strange by flattery, or by base and abject sufferance. The same yeare, it was thought he empoyfoned his chiefest freed-men. Doryphorus as being against Poppeas marriage, and Pallas because he kept from him infinite wealth byliving too long. Romanus by fecret informations accused seneca as a confederate of Pisoes: but he was touched more neere the quick by Seneca for the same fault. which drove Pife in a feare, and that commencement of great, but unprosperous treason against Nero.

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THE

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THE FIFTEENTH

BOOK OF THE ANNALES

OF CORNELIVS TACITUS.

I. Vologeses King of Parthiacrowned King of Armeniaby his brother Tiridates is hindered by Corbulo to enjoy it, and expulsed by Tigranes.



Hilest these things thus passed, Vologeses King of the Parthians, under standing what successed and in his affairs: and how Tiridates his brother being expulsed, and Tigranes a stranger made king of Armenia, resolved to revenge the contempt offered the greatnessed of the Assections: yet considering the great power of the Romanes, and alliances

long time continued, was diverfly perplexed, as one of his owne disposition flow and lingering; and then intangled with many warres by the revolt of the Hyranians, a ftrong and mighty Nation. And as he thus wavered, he was further ex. afperated by the news of freshinjury: for Tigranes gone out of Armenia, had wasted and spoyled the Adiabenians, a Nation bordering, farther and longer then any rodes of enemies heretofore. Which grieved not a little the chiefe Noble men of that Nation, that they were grown to that contempt that they should be forraged and robbed not of a Romane Captaine, but by the rashnesse of an hostage, so many yeers held and esteemed no better then a bond-flave. Monobazus Governouroi the Adiabenians augmented their griefe, asking them what remedy, or from whence? Armenia was already gone, and the countrey adjoyning would goe shortly after: and unlesse the Parthians would defend them, those which yeelded to the Romanes should finde an easier servitude, then those which were taken. Tiridus chased out of the kingdome by silence complaying not a little, was no small grick, telling them that great Empires were nor maintained by cowardlinesse; but they must trie the valour both of men and armes. For among great Princes, he seemed to have most reason and right, who had most strength. And it was the praise of private houses to keep their owne, but the glory of a King to war for other nations. Velogeses being moved with these speeches, calleth a Counsell, and placed Tiridais hard by him and thus began. "This man, born of the same father that I am. having " yeelded unto me the name of the king in regard I am his elder, I did put in posses." "fion of Armenia, which is reckoned the third part of my kingdom. For the Medes "Pacorus had before poffeffed; making account that in fo doing I had take away the "inveterate hatred which reigneth between brothers & fully fetled the state of our "family. The Romans hinder this, and now break the peace also to their own ruine, "which they never yet diffurbed but to their owne destruction. I will not deny but "I had rather hold things gotten by my ancestors, by equitie then bloud, by reason "then armes. If I have offended by lingring, I will amend with valor. Your strength "and glory is intire with fame of modefty; which neither ought to be contemned "of the highest, and is esteemed of the gods. Having thus faid, he put the Diademe on Tiridates head; and gave Moneses anoble Gentleman a gallant company of Horse-men, which usually followed the King, and withall the ayde of the Adiabenians; and commanded Tigranes to be chased out of Armenia; whilest he pacitying the fedition of the Hyrcanians, draweth his whole forcestogether and utmost power of warre, threatning the Romane Provinces. Whereof Corbulo being advertised by certaine messengers, sendeth two legions with Verulanus Severus, and vettius Bolanus to ayde Tigranes, with a fecret charge they should proceed rather orderly and advisedly, then hastily: for he had rather entertaine then make warre. And wrote to Casar that it was needfull to have a Captaine of purpose to defende Armenia; and that Syria by Vologeses approch was in great danger. And in the meane time he lodgeth the rest of the legions by the banke Euphrates: levieth and armeth in hafte a power of the country people, and intercepteth the enemies passages with a garrison. And because the country is scarce of water, he fortified hard by the fountains, and covered certaine small brooks with mounds of fand. Whilest Corhaloused this preparation for the defence of Syria: Moneses because he would prevent the rumour of his coming, marched with all speed: but yet found not Tigranes unadvertised of unprovided; who had put himselse into Tigranocerta, a very strong towne, well manned and walled. Besides this, the river Nicephorius of a reasonable breadth, environeth part of the wals; & a huge ditch cast in length, where the river was distrusted as not sufficient. There were souldiers within to man it, and provisionof necessaries: for conveying whereof, some having beene too forward in venturing, and on the fudden furprifed by the enemy, enflamed the rest rather with anger, then feare. But the Parthian wanting courage to performe the affault at hand, frenta few arrowes a loofe; lost his labour; and put the besieged into no feare at all. The Adiabeni, as they began to rayfe ladders and other engines, were eafily thrust back, and by a fallie made by our men, hewd in peeces. Yet Corbulo, notwithstanding things prospered on his side, thinking it his best to use fortune moderately, fent some to Vologeses, finding himselfe grieved, that violence should be offered the Province: and that a King confederate and a friend should besiege the Roman cohorts: therefore that he should give up the siege, or else he would encampe in the enemyes countrey. Casperius a Centurion chosen for that Embassie, went to the King at a towne called Nifibis, feven and thirty miles diftant from Tigranocerta, and delivered his meffage very froutly. Vologe (es had long resolved with himselfe to avoid warres with the Romans: neither went things currantly with him for the present, the siege tooke no effect; Tigranes was strong in men and provision; the besiegers put to flight, certaine Legions were sent to Armenia, and others in a readineffe for Syria to affaile him in his owne Contrey. That he had but a weake company of Horsemen, want of stower, for a multitude of Locusts had eaten up all graffe and leaves. Therefore concealing his feare, and making flew of more mildnesse, answereth that he would send Ambassadors to the Emperour of Rome, to demand Armenia and establisha peace. And commandeth Moneses to depart from Tigranocerta and himfelfeturned back. Thefe things many extolled as proceeding from the Kings feare, and Corbuloes threatnings. Some conftrued it that they had privily agreed to forbeare war on both fides; and that Vologefes departing, Tigranes should also depart from Armenia. For why (fayd they) went the Romans forces "from Tigranocerta? why were those things abandoned in time of rest, which they "had defended in war? Could they have wintered better in the remote partes of "Cappadocia, in Cabbins erected on a fudden, then in the cheife feate of the King-"dome lately possessed? Doubtlesse the warres were put of, that Vologeses might ra-"ther fight with some other, then Corbulo. Corbulo would not indanger his glory so "many yeeres already gotten. For as I have already fayd, he had demanded a speciall 224 ciall Captaine to defend Armenia; & notice came that Cesennius Patus was at hand and by that time he was come. Their forces were so divided, that the fourth and twelfth Legions, and withall the fift which was lately called from the Mæsians, and the aydes of Pontus, Gallatia, and Cappadocia should obey Patus: the third, fixth. and tenth Legions, and the fouldiers which before remained in Syria should continue with Corbulo. The rest they would joyne or divide as occasion served. But neither Corbulo could indure a concurrent, and Patus unto whom it was sufficient glory, if he were reckoned the fecond, made finall account of the fervice already done faying: that there hath beene no flaughter made, no booty gayned; and that he had wonne townes onely with words, and not with deeds. He would impose tributes & lawes upon them and in flead of a shadow of a King, he would force them to live like coquered people under the Roman law. About the same time Vologeses Embas. fadors, as before I have rehearfed, fent to the Prince, returned and nothing done. And the Parthians openly made warre; neither did Petus draw backe, but with two legions, whereof the fourth Famifulanus Vectonianus conducted, and the twelft Calavius Sabinus, he entred Armenia with an unlucky presage. For having made a bridge and paffing over Euphrates, without any manifest cause, the Horse which barethe Consulary ornaments fled backeward, and escaped. And the beast ready for sacri. fice, neere to the Winter-campes which were a fortifying, the worke halfe finished brake loose, and leapt over the trench: and the fouldiers Lavelins and darts were on a fire; the wonder so much the more to be noted, because the Parthians fight with weapons throwen with the hand.

II. Patus goeth into Armenia: and his unskilfulnes in service.

Vt Patus fetting nought by ominous fignes, nor having fufficiently fortified his wintering campes, nor provision of Corn made, conducteth his army in all haste over the hill Taurus, to recover (as he faid) the Tigranocertians, and to forrage the Countries which Corbulo had left untouched. And some Castles hee tooke, and some glory and some booty he wan, if he had used his glory with moderation, and his body with circumspection. Having by long journeyes overrun those places which he could not keepe, and that the provision of victuals was spoiled and corrupted which he had taken, and the Winter now at hand, he brought his Army back againe: and sent letters to Casar as though the warre had beene ended, in words magnificent; but voyd of matter. In the meane feafon Corbulo having hadalwayes a speciall care of the banks of Euphrates; lodged on them now a greater strength of Garrisons, then before he had: and lest the enemies troopes should himder the making of a bridge (for they braved it with a gallant shew in the Champion which lay under them) he brought up the river veffels of huge bigneffe, joyned together with timber-worke, and built Towers on them; beating off the Barbarians with stones and speares out of Balistaes and other engines, let slie farther, then that the Countrey shot of Arrows, could match us with the like againe. The bridge continued and finished, the opposite hils were seased by the Cohorts of allies, and afterward possessed by the Camp of the Legions, with such great celeritie and shew of puissant forces, that the Parthians, all preparation of invading Syria omitted, turned all their hope against Armenia. There Patro ignorant what was at hand, had the fifth Legion far from him in Pontus: and had weakened the rest by inconsiderate licenfing the fouldiers to depart, untill news was brought that Vologefes came with a great army resolutely bent to do great mischeif. The twelfth legion was sent for ho-

ning that thereby it would be noised that his forces were increased; but indeed that hewraved his weakenesse, with which neverthelesse he might have incamped: and the Parthian deluded by drawing the warre in length, if Patus had been cnoftant either to follow his owne, or others counfuls. But he by men experienced in warre being counfelled what was best against imminent casualties, lest he should seeme to have neede of their advise, would doe quite contrary and much worse. And then forfaking his standing campes, crying that he had no trench and rampire given him avainst the enemy, but bodyes and weapons, iffued out with the legions, as though he would fight a field. And having loft a Centurion and few fouldiers, fent before to view the enemies forces, came backe againe greatly affrighted. And because valoreses came on but coldly, resuming againe a vaine hope, lodged three thousand choyle men on the top of the hill Taurus hard by, to hinder the King to passe. He placed also certaine cornets of Pannonians, which were the strength and sinewes of his horsemen, in one part of the plaine. His wife and some were shut up in a castle called Arfamofata, and a cohort appointed to guard them; and thus dispersed the fouldiers, which united in one, would much better have made head against the stragledand roving enemy. It is reported that he was hardly brought to confesse unto Corbulo that the King was at hand: neither did Corbulo make any great hafte, to the end that the dangers growing great, his owne prayfe in fuccoring might be the grearer. Neverthelesse he commanded three thousand to be set forward out of the three legions; eight hundred horse, and the like number out of the auxiliary cohorts. But Vologe (es although he had understood that the passages were shut up by Patus on the one fide with footemen, and on the other with horsemen, nothing altering his determination; what with violence, what with threatnings, having put the horsemen to flight, broke the Legionaries; one onely Centurion Taramiins Crescens having courage to defend himselfe in a towre wherein he had a garrison: making often fallies, and flaying fuch Barbarians as came neare, untill he was forced by fire to yeeld. Of the footmen if any was unhurt he fled to by-places a farre off, the wounded returned to the campe, extolling the valour of the King; the cruelty and number of his fouldiers, and all elfe for feare; fuch eafily beleeving them as were in the like perplexity. The Captaine himselfe not once endevoring to remedy the calamity, neglected all duties of service, and sent againe to intreat Corbulo, that he would come away in all post haste, to defend the ensignes and standarts, and the only name left of the unfortunate army: he for his owne part would whileft life lafted, remaine faithfull.

III. Corbulo goeth to Syria to ayde Pætus: who in the meane space maketh a dishonourable peace with Vologeses.

Norbulo daunted nothing at all, leaving part of his forces in Syria to defend the fortreiles built upon the shore of Euphrates, took his journey as the neareft way and plentifullest of victuals, by the Comagians; then by Cappadocia, and from thence to Armenia. There followed the army befides the usuall furniture and provision of warre, a multitude of camels loaden with corne, to drive away both the enemy and hunger. The first he met of those which were throughly affrighted was, Pactime the Centurion of the first enfigne, then many other fouldiers, who pretending divers and fundry causes of their flying away, he admonished to returneto their enfignes, and trust to Patus clemency. As for himselfe he was rigorous to none, but to the conquerers. Withall, he went to his legions, encouraged

226 them, put them in minde of their old valour, and what occcasion they had to winne new glory. "That they fought not now villages and towns of Armenia for a reward of their travels, but Roman camps, and amongst them two legions. If unto every "common fouldier, the crown was given by the Emperors hands, as a speciall honor "to him who had faved one citizen onely, how great and worthy an honor shall it be "when the like number shall be seen of the succourers & succoured? And with these and the like encouragements generally cheered (and fomethere were whom their brothers perils and neer kindred inflamed of their owne proper motions) they hastened their journey day and night. Vologefes so much the more eagerly pursueth the befieged, now affailing thetrench of the legions, now the fort, where the fearefull oraged had fled for defence, approaching neerer then the Parthians custome is to allure by temeritie his enemies to battell. But the Romanes hardly haled out of their cabines, did but defend their rampires, part at the commandement of the captaine and others by their own cowardline fee looking for Corbulo, and if they should be put to any diffresse; purposed to shift for themselves by the example of the over. throw at Caudian, and Numantina. Neither had the Samnites people of Italie, nor the people of Carthage which contended for greatnesse with the Romanes, to great power as the Parthians. Their ancestors also, both valiant and commended of all, when fortune croffed them provided for their fafety. By which desperation Parus the generall of the army utterly cast down, yet fent not his first letters to Volagefes in humble fort, but in manner of a complaint: "That he used hostilitie against the Armenians, subject alwaies to the Romans, or to a King chosen by the Empe. "rour. That peace was alike profitable to both. That he should not regard things "present only. That he was come against two legions with all the power of his king. "dome, but the Romans had the whole world besides at commandement to aid the "war. Vologefes answered nothing touching the matter, but that he was to exped his brothers Pacorus and Tiridates, and that that place and time was appointed to confult of Armenia. And that the gods had favoured them so much, being a matter worthy of the Arfacides greatnesse, that withall they could determine of the Romane legions. After that, Patus fent messengers to intreat a parley withthe King, who commanded Vasaces captaine of the horse to go. Then Patus beginneth with the Luculli, Pompei, and fuch other Captaines as had conquered and given away Armenia. Vafaces answered, that the Romanes had but a shadow of holding and giving away of Armenia, and that the right and power was with the Parthians. And having sufficiently debated the matter on both sides. Monobian Adiabento the next day was called a witneffe of their agreement: which was that the legions should no longer be besieged, and all the souldiers depart out of the bounds of Armenia, and all forts and provisions to be delivered to the Parthians: which done, that Vologe [cs should have license to send Embassadours to Nero. In the mean space, Patus built a bridge overthe river Arsamites, which ranby the campe, under colour of paffing that way: but the Parthians had commanded it to be done as atoken of the victory, for it ferved their turne, and our men went another way. a croffe likegal- And the rumour went, that the legions were fent * fub jugum, with other difgralowes, under which enemies ces which the Armenians were wont to use against the vanquished. For they envanquished were the trench before the Romane campe was departed, and befer the way, forced to go in tred challenging and leading away their horses, and such as had beene their slaves. ara ar expression. Their apparell also and weapons were taken from them, and the souldiers yeelded fishellandemin them for feare, lest any octation of quarell should be given. Vologeses having ga-(in general atting thereod together our weapons and dead bodies, to witnesse the overthrow of our

people, forbare from feeing the running away of the legions. A fame of moderarion was fought for, after he had satisfied and filled his pride. He passed the river Arsamites on an Elephant, and every man neare the King on horse back because a rumor was spread that the bridge would fall under the burden, by the deceit of the makers. But fuch as ventured to go over it, found it strong and sure.

of Cornelius Tacitus.

IIII. Patus comardlinesse. Corbuloes diligence to succour him. An agreement with the King of the Parthians.

Off certain it was, the besieged had such store of corne left, that they fired their storehouses; and on the other side Corbulo declared, that the Parthians .V. were in want of all necessary provision, and their stover all consumed, ready to have for liken the fiege, and himselfe but three daies journey off. He added farther, that Patus had promifed by oath before the enfignes, in the presence of such as the King had fent to beare witnes, that no Roman should enter into Armenia, untill it appeared by Neroes letters whether he agreed to the peace or not. Which things as they have been invented to increase infamy, so the rest is not unknowne. that Patus went in one day forty miles; leaving the wounded scattered behind him: which fear of the fliers away was no leffe ignominious, then if in fight they had turnedtheir backs to the enemy. Corbulo meeting him at the bank of Euphrates with his forces, made no fuch shew of his enfigues and armes, that he should seem to upbraid him of his cowardlines. For his common fouldiers fad, and bewailing the cause of their fellowes, could not for beare weeping. They scarce saluted the one the other for teares. Strife of valour there was none, no ambition of glory, the only defire of men in prosperity. Pity only bare sway, and most of all with the meaner fort. The captaines used few words, and those complaining that their labour was lost, that the warre might have been ended with the flight of his enemy. Patus answered, that all was whole and in good state to them both, that they should turn their "enlignes, and joyntly invade Armenia, weakened by Vologefes absence. Corbulo an-"swered he had no such commission from the Emperour: that he had gone out of "the Province moved with the danger of the legions; and feeing that the Parthians "attempts were uncertain, he would return to Syria. And that he was to pray for "good fortune, that his footmen wearied with travelling fo far a foot, might over-"take the Kings horsemen going before cheerefully, having the advantage of the "countrey. From thence departed Patus to winter in Cappadocia. But Vologefes Embaffadours fent to Corbulo, warned him to pull down his forts beyond Euphrates, and leave the river indifferent to both. Corbulo demanded on the other fide, that the garrifons should depart out of divers parts of Armenia. And in the end the King yeelded to it, and the fortresses which Corbulo had made beyond Euphrates were pulled down, and the Armenians left to their will. But at Rome, trophees and triumphant arches were erected in figue of victory over the Parthians, in the middle of their Capitoll, by order of Senat, the war yet fresh and not finished, only for a faire shew, no conscience made whether by desert or not. Yea Nero, to dissemble the cares of forrein affaires, did cast come into Tyber, corrupted by the peoples over-long keeping it, to shew thereby a security and plenty of victuals: the price nothing enhanced, although almost two hundred ships were cast away by tempest in the very haven, and a hundred brought up Tyber consumed by casuall fire. After that, he appointed three Confuls, L. Pifo, Ducennius Geminus, Pompeius Paullinus.

468750.

Paullinus, to take charge of the tribute, with an invective against other Princes which by excesse of expenses, spent more then the revenews came to, and he would bestow yeerely on the common wealth *threescore millions of sesterceswas a very bad custome commonly practifed at that time when the choosing of of. ficers was at hand, as casting lots for government of Ptovinces; which was, that many which were without children, colourably adopted some, and being thereby admitted among the Lords to draw lots for Pretorships and Provinces, immedia-"ly after manumifed those they had adopted. Whereupon, those which had chil. "dren went to the Senate with a great complaint, declaring the law of nature, the "labour in bringing up of children, against the fraud and deceit and short time of "adoption. That it was a sufficient recompense to the childlesse, that with great "fecurity without charge, they had credit, honors, and all things else offered them. That to them the promifes of lawes long expected were turned into a jeff when a man without care, a father, without mourning, childlesse, on the sudden would be equall with the long defires of fathers. Whereupon a decree of Senat was made, that fained adoption should not benefit in any part to any publick charge. nor yet to fucceed in others inheritances.

V. Magistrates sent into Provinces no more rewarded. The Gymnase burnt. Pompeius town sunk with an earthquake.

Fter this Claudius Timarchus of Candy, was accused of all the crimes, that rich governours of Provinces are wont to be touched with; and grown infolent with over great wealth to the oppression of the meaner fort. One speechof his reached to the diffgrace of the Senate, which was, that it lay in him whether the Proconfuls of Candy fhould have thanks given them, or not. Which occasion Parks Thrasea turning to the common good, after he had given his opinion that theac-"cufed should be banished Candy; added these words. It is proved by experience, "Lords of the Senat, that most excellent lawes, and honest examples have their "beginning by good men, from others offences. So the licence of Orators was " cause of the law Cincia; the suing of Competitors of the Julian laws; the coverous "nesse of Magistrates of the Calphurnian decrees For the fault goeth beforethe "punishment, and the remedy cometh after the offence. Therefore against the "new pride of Provinces let us take fome advise worthy of the Roman integrity "and constancy, that nothing may be derogated from the protection of the allies, or "the opinion conceived of us weakned, or a citizen be elsewhere judged, then be-"fore us, or reputed other then he is esteemed by us. In times past not only a Pretor "or Confull, but private men also were sent to visit the Provinces which should re-"port, what was thought of every ones duty and loialty: and the people were afraid "of a particular manseftimation and judgement, But now we adore strangers and "flatter them: and as at the pleasure of one, thanks are now adaics given, so the ac-"cufation of one more readily received. Let the decree continue, & let the Provin-"ces have power to shew their authority by such meanes: but let false praise, and "wrung out by praiers be restrained, no lesse then malice and cruelty. For there are "more offences committed whilest we go about to win favour, then whilest wedo "offend: yea some vertues are odious, obstinate severity, and an invincible minde "against favour. Hereupon the beginnings of our Magistrates are for the most part "better, and the end declineth, whileft we hunt after suffrages: we if they were for-"bidden, the Provinces would be governed more justly and constantly. For as cove"tonfinesse is bridled through fear of being accused of bribery and extorsion; so "thanksgiving being forbidden, ambition would be restrained. This opinion was approved with great consent of all: yet a decree of Senat could not be established, the Consuls denying the matter to have been propounded. Anon after by authority of the Prince they ordained, that none should propound it in the Councel of the allies, that thanks should be given before the Senat, the Propretors or Proconsuls, and that no man should do that message. Under the same Consuls the place of exercise called Gymnasium was burnt with a slash of lightning, and Nerves image melted to a shapelesse lump of brasse. And by an earth-quake, the samous town of Rempty in Campania was ruined in a great part. And Lessa a virgin Vestall died; in whose place was chosen Cornelia of the Cossian family.

VI. The birth of Nero and Poppæas childe. The death of the same daughter.

The Parthian Embassadors receive no answer: and Corbulo made

Lieutenant Generals of the warre.

Emmius Regulus, and Verginius Rufus being Confuls, Nero had a daughter M by Pappea, which he took as a matter above all mortal joy, and called her by Pappea, and gave the same surname to Pappea. The place where she was brought to bed was at Antium a Colony, where he himselfe was borne. The Senate had already commended Poppeas wombe to the gods, and had made publick vowes, which were multiplied and performed. And there were added proceffions, and a temple to the goddesses Fecunditati; and combate ordained to the imitation of the Athenians. And that the golden images of Fortunes should be placed in the Throne of Inpiter Capitoline: and that as the Circensian play should be exhibitedin the honour of the Julian family at Bovillas; foat Antium of the Claudian and Domitian: all which were vaine and fleeting things, the girle dying within foure monthes. Which gave occasion of new flatterings, some being of advise that she should be honoured like a goddesse, with a bed, a Temple, and a Priest. And Nero himself as before he was without measure glad, so now most forrowfull. It was noted that when all the Senat ran to Antium at the new birth of the childe, and Thraseas forbidden: he took the contumelious repulse with a stout courage, as a presage of his imminent overthrow. It was reported, that Casar bragged to Seneca, that he was reconciled to Thrases, and that Seneca was glad thereof. From whence grew at once glory and danger to worthy men. In the mean time in the beginning of the spring, the Embassadors of the Parthians brought King Vologeses message and letters to "the same effect. That he would not forgo all the former challenges so oft debated "for obtaining of Armenia: because the gods, although arbitrators of puissant na-"tions, had delivered the possessions to the Parthians, not without the ignominy of "the Romans: that having of late befieged Tigranes, then Patus and the Legions; "when he could have ruined them, yet suffered them to depart in safety. His force "was fufficiently tried, & a proof given of his lenity. Neither would Tiridates refuse "to come to the City to receive the Diademe, if he were not hindered by a religion "of prieft-hood:he would go to the enfignes and images of the Prince, where in "presence of the Legions he would luckily begin his government. Vologefes letters being of this effect, because Petes had written the contrary, as though all had been well, the Centurion win came with the Embassadors was demanded, in what state Armenia stood?he answered that all the Romans were departed from thence. Then the Barbarians scoffe being understood, who demanded that which they had alreadie taken by force; Nero confulteth with the chiefest of the City, whether it were beft to make a doubtfull war with the enemy, or peace. It was not doubted but war. And Corbulo fo many yeeres practifed in the wars, knowing the fouldiers and the ene. mies, had the generall charge given him, lest there should be a new errour commit. ted by some other unskilfulnesse: for of Patus bad government they were sorry and repented. Whereupon they were fent back without any conclusion, yet with gifts: whereby it might be hoped that Tiridates should not ask in vaine if he came by war of intreaty. The government of Syria was committed to Cintius: the strengthof war to Corbulo; and the fifteenth Legion under the conduct of Marius Cellus was brought out of Pannonia. Letters were sent to the Tetrarches, Kings, Presects, and Procurators, and Pretors, which ruled Provinces adjoyning, that they should obey Corbulo: augmented almost like unto that, that the people of Rome gave Pompey. when he was to war against the Pirats. When Patus at his return seared greater mat. ters: Cefar thought it enough to scoffe and jest at him almost with these words. "That he would pardon him presently; lest being so easily brought into seare, he "should be sick with longer pensivenes. But Corbulo sent the fourth and twelsth Le-"gion, we feemed unable for war, because they had lost the valiantest among them and the rest affrighted into Syria; and conducteth the fixt & third from thence into Armenia, all intire and whole and accustomed to often and prosperous successed added the fift Legion, which was in Pontus not daunted with the overthrow of the others: Withall, the fifteenth newly arrived, and fome chosen in Illyricum and E. gypt, and all horsmen and footmen with aides of Kings allies, drawn togetherto Melitenes, where he purposed to passe the river Euphrates. Then having taken asuvey of the Army making an oration unto them, beginneth with many stately and magnificall discourses of the Emperors government and his own exploits, avoiding the memory of Patus unlucky unskilfulneffe, which he uttered with great authority, that it ferved a war-like man in ftead of eloquence. Then taketh his journy that way which Lucullus had once passed, opening the passages which long continuance of "time had shut up. And not disdaining Tiridates and Vologeses Embassadors coming "to intreat of peace, sent Centurions to accompany them with no rough charge: "For matters were not yet grown to that head, that they should need a main battel. "That to the Romans many things had forted luckily, and some to the Parthians, a "lesson against pride. Therefore it behoved Tiridates to accept as a gift the king-"domeunwasted: and that Vologeses should better further the Parthians being con-"federate with the People of Rome, then mutually endamaging the one the other. "He knew what discord they had within themselves and what a fierce and unruly "nation he had to rule: contrariwife, that his Emperor had every where a firm peace, "and no war but that. Besides his counsell he stroke them into a fear, drove the Megistanas Armenians which first revolted, out of their houses: battered down their castles, filled with like fear the plains; the hills; the strong and weak. Corbuloes name was not yet hatefull unto the Barbarians, much leffe did they purfue him like an encmy, and therefore credit his counsell as faithfull. Volozeses therefore was not implacable headstrong, and commanded truce unto some governments. Tiridates requireth place and day of parley. A short time was affigned, the place, where of latethe Legions were befieged with Patus, feeing it was chosen by the Barbarians in remembrance of their joyfull hap, was not refused by Corbulo; that the diversity of fortune might augment his glory. Neither was Patus infamy increased; which appeared plainly, in that he commanded his some who was Tribune, to appoint certain bands to bury and cover the dead bodies of the unfortunate conflict. VII. Tiridates

VII. Tiridates peaketh with Corbulo: and yeeldeth up the towne of Armenia in the Romane campe.

He day appointed, Tiberius Alexander, a noble gentleman of Rome, given as an aide to the warre, and Vivianus Annius, Corbuloes sonne in law, not yet of age to be Senator; but affigned in the place of the Lieutenant of the fift Leoion, came to Tiridates campe to doe him honour; and that having fuch pledges he fould feare no treachery. And then were taken twenty horsemen on each side. And the King feeing Corbulo, lighted first from his horse; and Corbulo did the like immediately, and both of them on foot, joyned right hands. Then the Roman praised the young Prince, that leaving dangerous uncertainty, he would imbrace fure and wholesome counsell. Tiridates having spoken much of the noblenesse of his stock. inthe rest was temperate, saying: that he would go to Rome, and bring Casar new glory: Asacides humbly entreating, the Parthians being daunted with no adverse encounter. Then feemed it good that Tiridates should lay his royall crowne before Gefars image, and not take it againe but at the hand of Nero; and fo the speech was ended with a short salutation. A few dayes after, with a great pompe on both parts, they shewed themselves, his horsemen ranged into troupes on one side, with the enlignes of his Countrey; and on the other the army of the Legions marshalled in order with glittering standards, and enfignes and images of the gods in manner of a Temple. In the middle was planted a Tribunall, and in it a chaire of effate, with Nerossimage; unto which Tiridates went, and facrifices offered according to the custome, taketh the crowne from his head, and laid it under the image; which troubledthe mindes of such as had yet before their eies the slaughter and besieging of the Romane armies. But now fortune was changed, and Tiridates a spectacle to the people; how much better then a Captaine? Corbulo added to his glory courtefie and leaftings: and as the King marked any ftrange thing, and asked the cause; as the beginnings of the watches brought by the Centurion, the banket ended with a trumpet, the pile of wood before the Augurall altar lighted with a torch: Corbulo made himanswer, extelling every thing more then it was, to draw the new Prince into an admiration of the old cuftome. The last day when he was to take his journey, he defired time to visit his brothers and mother before his departure, and left his daughterforan hostage in the meane space, and letters of submission to be sent to Nero. And departed thence, he found Pacorus with the Medes, and Vologefes at Echaranes not unmindefull of his brother: for he had requested of corbulo by speciall mesfengers, that Tiridates might not shew any token of servitude, or deliver up his weapons, or be barred from imbracing the Governours of Provinces, or attend at their doores, but have the fame honour at Rome that the Confuls had. Being accustomed to forrein pride, he was unacquainted with our manners, with whom the Law of rule and dominion beareth fway, vanities being laid aside. The same yeere Cafar honoredthe Nations of the sea Alpes with the rights and priviledges of the Latians, and in the Cirque placed the Gentlemen of Rome before the people. For until that day they sate indifferently, because the law Roscian had taken no order but for sourceen orders. A shew of Fencers was represented that yeere with like magnificence as others before: but many Noble women and Senatours wives were discredited in the Theater.

VIII. Nero singeth on the stage. The fall of the same stage. Torquatus Silanus death. Nero attired like a woman weddeth

Pythagoras.

Lecanius, and M. Licinius being Confuls, Nero more and more defired to frequent the stage without any respect: for as yet he had not sung but in his house, and gardens in plaies of youth, which now he despised as not frequented, and too meane for such a voice. Yet he durst not begin at Rome, but chose Naples as a Greek city, thinking that that might ferve for a commencement to go to Achaia, where having obtained the famous, and in times past reputed facred crownes, and by that means grown in credit, he thought he should stir a great defire in the cirizens of Rome to hear him. The common rabble flocked together, or such as the fame of those plaies had drawn from the next colonies and towns, and such as followed him either to do him honor, or fundry other occasions; yea companies of fouldiers filled the Theatre of Naples. There hapned as most men thought, a dole full chance, but yet as he construed it, foretokening good luck, and fent by the favo rable providence of the gods. For the people were no fooner gone, and the Theatre empty, but it fell down without hurt done to any. Therefore with fongs compoled for the purpose, thanking the gods, and celebrating the fortune of the late chance. going to the Adriatike fea, he stayed in the meane time at Beneventum, where, by Varinius was exhibited a notable play of Fence.s. Varinius was one of the shamelet monsters of his court; brought up in a coblers shop, mis-shapen of body, anda scurrile jester: and therefore first imployed in that practife; then by pickthanking and informing against the better fort, grew to such authority, that in credit and wealth, and power of doing hurt, he was worse then the worst. Nere then coming to the play he had fer forth, no not at their pastime did they abstaine from doing of mischiefe. Fortheselse same day Torquatus Silanus was constrained to die. because that besides the noblenesse of the Iulian samily, he said, that he was in the fourth degree lineally descended from Augustus of samous memory. The accusen were commanded to lay to his charge, that he was prodigall in gifts, and that all his hope lay in the alteration of the state. And that he had Noblemen about him which he called his fecretaries, mafters of requests, and Auditors, which were names of imperiall dignitie, and defignements of great attempts. Then the chiefest of his Freed-men were bound and carried away. And when Torquatus condemnation was at hand, he cut the veines of his armes, and Nero as his manner was, made an oration after: that although he had beene culpable, and worthily diffrusted hispurgation, yet he should have had his life granted him, if he would have expected the Judges clemency. Not long after for faking Achaia for the prefent (the causes were uncertaine) he came againe to Rome, hammering greatly with himself of going to the provinces of the East, and especially Egypt. Then by an edict witnessing his absence should not be long, and that all should goe well with the common-wealth he went to the Capitoll to worship the gods. And as he entred the temple of Vella, taken suddenly with a shaking over all his body, either the goddesse of the place territying him; or the remembrance of his villanies alwaies accompanying him with "fear, he changed his determination: affirming, that all cares were nothing to him, "in regard of the love of his countrey; that he had feen the fad countenances of the "citizens, heard their fecret complaints, why he should go about so great a journey, "whose short and reasonable absence they could not indure; as men wont to be

comforted with the fight of the Prince against all crosses and adversities. Therefore as in private friendships, the nearest pledges and kindred are most dearest. So the people of Rome had great power over him, and that he must obey them, seeing they kept him from going. Thefe and the like speeches were pleasing to the people, desirous of pastimes, and which was their chiefest care fearing want of corn if he should be absent. The Lords of the Senate and the Nobility knew not whether he were more cruell farre off, or neare: then as the nature of all great feare is, they believed that which hapned to be worft. He to win an opinion that he was no where fo merry asin the City, made bankets in publick places, and used the whole City as it had been his own house. Those bankets were most spoken of for riot and same, which Tigellinus prepared, which I will lay down as a pattern of all, left the same wastefilmesse should be often repeated. In Agrippaes lake therefore he built a boat. whereon the banket was drawne with other boats. The boats were befet with gold and Ivory. The rowers were stale Catamites, placed according to their age and skillof unnaturall uncleannesse. He had prepared Fowl, and wilde beasts out of diverscountries, and out of the Ocean. On the brink of the poole were brothell houfes. filled with Noble women: and over against them were common strumpets naked using filthy gestures and behaviour. And when the night was come, all the wood and houses about rang with finging, and shined with lights. Nero himself defled with unlawfull and unnaturall lusts, left no wickednesse undone, because he would be most corrupt. And a few dayes after, he was wedded as it had beene solemnly to one of that polluted crue, called Pythagoras. The Emperour was covered with a vellow vaile. There went before him those which gave him in marriage, the wedding bed was prepared, and wedding Torches: all was feen, which even the night doth hide in a married woman.

1X. Divers parts of Rome burnt by chance, or by the malice of Nero.

Here followed a great misfortune, but whether by chance, or devise of the Prince, uncertain: for Authorshave affirmed both: but of all, the greatest and most grievous that ever chanced to this city, by violence of fire. It began in that part of the Cirque that joyneth to the hills Palatine and Cælian: then taking in the ware-houses wherein was merchandise, which nourished the fire, increasing more and more by the blowing of the winde, burnt all the length of the Cirque. Neither were the houses compassed with any desences, or Temples walled, or anything else to stay the fury of it. But spreading with violence, consumed first the plaine, then rifing to the hills, againe wasting the low places, by swiftnesse of hurt prevented the remedies, the City being subject to it by reason of the narrownesse of thestrecets, turning and winding lanes on every hand, and unorderly as it was in old Rome. Therewithall the lamentations of fearfull women, of aged men, and unskilfull youth, helping themselves, and succouring and leading the weak and impotent, or tarrying for them, some hastening, some abiding, some encombred, and hindered all the rest: and often whilest they looked behinde them, the fire had hold on them, either on the fide or before them: or if they had escaped to the next places, there was all on a light fire likewise: yea, those places which were thought far from danger, were found to be in the same case. In the end doubtfull what to eschew, or whither to flee, they filled the streets, and lay in the fields: some all their goods loft, and wanting daily food; other for love of some which they could not save; cast themselves away, although they had easie meanes to escape. Neither was there 234 any man which durft to quenchit, through the often threatning of many which hindered them: yea some openly threw burning fire-brands into it, and cried aloud that they had a warrant forit, either because they might rob and steale more licentiously, or because they were so commanded. Nero being then at Antium, came not to the City untill the fire was come neare his own house, on that side that it joyned with the palace and Mecenas Orchards. Yet it could not be hindered from burning his house and palace, and all else round about. But to give some comfort to the chased and fugitive people, he opened Campus Martius, and the monuments of Agrippa, and his own gardens: and erected buildings in hafte to receive the needy multitude. Utensiles were brought from Hostia and other neare townes, and the price of corn brought down unto * three nummos. All which although done in favour of the people, yet was not accepted; because a rumour was spread, that at the very time that the city was on fire, he went to the stage in his house, and sang the destruction of Troy, comparing present calamities with old dysasters. At last, on the fixt day, the fire ended at the bottome of the Esquilin hill, by beating down a huge number of buildings, that the field, and as it were the open heaven might withstand and encounter the continuall rage. And before the feare was past, it began a fresh, but not so terrible in open places of the city, and therefore the hurt of peoplethe lesse: but the Temples of the gods, and galleries devoted to pleasure, were almost all ruined. The obloquie of that fire was the greater, because it burst out to Tigellinus houses of pleasure, sometimes belonging to the Aemylians. And it seemed that Nero fought the glory of building a new city, and calling it by his name. For Rome was divided into fourteen wardes: whereof foure were untouched; three confumed to the ground: of the other feven, some markes of buildings remained, but rent and half burnt. It were no easie matter to reckon the number of houses, and buildings standing by themselves, called Hes and Temples which were consumed: but the ancientest in regard of religion, as the Temple which Servine Tulling built in honour of the Moon, and the great Altar and Temple which Arcas Evander confecrated to Hercules; the Temple of Iupiter Stator, vowed by Romulus; Numaespalace; and the Temple of Vesta with the peculiar gods of the people of Rome, were confumed and burnt to ashes. Now wealth gotten in so many victories, excellent works of the Greeks inventions, then old and perfect monuments of rare wits, which in so beautifull a city, and flourishing more and more, with many other notable antiquities, ancient men have observed and spoken of, which could not berecovered. Some there were which noted, that this fire began the fourteenth Kalends of July, on which the Senones burnt the city after they had taken it. Some were so diligent therein, that they counted just so many yeares, and moneths, and dayes between both the fires.

> X. Nerobuildeth a fumptuous house. Order taken for the building of houses. Nero punished the Christians as though they had set the City on sire.

Et Nero used the destruction of his country to his benefit; and built a house, in which precious stones and gold were not so much wondered at (as a thing longused, and by superstuous riot common) as for the sields and pooles, in manner of wildernesses; on one side woods, on the other spacious sields, and prospects. The masters and contrivers of the work were Severm and Celeric, men of with

and audacity to enterprise that by Art which nature had denied, and foolishly cast away the Princes wealth. For they had undertaken to make a navigable ditch from the lake Avern, unto the mouth of Tyber along the rough & hard shore, or through the opposite mountaines. Neither is there any other moisture to feed the waters. but the marishes of Pomptina: other places being uneven craggie grounds, or drie; and if they could be wrought through, it would be an intolerable labour, and no canse why. Nero notwithstanding, desirous to bring incredible things to passe, Ishoured to digge the hills adjoyning to Averne: where remaine the marks of his vaine hope to this day. But the houses which were ruinated were not built without order, here and there as when the Galli had fired them: but the streetes drawn by measure and proportion, with spatious and large wayes; the buildings restrained toacertain height, and the courts made wide, and galleries added to defend the front of the houses called Iles: which galleries Nero promised to build at his own charges, and deliver them to their mafters, the courts and floores made clean. And gave rewards according to every mans degree and wealth: and prefixed a time, within which the housings finished, or Iles, their masters should receive them. The marishes of Hostia were appointed to receive the rubbish: and that the vessels which brought corne up the river Tibris, should be loaden down with rubbish: and that some part of the buildings themselves, without timber should be built with stone of Gabi and Albanum, which cannot be damnified with fire. Now, that water intercepted by private men to their own use from the citie, might more aboundantly flowe in many publike places, there were watchmen appointed to overfee it: and that every man should have some provisions to quench fires: and that every house should be invironed with his own walls, and not common to his neighbour. Which being ordained for the publike commoditie, brought ornament to the new citie. Yet some were of opinion that the old fashion of building was more wholefo ne, because the narrownesse of the wayes, and height of houses could not foeafily be pearced with the heat of the Sunne. But now the streets being open and wide, and undefended from shadow, they are scorched with greater heat. And these things were provided by mans counfell. Anon after, purging facrifices were fought for of the gods, and the Sibyls books perused; by advertisement of which, prayers were offered to Vulcane and Ceres, and Proferpina and Iuno made favourable by the Matrons, first in the Capitoll, then at the next sea. From which having drawn water, the Temple and the image of the goddesse was sprinkled, and the married wives prepared banquetting beds, and watcht in the temple in honour of the same goddesse. But the infamie was not wiped away, neither by mans help, nor largeffe of the Prince, or pacifying of the gods, but that it was thought the fire came by commandement. Therefore to extinguish the rumour, Nero falsly accused and punished most grievously certain people, hated for their wickednesse*, which the * The author common fort called Christians. The author of that name was Christ, who in Ti-being no Christian, calberius reigne was put to death under Pontius Pilite, Procurator of Judæa. And their Jeth Christian dangerous superstition suppressed for the time burst forth againe: not onely religion malethrough Judaa where it first began, but in the citie also: whither all wicked and finance. shamefull things runne from all parts, and are solemnised and esteemed. First they were apprehended which confessed that religion; then by their detection an infinite multitude were convicted, not so much for setting the town on fire, as for the hate of all men against them. Such as were condemned, were scorned and mocked, and covered in wilde beafts skins, and torne in pieces with dogs, or fastened on crosses; or burnt in fire: and when the day failed, they were burnt in the night to give light.

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Nero had made the prospect of his gardens fit for that spectacle, and caused shew to be set forth in the Cirque, and himselfe either apparelled like a wagoner, shuffled among the people, or ran the race with them. Whereupon pity was taken on those persons, though guilty and deserving exemplary punishment, seeing they suffered not for any publick good, but to satisfie one mans cruelty onely.

XI. Nero raketh money on all hands, and robbeth the Temples.
Prodigious fights, and their meaning.

N the meane time Italy was wasted by contributions and borrowing of money. the Provinces ruined, and the confederates of the people of Rome impoverished and the cities which were called free. Yea the gods themfelves were not privile. ged from being made a prey: but the Temples in the city were robbed, and the gold carried away, which the people of Rome in all ages, either in triumphs or vowes, in prosperity or seare, had dedicated to the gods. Yea in Achaia and Asia, not onely gifts, but the images of the gods were taken away, Acratus, and Secundus Carinatis, being fent thither of purpose. The one a freed man ready to all villanies: the other exercised in the Greekish learning, in words only, but his minde not seasoned with any good arts. It was reported that Seneca, because he would shake off from himself the infamy of facriled ge, defired licence to depart to some countrey house a faroff: which not being granted, he fained himfelf fick of the gout and kept his chamber. Some have given out that poison was prepared him at Nerves commandment, by freed man of his own, called Cleonicus, and avoided by Seneca, as forewarned by the freed man, or by his own feare, fultained his life with a fimple diet, crabs, and if he were athirst wth running water. About the same time the Fencers at Preneste offering to make an escape, were hindered by a guard of souldiers which watched them; the people both fearfull and defirous of novelties, and now muttering and whispering of spartacus, and calling to minde the hurts which happened in times paft. Not long after news came of a great misfortune by fea, not by war (for a more firm peace was seldome seen) but Nero had commanded the navy to return by a certain day to Campania, not excepting the hazards of the sea. The Pilots therefore although the fea were rough put from Formium; and the South west winde blowing strongly, whilest they strove to win the Promontory of Misenum, they dasht against the Cumanian shores, and lost almost all the gallies, and many other smaller vessels. In the end of the yeare prodigious wonders were notifed as messengers of imminent misfortunes. Great and often flashes of lightnings, and a blazing star alwayes purged by Nero with the bloud of noble men. Monsters of men and beasts born with two heads and cast into the streets, or found in the sacrifices when the custome is to slay them when they be great with young. And in the territory of Placentia nearethe way a calf was brought forth with a head in the leg. The Soothfayers interpretation of it was, that the Empire was to have another head, but neither strong nor hidden, because stifled in the panch, and brought forth by the way side.

XII. A conspiracie against Nero by L. Pisoes friends.

Fter that Silius Nerva, and Atticus Vestimus entered the Consulship, a conspirate was begun, and grown strong against Nerve unto which Senators, gentlemen, souldiers, and women gave their names avie, as well for the hand

tted they beare Nero, as good will to L. Pifo. He was descended from the Calphurmians & of great nobilitie by his fathers fide; in high reputation with the people for his vertue, or appearances like unto vertue: his eloquence he had imployed in defence of the citizens: used liberalitie towards his friends, & to strangers courtesie & affabilitie. He had also the gifts of fortune: was of a tall stature, and comely countenance; but gravity in behaviour he was farre from, or moderation in pleasures. He gave himselfe to courtesie, bountie, and sometimes to dissolutenesse: which many allowed of thinking it not necessary, that in so great sweetnes of vices, he, who was destined to highest rule, should be streight laced, or over severe. The beginning of the conspiracie proceeded not from his owne desire: yet can I not easily tell, who was the first author, or at whose instigation that was begun, which so many enterprised. The forwardest to have been Subrius Flavius, Tribune of the Pretorian cohort, and Sulpitius Alprus, a Centurion, the constancy of their end doth shew. And Lucarus Amneus, and Plautius Lateranus, Confull elect, came with deadly hatred against him. Peculiar causes inflamed Lucan, because Nero suppressed the same of his verles, and had forbidden him to publish them, vainely comparing his owne unto them. Lateranus Confullelect, no injury, but love of the common-wealth affociatedunto them. But Flavius Scevinus, & Afranius Quinctianus, both Senators, underrook the action, contrary to the opinion which was had of them. For Scevinus bare alascivious minde, and therefore led a lazie and drowsie life: Quinctianus infamous of his body, and defamed by Nero, by reproachful verfes, fought to revenge his injurie. Therefore discoursing among themselves, or with their friends, of the Princes wickednes, that the Empire drew to an end, and that choice was to be made of one to support the afflicted state, affociated unto them Tullius Senecio, Cervarius Proculus, Vulcatius Araricus, Iulius Tugurinus, Munatius Gratus, Antonius Natalis; Martius Festus, gentlemen of Rome: among which Senecio having been of Neroes inward familiarity, and then retaining a shadow of friendship, was perplexed with theimagination of many dangers. Natalis was a partaker of all Pisoes secrets. The rest hoped after a change. Besides Subrius and Sulpitius, whom I have spoken of for greater strength, there were drawn in Granius Silvanus, and Statius Proximus, Tribunes of the Pretorian cohorts, Maximus Scaurus, and Venetus Paulus Centurions. But for the chiefest strength, they relied on Fennius Rufus, captain of the guard, who being for life and reputation worthy praise: Tigellinus through his cruelty and uncleane life, furpaffed in credit and favour with the Prince, and charging him with many false accusations, brought Cefar oft into a feare, as if he had played the adultererwith Agrippina, and therefore for love of her, carefully plotting a revenge. Therefore when the conspirators were fully assured by his owne often speeches, that the captaine of the guard was one of their faction, they were now more ready to consult of the time and place of the murder. It is reported that Subrius Flavine had a fudden motion to fet upon Nero finging on the stage, and running hither and thither in the night unguarded, his house being on fire: on the one side the opportunity of finding him alone; on the other, the company of people, witnes of fo worthy an exploit pricked forward his most valiant courage, if the desire of escaping an enemy to all great attempts) had not kept him back. In the meane time, betweene hope and feare lingering and deferring, one Epicaris, unknowne by what meanes she came to the knowledge of the attempt (and before that time carelesse of all that honest was) began to incense and blame the conspirators: and in the end grieved with their flacknes, being then in Campania, went about to corrupt the chief of the navie, which lay then at Misenum, and bind them to consent to the practise with this beginbeginning. There was in that navy one Volusius Proculus, a coronell of athousand men, and among others an inftrument in murdering Neroes mother, and as it was judged not fufficiently rewarded according to the greatnes of the fact. He acquainted of old, or newly growne into friendship with this woman, and shewing how much he had deferved of Nero, and yet how his labour was loft, complaining much and declaring apurpose of revenge, if meanes were offered; put Epicharis in hope he might be induced to conspire and draw others with him to the same consederacy. Neither was the helpe of the sea small, but offered many occasions, because Nero tooke great pleasure on the sea at Puteolum and Misenum. Whereupon Epicharis added more, and opened all the Emperours villanies: and that the Senate had provided, how he should be punished for overthrowing the common-wealth: that he would only prepare himfelfe, bestow all indeavour, draw to his side the valiantest of the fouldiers, and affure himselse of worthy recompense. Nevertheles she concealed the names of the conspirators, whereby Proculus betraying the matter took no effect, although he had carried all he had heard to Nero. For Epicharis fent for, and brought face to face before the appeacher, supported by no witnesses, eafily confounded him. Nevertheles she was kept in prison, Nero suspecting that those things were not false which were not proved true. Yet the conspirators, for seare of being betraied, thought it convenient to change the place of the murder, and execute it at Baias, in a house of Pisos; whither Casar came oft, as delighted with the pleasantnes of it; and there used to bathe and to banket without any guard, careleffe of the greatnes of his estate. But Pifo refused, pretending it would breed him envy, if the folemnities of his table, and gods of hospitality should be distained with the murder of any Prince what soever. Therefore that it might be better performed in the city, in that hatefull house built with the spoiles of the citizens, or in publike place, seeing it is undertaken for the publike weale. Thus they debated the matter in common, but yet with fecret feare, lest L. Silanus, a man of great nobilitie, and by C. Cassius discipline, under whom he was brought up to all renowne, should lay hold on the Empire; all which were free from the conspiraty joyning to helpe him, and fuch also as would pity Nero as flaine by treachery. Some beleeved, that Pifo would not meddle with Vestinus the Consuls fierce courage, lest he should attempt the bringing in of liberty; or if another Emperour should be chofen, ascribe the bestowing of the state to himselse; for he was not privie to the confpiracy, although Nero to fatiate his inveterate hatred laid it to his charge, though guiltleffe. At last, they resolved to accomplish their designement on that day that the Circenfian plaies were represented in honour of Ceres; because C.efar shewing himselfe then little abroad, or shut up in his house or gardens, came to the plaies at the Cirque; and therefore might eaflier be come unto, because he took delightin the pastime.

> XIII. The order of the conspiracy. How it was discovered. Epicharis constancy : and cowardlynes of some of the conspirators.

Hey concluded the order of their conspiracy to be, that Lateranus under colour of making request for forecaid of maintenance of his estate, should fall at the Princes knees; and being of a flout courage, & great flature overthrow him unawares, and keepe him downe. Then as he lay along and hindered from rifing, that the Tribunes and Centurions according to each mans boldness should run

in and murder him; Scevinus requesting to be first, who had taken a rapier out of the Temple of health in Etruria; or, as others report of fortune, in Ferentanum; and carried about him as some facred thing to do some notable act. Pilo in the meane time should stay in Ceres Temple, from whence the Captaine Fenius and the rest thould carrie him to the campe; and Antonia, Claudius Cafars daughter followed him, to winne the peoples favour, as C. Plinius doth report. Our meaning was not to conceale this, howfoever it hath been left us; although it should seem absurd and frivolous (unlesse the desire of dominion surpasse all other passions and affections) that Antonia should lend her name, or endanger her self for him, or that Pilo (the love towards his wife fo well known) should binde himself in marriage to any other what foever. But it was ftrange how all was kept close, among fo many of divers callings, degrees, ages, fexes, rich and poore; untill the detection began in Scevinus house: who the day before the feate should be effected, long conferring with Antonius Natalis; then returning home, fealed his testament; having drawn therapier (of which I have spoken) out of the scabberd; and angry that it was dull with long keeping, commanded it to be sharpened at the point and scoured; giving the charge of that care to his freed man Milichus. Withall he made a more fumptuous banquet then his custome was: and made some of his bondmen he best liked free: and unto others gave money. And he himselfe was sad and easily seen. his head was fraighted with great imaginations, although he diffembled mirth with impertinent talk. In the end warned the fame Milichus to prepare rowles to bindeup wounds, and things necessary to stanch bloud; either as one knowing the confpiracie, and untill then trusty; or ignorant of it, and then first took hold of fusitions, as fome have thought by the confequents. For when this fervile minde. weighed with himself the rewards of his falshood, and represented to his own imaginations huge furnmes of money and great authority, honesty gave place; and his mafters fatery, and the memory of his received liberty. He took also the counfellof his wife (a womans counfell indeed, and the worfer) which drove him into a further feare, affirming that many freed men and flaves were by, which faw as much as he: the filence of one availed nothing; but ones should be the recompense, if he prevented the rest in detecting it. Whereupon as soon as it was day, Milichus goeth to the Servilian gardens: and being driven from the doores, faid, he brought hainous and great matters to discover, and thereupon led by the porters to Epaphroditus Neroes freed man; and anon from him to Nero, declareth that there was imminent and dangetous strong conspiracies at hand, and all the rest which he had either heard or conjectured. He sheweth also the weapon prepared to kill him, and commanded the party accused to be sent for: who drawen by the souldiers "and beginning his purgation, answered: That for the rapier he was accused of, "his father in times past made great reckoning of it, and therefore he had it in his "chamber, and that it was stolen away by the fraud of his freed man. That his testa-"ment had been often fealed by him, not keeping the dayes when in memory. Mo-"ney and liberties he had heretofore given to his flaves: but then more bountifully; "because his estate was decayed, and his creditors being eager on him, he distrusted "his testament. Indeed he was alwaies wont to make liberall bankets, & lead a plea-"fant life, not well liked of fevere & hard Judges. He commanded no medicaments "for wounds, but because the rest of his accusations were plainly vain, he thought "good to adde this crime, and make himfelf accuser and witnes. He confirmed his speech will constancy, and rebuked Milichus as one not to be admitted to bear witnelle, being a lewd and naughty person; and that with such a resolution in words and counte240 countenance, that the accusation had come to nothing, if his wife had not put him in minde, that Antonius Natalis had had much secret conference with Servinus. both of them being most inward familiars of Pifo. Natalis therefore was fent for and both of them feverally examined what their speech was, and touching what matter. Then grew a suspition because their answers agreed not. And being put in. to irons, they were not able to endure the fight and threatnings of the torture. Yet Natalis as better acquainted with the whole conspiracy, and withall skilfuller inacculing, first confesseth of Pifo; then added Annaus Seneca, either because he was a messenger betweene him and Piso, or because he would purchase Neroes savour: who bearing deadly hatred to Seneca, practifed all inventions to bring him to destruction. Natalis confession known, Scevinus with the like imbecillity, or beleeving that all had been discovered, and that no profit could rise by keeping counsell. appeached the reft. Among which Lucanus, and Quinttianus, and Senecio long denied the matter. And afterward corrupted by promise of impunity, to excuse their backwardnes, Lucanus named Atilla his mother; Quinctianus, Glicius Gallus; Senecio Annius Pollio, their chiefest friends. And Nero calling to minde in the meane while that Epicharis was in indurance through Volusius Proculus information; thinking that a womans body was not able to indure much griefe, commandeth her to be rent with tortures: but her, neither stripes, nor fires, nor the rage of the tortures, which fo much the more cruelly racked her left they should be contemned by a woman. could overcome: but she denied the crimes objected, and so the first day of torture was contemned. The next day when she was brought to the same tortures in a bearing chaire (for her members out of joynt and broken, she could not put foot to ground) fastning a lace which she drew from her breast to the bow of the chaire, in manner of a fliding knot, put her neck into it; and waighing down with the heft of her body stopped that little breath she had left. A notable example that a freed woman should defend in such great cruelty of torture strangers, and almost unknown toher; when as men, and free-born, and gentlemen of Rome, and Senatorsnot touched with tortures, detected the dearest of their kindred. For Luzanus, Senecius. and Quinctianus, fluck not indifferently to bewray their confederates; Nero growing more and more fearfull, although he had doubled his guard. Further, he filled the city and the walls with bands of fouldiers, and befet both fea and river with watch and wards. And to and fro, by the Forum, the houses, the fields, and towns adjoyning, footmen and horsemen scoured up and down, intermingled with Germans, whom he best trusted, because they were strangers.

> XIIII. Accusations continued. Piso would not take armes: his death with Lateranus and Seneca.

Fter that, continuall troupes one after another were drawn to their answer, which lay before the gates of the gardens. And when they had entred in, to defend themselves every man triumphed over the conspirators. If they had spoken together by chance; if met one another on the sudden; if at a shew, or banket they had been feen together, it was accounted a crime: and befides Nerves and Tigellinus bloudy interrogatories, Fenius Rufus not yet detected, urged also vehemently: and to winne an opinion that he had not been confenting to the attempt, was cruell against his confederates. The same Fenius held back Subrius Flavius then present, and nodding with the head, whether in the very hearing of the matter he should draw his sword, and execute the murder; and brake his heat even then nutting his hand to his weapon. Some there were which seeing the conspiracy derected, whilest Milichus was examining, and Scevinus doubteth whether he should consessed not, perswaded Pife to goe to the fort of the guard, or go up to the Rofira and found the affection of the fouldiers and people, faying: "That if the confe-"derates would joyn together, the rest which were not privie would follow them: "that the fame of an attempt was a great matter, & could do much in new enterpri-"ses. That Nero had made no provision to withftand him; frout men were daunted "with fudden enterprises; much lesse would that stage player, accompanied with "Tigellinus & his concubines take arms against him. Many things are done by ven-"ruring, which to the faint hearted feem hard. It was a folly to hope for filence and "fidelitie in fo many minds & bodies of partakers: by torment or reward all things "are made easie. And some would come to clap irons on him & put him to a shame-"full death. How much more commendable were it for him to die, embracing the "comon-wealth, & feeking aid for liberty. Although the fouldier should faile him "and the people shrink from him, if it should cost him his life, his death would be "glorious as well to his ancestors, as his posterity? But nothing moved with these foeches, shewing himselfe little abroad, then keeping within doors, confirmeth his minde against death: untill a band of fouldiers came, which Nero had chosen among the young fouldiers, and fuch as lately were received into fervice; fuspecting that theold were made on Pisoes fide. And cutting his veines, yeelded up the ghoft. His testament was full of filthy flatteries toward Nero, through the love of his wife, whom commendable only for her beauty, & nothing futable to his calling, he took from a friend unto whom the was married. Her name was Arria Galla; her first husband, Domitius Silius, he by patience, she by unchastnesse spread abroad Piloes infamy. Next followed the death of Plautus Lateranus Confullelect, and that with such haste, that he suffered him not to imbrace his children, nor have so much as that flort time of choosing his death: but led away to a place where slaves were executed; was killed by the hand of Statius the Tribune: full of constant filence, neveronce reproching the guilt of the fame fact to the Tribune. Then followed the death of Anneus Seneca most joyful to the Prince; not because he had found him manifeltly privy to the conspiracy, but because he would shew cruelty with the sword, feeing poyson took no effect. Only Natalis thus farre did utter, that he was sent to Sentera being fick to visite him and complaine, why he barred Piso from having accesseto him: and that it would be better to entertaine their friendship by familiar conversation: And Senecato have answered, that their interchange of speech & ofuncommunication was profitable for neither of them; yet that his fafety did depend on Pifoes welfare. These things Granius Silvanus Captaine of the guard, was commanded to carry to Seneca, and aske him whether he acknowledged Natalis speeches, and bring Senecaes answer. Seneca by chance, or of purpose, returned that day from Campania, and remained in a countrey house foure miles from the city. Thither came the Tribune the next evening, and befetteth the house with a company of fouldiers: then openeth unto him the Emperours charge as he fate at meat with Pompeia Paullina his wife, and two other friends. Seneca answered, that Natalis had been indeed fent to him: and complained in Piscos behalfe that he was forbidden to visite him: and that he excused himselse with sicknesse, as being de-"fitous of quietnes. Why he should preferre the welfare of a private man before his "own fatery, he had no cause. Neither was his inclination much given to flattery, "as Nero best knew; who had oftner tried Senecaes libertie of speech, then servile "pleasing. When these speeches were brought back by the Tribune in presence of of Poppea, and Tigellinus, who was of the cruell Princes inward counsel, he asketh whether Seneca prepared himselfe any voluntary death? The Tribune affirmed, he found no signes of teare in him, nor tokens of sadnesse in words or countenance: and thereupon he was commanded to go back, & give him warning he should die. Fabius Rusticus doth report, that he returned not the same way he came, but turned asside to Fenius the captaine: and having imparted unto him Cafars commandement, asked him whether he should obey it or not; who advised him to do his commandenient. which was a cowardlines fatall unto them all: for Silvanus was one of the conspira. tors, and was now a furtherer of the cruelty, to whose revenge he had before con. fented: yet he spared both his tongue and presence, and sent to Seneca one of the "Centurions, to denounce him the last necessity. He nothing amazed, called for his "testament, & the Centurion denying it, turned to his friends, & faid: That seeing "he was not suffered to requite their merits, he protested he left the yet one thing "which of all other he held most precious, which was the pattern of his life: of "which if they were mindful, they should carry away the fame of good learning, & "of so constant friendship. Withall, hindreth their teares, now with speech, now "more earnestly as it were rebuking them, and calling them back to constancy. As "king where were the precepts of wisdome? where the resolution so many yeeres "premeditated against imminent dangers? unto whom was Neroes crueltieun. "known? neither did there remain any thing to be done after he had murdered his "mother and his brother, but that he should adde the death of his bringer up and "mafter. When he had discoursed this or the like, as it were in general, he imbraced his wife, and having fomwhat confirmed her against present fear, prayeth & intreateth her to temper her griefe, lament no longer, but in the contemplation of her former life fpent in vertue, bear the lack of her husband with honest comforts. She on the contrary fide affured him, that she was resolved to die, and demandeth the hand of the executioner. Then Seneca loth to hinder her glory, and dearely loving her, left he should leave her, whom so tenderly he affectioned, to the injuries of "others, faid: I had taught thee comforts of life, but thou had strather the glory of "death, I will not envy thy example, let there be of this fo short a death, an equal "constancy in both; but thy renowne will be farre greater. After which words they both cut the veines of their armes at one time. Seneca because his old body, and leane with a slender diet, gave the bloud slow passage, cut also the veines of his legges, and hams, and being wearied with cruell torments left he should discourage his wife with his griefe, and himselfe descend to impatiency, by seeing the torment she indured, perswadeth her to go into another chamber. And in the very last moment, his eloquence not failing him, calling him to dictate his speech, delivered many things, which published in his owne words, I purpose not to alter or change with other termes. But Ners, having no peculiar hatred against Paullina, lest the odiousnesse of his cruelty should grow greater, commandeth her death to be his dered. Whereupon her bond and freed men at the fouldiers commandement, bound her armes, and stopt the bloud. But whether she knew it or not, is uncertain, for (the common people being alwaies ready to speake the worst) there wanted not fome which believed, that as long as the feared Nero to be implacable, the fought to have the glory of accompanying her husbands death, then a milder hope offer ed, that she was overcome with the sweetnesse of life, unto which she added a few yeers after, with a laudable memory towards her husband: but her face and other parts of her body were grown so pale and wan, that it easily appeared her vitall spi rits were much diminished. Seneca the meane time perceiving himselfe to linger

and pine away with a long death, intreateth Statius Annaus his known friend, and expert Physician, to give him of that poison with which the condemned by publick judgement at Athens are put to death, whereof long before he had made provision: which being brought him he drank in vaine, the parts of his body already cold and the conduits stopped against the force of poison. In the end he went into a bath of hot water, and iprinkling his flaves next about him, faying, That he offered up that liquot to lupiter the deliverer. Then put into the bath, and with the vapour of it has ving yeelded up the Ghost, was burnt without any funerall solemnity, as he had commanded in his last Will, when very rich and in authoritie he disposed of his minde. The report was, that Subrius Flavius, with the Centurion in fecret counfel. vernot without Senecaes privitie, had determined, that after Nero should have been fline by the helpe of Pife, Pife should also have been slaine; and the Empire delivered Seneca, as one just and upright, chosen to that high authoritie onely for the excellencies of his vertues: yea, and Flavius own words were published to be these. Itskilleth not for the shame of the matter, if a Minstrell be removed, and an actor in attagedy fucceed him: for as Nero had fung with the instrument, fo Pifo in tragicall attire.

> XV. Many fouldiers punished. Fenius death. Flavius Subrius, and Sulpitius Afers answer to Nero.

T'He conspiracy of the souldiers could be no longer kept close, the detecters being very eager to bewray Fenius Rufus, whom they could not indure should both be of counsell to the plot, and an examiner of others. Therefore urging and threatning Scevinus, shewing himself obstinate, told him that no man knew more then himselfe: and exhorted him, that he would shew himselfe willing to requite fo good a Prince. Fenius could neither answer this, nor hold his tongue, but entangling himselfe in his own words, shewed a manifest seare; and the rest, but especially Cervarius Proculus a Gentleman, labouring all they could to convict him by commandement of the Emperour, Cassius a souldier which stood by, and was of exceeding strength of body, laid hold on him, and bound him. Not long after by theirappeaching, Subrius Flavius Tribune was overthrowne, first alleadging the difsmilitude of his manners and life for his defence, and that he being a man of armes, would never in fo dangerous an enterprise, associate himselfe with unarmed effemimatepersons: after that farther prest, imbracing the glory of confession, and demanded of Nero for what reasons he had proceeded so farre as to forget his oath. I "hated thee (quoth he:) neither was there any of the fouldiers more faithfull unto "thee the I, whileft thou deserved it to be loved. I began to hate thee after thou be-"camest a paricide of thy mother, and wife; a wagoner, a stage-plaier, and a setter "of houses a fire. I have reported his very words, because they were not published as Senerales were: neither was it leffe convenient to know the unpollished, but waightie words of this fouldier. It is certain there hapned nothing in all that conspiracy more grievous to Neroes cares: who as ready and prompt to all mischieves, so unaccustomed to heare of that he had done. The punishment of Flavius was committed to Vejanus Niger, Tribune. He in the next field commanded a pit to be digged, which Flavius finding fault with as not deepe enough, faid to the fouldiers standingby, This is not according to the order of service. And being willed to stretch outhis neck flourly, I would to God (faid he) thou wouldest strike so stourly. Who quaking

The fifteenth Book of the Annales quaking very much, when he had scarce cut off his head at two blows, bragged to Nero of his cruelty, faying, that he was killed with halfe a blow. The next example of constancy the Centurion Sulpitius After did shew; for Cafar asking him why he "had conspired his death? answered briefly: That so many his villanies could not "otherwife be redreffed. Then he fultained the punishment commanded. Neither did the rest of the Centurions degenerate in bearing their punishments. But Fenius Rufus had not the like courage, but fet down his griefes and lamentations in his testament. Nero expected that Vestinus the Confull should also be drawn into the aftion, judging him violent, and an enemy to him: but the conspirators would not communicate their defignements with him; some by reason of old grudges; but more, because they thought him rash, heady and insociable. Furthermore, Nerves hatred against Vestinus proceeded of their inward familiarity, the one contemning the Princes known cowardlinesse: and the other fearing the fell courage of his friend often jefting at him with bitter skoffs: which when they carry much truth with the a, leave behinde them a biting memory. Befides, there was a fresh cause of malice betweene them, because Vestinus had married Statillia Messalina, not ignorant that Casar kept unlawful company with her. Therefore no crime, no accuser appear. ing, because he could put on no shew of accusation, he fled to his absolute power, and fendeth Gerelanus the Tribune with a band of fouldiers, and inchargeth him to prevent the Confuls defignments, seise upon his house, which was as it were his fortreffe: and flew his chosen company of youth, because Vestimus had his house looking over the market place, and handsome slaves all of one age. He had fulfilled that day all the duties of a Confull, and making a banquet, fearing nothing, orelle diffembling his feare, the fouldiers entred in , and when word was brought him that he was called by the Tribune, he rose without any delay, had all things prepared him in a trice, thut himselfe up in his chamber, and had his Physician at hand which cut his veines; and being yet lufty, was carried to a Bath, put in hot water, notonce uttering a word, which could argue either griefe, or compassion on himselfe. Those which were at table with him, were in the meane time befet with a guard, and not dismissed till the night was far spent; and then Nero imagining and laughing at the feare they were in, as looking for their imminent ruine, faid, they had paied enough for the Confuls good cheare.

> XVI. Lucanus and Quinctianus death. Neroes liberality to the Couldiers. Who Nymphidius was. The Senators flattery toward Nero.

Fter that, he commanded the death of M. Annius Lucanus, who perceiving as his bloud went out, his feet and hands to waxe cold, and spirits by little and little to forfake the exterior parts of his body: his heart yet strong, and his wit fresh, remembring verses made by himself, in which he represented a soldier wounded, and dead with the like kinde of death, rehearfed the verses themselves, which were the last words he spake. After that Senecio and Quinctianus, not according to their former effeminate life, and the relidue of the conspirators, were put to death, neither speaking nor doing anything worthy memory. But in the meane time, the City was filled with funerals, the Capitoll with facrifices, one having his brother, another his some putto death, or friend, or neer kindred, gave thanks to the gods, deckt his house with Baies, fell downe at the Emperours knees,

and we aried his right hand with kiffes. And he thinking it to be done for jov. rewardeth with impunitie Antonius Natalis, and Cervarius Proculus speedy detection: Milichus enriched with recompenses, took unto him a name, which in the Greeke Gonifieth a faviour. And Granius Silvanus the Tribune, although quit, yet flew himfelfe. Statius Proximus frustrated the pardon which he had received of the Emperor by the vanity of his death. After this, Pompey, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Mopos, and Statias: Domitias, were deprived of the Tribuneship, not because they hated the Prince, but yet supposed so to do. Novius Priscus, for the friendship he had with se neca. & Glitius Gallus, & Annius Pollio, diffanced rather then convicted, were fent into himshment. Antonia Flacilla Priscus wife followed him: Egnatia Maximilia did the like with Gallus: at the first all their wealth, which was great, left them: then taken away both which increased their glory. Rufus Crispinus was banished also, under colour of the conspiracy, but hated of Nero because he had been Poppeas husband. Virginius Rufus great reputation was cause of his exile: for Virginius furthered the studies of youth with eloquence; and Musonius with precepts of Philosophy, Cluvidienus Quietus, Iulius Agrippa, Blitius Catulinus, Petronius Prifcus, Iulius Altinus, as it were an Army to make up a number, were banished to the Îles of the Ægean sea. But Cadicia Scevinus wife, and Cesennius Maximus were banished Italy, knowing by the punishment onely that they were called in question. Annaus Lucanus mother Atilla, though not acquitted, yet was let go without punishment. These things done Nero, and calling the fouldiers together to an Oration, he bestowed by pole upon every fouldier under bands, two thousand Nummi; and corne without price, which they hadbefore, according to the rate it was fold. Then as though he would declare some exploit done in warre, affembled the Lords of the Senate, and bestowed the ornament of triumph upon Petronius Turpilianus Consull, Cocceius Nerva, Prætor elect: Tigellinus Captain of the guard: and so extolling Tigellinus and Nerva, besides their triumphall Images in the Forum, he placed their Images also in the Palace. Hegave Nymphidius also the ornaments of a Consult, of whom I will speake a little, because now is the first occasion offered, for he also was part of the Romane miseries. He therefore fonne of a freed woman, which had abandoned and made common her comely body to Princes bond and freedmen, affirmed he was begotten by C. Cafar, because by some chance he was tall of personage, and of a sterne grimme countenance: or elfe C.C.efar being defirous of light-women, had abused his mother alfo.But Nero, the Senators affembled, and an Oration made among them, published an Edict to the people; and added the informations and confessions of the condemned; because he was often defamed in the peoples mouth, as though he had executed innocent persons for envy or feare. Neverthelesse, those which had a care of knowing the truth, did neither then doubt, but the conspiracy was begun, growne to ripenesse, and set on soote againe; as those which returned to the city after Nerus death confessed. But in the Senate, all of them according to each mans griefe abjecting themselves to flattery: Alienus Clemens bitterly inveighed against lunius Gallio, amazed with the death of his brother Seneca, and intreating for his own life, calling him enemy and parricide: untill the whole Senat shewed their dislike therein; left he should seeme to abuse publick calamities, and make them occasion of his private grudge; or draw the Prince to new crueltie, forgotten, and tempered with clemency. Then order was taken, that gifts and thanks should be rendered the gods, and peculiar honour done to the Sunne, unto whom there is an old Temple in the Cirque, in which the enterprise should have been accomplished; who disclofed by his divine power, the fecrets of the confederacy: and that the Circenfian pathime in honour of Ceres should be exhibited with more horse-races; and that the moneth of April should beare the surname of Nero: that a Temple should be built to Salus, in the place from whence Seevinus had taken the Rapier, which he himselfe had offered up in the Capitol, and wrote under it, To Jupiter the revenger. Which presently was not noted, but after that Inlius Vindex had taken armes, it was interpreted as a foretelling and presage of suture revenge. I finde in the commentaries of the Senat, that Certalis Anicius Consulelect, gave his censure, that a Temple should be built with all speed at the common charge to divine Nero, which he thought convenient, as though exceeding the highest mortall degree, he had deserved to be worshipped of men: which after was known to be a token and foretelling of his end. For the honour of the gods was never given Prince until he were dead, and gone out of this mortall life.

THE

THE SIXTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALES

OF CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. Nero consumeth much in seeking out a hidden treasure which Cesellius
Bassus dreams of. The death of Bassus. Nero contendeth on
the Stage for the prise of playing on the Harpe.

Firer that time, Fortune began to delude Nevo through his owne vanity, raking hold of a promise made by Cefellius Bassus. who being an African borne, and busse headed, built an affured hope upon the shadow of a dreame which he had in the night. And come to Rome, having

bought accesse to the Prince, declareth that there was a Cave in his ground of a huge depth, wherein was contained great quantity of gold uncoyned and unwrought in a masse, as in old time it was wont to be hidden. For there lay a wall of very heavy bricks on the one fide, and on the other, pillars standing upright: all which had layne hidden many yeers to increase the wealth of the present time. And as conjecture doth shew, Dido the Phenissian, fleeing from Tyrus, after she had built Carthage, hid that treasure there; lest the new people with over-great wealth fould become wanton and riotous: or the King of the Numidians their old enemy, for greedinesse of their gold sometime be incensed to make war against them. Whereupon Nero, not well affored of the credit of the Authour, or certainty of the businesse, nor any sent to view and learn whether a truth were reported: of himselfe encreaseth the rumour, and sendeth some to bring away all, as it were a pray already gotten. Galleys and choise vessels were appointed to helpe to hasten the matter: the people having no other speech in their mouth, but that treasure, through the credulousnesse of the discovery, though not reporting of it all alike. And it fell out by chaunce that the Quinquennale pattime, which every fift yeere being represented, was then the second time celebrated: which ministred the orators their chiefest subject to commend the Prince, saying: That the earth did not now bring forth only theuluall fruits, nor gold mingled with other metals; but a new plenty: and that the gods themselves bestowed wealth in all aboundance : and many other things with great eloquence, and no leffe fervile and base flattery they fained; being affured of easie beleise in the hearer. Riotousnesse in the meane time grew greater by vaine hope; and the old wealth was confumed, as though the other had beene offered, prodigally to waste many yeeres. Yea from thence largesses were bestowed: and the expectation of that wealth, was a cause in part of the publike poverty. For Baffus having digged his ground, and large fiields round about; avouching boldly this or that to be the promised cave: not onely souldiers followed him; but the countrey people were taken to dig and labour, at length leaving his fortilines, and marvelling that his dreames never prooved false before, and that he was never deceived untill then, rid himselfe of shame and seare by killing himselfe. Some have reported that he was imprisoned, and set at liberty againe incontinently, his goods fiff taken to the Princes treasure. In the meane time the Senate, the Quinquennale pastime drawing neere, to shadow his shame, offereth the victory of singing and withall the crowne of eloquence to colour the reproch of his finging on the Stage. But Nero, faying that he needed not the authority and favour of the Senate in that respect; as able of himselfe to make his party good with his concurrents, and little doubting but that by the uprightnesse of the Judges he should obtaine his deferved praise; fang first of all a verse on the Stage; then the people instancly craving that he would publish all his studies (for those were their words) he entereth the Theater, and observe thall the orders of the Harpers; as that being weary, yethe should not fit downe that he should not wipe of his sweat, but with the garment he wore; that no excrements should be seene at his mouth or nose. And last of all kneeling, and shewing a reverence to the assembly with his hand, expected the Judges sentence with a counterfait feare. And the City people accustomed also to approve the gestures of the players; answered him with a certaine measure and attificiall applaufe. Thou wouldft have thought they had rejoyced, and perhaps they did, for the injury of the publicke differedit. But those which from townes far of it. tayning as yet the ancient severity and custome of Italy, and from remote Provin. ces unacquarred with diffolute behaviour, came either as Embaffadours, or formi vate busines, could neither endure that fight, nor applaud any way so dishonourable a labour: but a weary with their unskilfull clapping of hands, and troubling the skilfull, were often beaten by the fouldiers, placed in thicke aray, left any moment of time should be lost by an unruned and disproportionable crie or slothfull silence. It is certaine that many horsemen which laboured to passe through the crowdand thicke multitudes were troden underfeete; and others whileft they continued day and night in their places, were stricken with deadly sicknesse. And yet if they should have beene absent their feare was greater, many openly, and more privily oblerving the names and countenances, cheerefulnes and heavynes of the lookerson, Whereupon punishments were inflicted upon the poorer fort forthwith , thehatred against Noblemen diffembled for the time, shewed it selfe within a short space after. And it is reported that Vespasian was rebuked by Phebusa Freed man, as though he had beene some what drousie with sleep, and was hardly defended by the intreaty of the better fort : and afterward escaped imminent runte by a greater chance.

II. The death of Poppæa. Banishment and death of others.

Fter the pastime was ended, Poppea died by a sudden anger of her husbands firiking her with his foot being with child. Neither do I believe that fie was poisoned, although some writers do so report, of hatred rather then truth for he was defirous of children and blinded with the love of his wife. Her body was not burneas the Roman manner was, but embalmed according to the custome offerreigne Kings, stuffed with sweet odours, and buried in the tombe of the Julians. Yet publicke funerals were folemnifed, and he himfelfe prayfed her beauty beforethe people affembled; that she had beene the mother of a divine daughter; and other gifts of fortune he commended in flead of vertues. The death of Poppea as in flew forrowfull; fo to the rememberers of her loofe life and cruelty, joyfull; Nero made more odious by giving new matter of hatred, by hindering C. Cassius from being present at her exequies; which was the first token of his ruine, not long deferred. And Silanus bare him company for no crime committed, but because Callius for his ancient riches and gravity of manners, Silanus for noblenesse of birth and modest youth, were worthy prayle above the rest. Having therefore sent an Oration to the Senate, declared that they were both to be removed from the Common-

wealth. And laid to Cassims charge, that among the images of his ancestors, he had done honour also to the image of C. Cassius, which had this written under it : To the captaines of the parts. For feeds of civill warre, and a revolt from the house of Cefars might have beene intended by those words. And left he should use the memore only of a hatefull name to ground a quarell on; he joyned L. Silanus a young man of a noble flock, rash and heady, under a pretence and colour of moving new broiles. Further, he rebuked Silanus for the fame matters, as before he had done his uncle Torquatus, as though he did already dispose of the cares of the Empire, and give his freed men charge of his accounts, requests and secretariships: things both vaine and false. For Silanns was wary and searefull, and by the death of his uncle circumfreed in his actions. After this he induced some under the name of accusers. which fallely charged Lepida, Calsius wife, Silanus aunt, of incest with her brothers fon: & with certain execrable rites of facrifices. There were drawn in as privy therto, Vulcatius Tullinus, and Marcellus Cornelius, Senators; and Calfurnius Fabatus, a gentleman of Rome: who appealing to the Prince, and disappointing the present condemnation; anon after Nero being busied about some great mischiefes were forgotten as men of small reckoning. Then banishment was decreed against Cassius and Silanus by order of Senate; and that Cafar himselfe should dispose of Lepida. Cassins was exiled to the Iland Sardinia, expecting there further order from the Lords of the Senate. Silanus conveyed to Hostia, as though he should be carried to Naxus; was after that up in a towne of Apulia, called Barium. And there, wifely bearing his most unworthy adversitie, a Centurion sent to kill him laying hands on him, perswaded him to cut his veines; who answered, that he had a minde resoluteand ready to die, but he would not permit an executioner to have the glory of the service. But the Centurion, although seeing him unarmed, yet strong, and more inclining to anger then feare, commanded his fouldiers to dispatch him. Neither did Silanus omit to relift, & lay on blows as wel as he was able with maked hands untill he fell downe overmatched with the Centurions wounds on his face as it had been in a skirmish. With no lesse courage died L. Vetus, and Sexia his mother in law, and his daughter Pollutia: hatefull to the Prince, as though by living, they should upbraid him with the murder of Rubellius Plantus, L. Vetus sonne in law. But the first discoverer of his crueltie towards them, was one Fortunatus a freed man of Vetus, who having pilfred away his mafters goods, and fearing an enquiry, began to accuse him, associating Claudius Demianus with him, who imprisoned by Vetus Proconfull of Afia for his mifdeeds, Nero delivered in recompence of the accufation. Which being understood by the party accused, and that there was no difference made betwixt him and his freed man, he departeth to Formianum, where a fecret guard of fouldiers watched him. His daughter was with him, who befides the imminent danger, through long griefe, fell, and cruell, as foon as fhe had feen the murderers of her husband Plautus, grew to further extremitie: and having cast her selfe about his neck embrued with bloud, kept still the bloud, and her apparell besprinkled with it, remaining a widow, drowned in continuall griefe, using no other foode, then was necessary to keep off death. Then her father exhorting her, she goeth to Naples. And, because she was kept from the speech of Nero, lying in waite for his going abroad, she crying aloud that it would please him to heare the innocent, and not commit one who had been his companion in the Confulship to the dispolition of a freed man, sometime with a womanish lamentation, sometimes going beyond her fexe, with anger and bitter termes, untill the Prince shewed himselfe in-Hexible, and no way moved, either with prayers or hatred he might incurre. And warneth

warneth her father to cast away hope, and resolve himselfe to the present necessity Withall newes came, that the matter should be heard before the Lords of the Se. nate, and a cruell fentence intended. Thereupon some advised him to pronounce Casar his heire for the most part of his goods, and so helpe his nephewes with the rest; which he refused, lest he should dishonour with this last servile act his life past almost in liberty: and gave all his mony among his bondmen, and if any thing could be carried away, that every one might ferve himfelfe; three beds only referved for his funerall obsequies. Then in the same chamber, with the same knifether cut their veines, and with speed each one covered with a simple garment, for mode, fty fake, they were put into bathes. The father looking on the daughter, the grand, mother on her neece, she on both, praying a-vy for a speedy end to leave the others alive, though to follow incontinently after. And fortune herein kept the order, the eldest dving first, then the next in age. And being accused after their buriall, & or. dained that they should be punished according to the ancient manner: Nero was against it, suffering them to make choise of their manner of death, for such kind of fcoffes were used after the murders committed. P. Gallus a gentleman of Rome, be. cause he was inward with Fenius, and not an enemy to Vetus, was banished: the freed man and accuser rewarded for his paines, and a place given him in the Theaters. mong the beadles of the Tribunes. And the month of May which followed Aprill and called Nero, was changed into the name of Claudius, and July into Germanicus; and Cornelius Ofitus, whose censure that was, faid that therefore the month of lune was past over, because two of the Torquatus already executed for their mildemennors had made the name of June unlucky. A yeere continued with so many lewd actions, the gods have marked and made notorious by tempefts and diseases. Campania was destroyed with boysterous stormes of winds, which did every where bear downe houses, woods and graine, and brought the violence of it to places adjoy. ning to the city. Where the rage of the pestilence spared none, although there was no manifest shew of corruption of the aire to be seene. Yet the houses were filled with dead bodies, and the waies with funerals; no sexe, no age, free from danger; as well bond, as free borne indifferently perished: amidst the lamentations of their wives and children; who whilest they sat by them and bewailed, were often burntin the same funerall fire. The death of gentlemen and Senators although indifferent with others, leffe lamented, as thought hey had by a common mortality prevented the Princes cruelty. The same yeere they mustered in Gallia Narbonensis, Africke and Afia, to supply the Legions of Illyria, which worne out either with yeeresor ficknes were freed from their oath. The Prince relieved the calamity of Lugdunum with* forty hundred thousand sesterces to recover the losses of their city: which fumme of money the Lugdunenses had before bestowed in troubled

III. The death of certaine noblemen, for desire of their wealth or other jealouses.

Suctionius, and L. Telesinus being Confuls, Antistius Sosianus banished, as I have sayd before, for making slanderons verses against Nero, understanding that pickthanks were so honoured, and the Prince so forward to murders, busse minded, and not slow in taking hold of occasions, infinuateth himselfe through conformity of fortune, into the savour of Panneness a banished man of the same place, and for his skill in the Chaldean art, supported by the friendship

of many. This Antiftius supposing that messages and consultations came not to him invaine, understandeth withall that he had mony yeerly supplied him by P. Anwise. Neither was he ignorant that Anteius through the love he bare to Agrippina was hatefull to Nero; that his wealth, as it had beene of others, might be a motive toprocure his destruction. Whereupon having intercepted Anteins letters, and Holne his writings wherein the day of his nativity and things to come, were hidden among Pammenes fecrets, and withall found those things which had beene compofed of the birth and life of Ostorius Scapula: writeth to the Primce, that he would bring him great newes touching his owne fafety, if he might obtaine a fhort intermiffion of his banishment : for Anteius and Ostorius watch for opportunity to lay hold on the foveraignty, and fearched out their owne and Cafars destinies. There upon swift vessels were sent and Sosianus brought with all speed. And his accusation divilged, Anterus and Offorius were reckoned rather among the condemned then accused; in so much that no man would have sealed Anteius Testament, if Tigellinus had not beene their warrant. Anteius was first admonished not to delay the making of his Testament: but he having drunken poison, weary of the flow working of it, by cutting his veines haftened his death. Offorius at that time was farre off in the confires of Liguria, whither a Centurion was fent to make him away with all speed. The cause of the haste proceeded of that, that oftorius being for matter of warre of good reckoning, and deferved in Britany a civicall crowne, of a mighty strength of body and skilfull in armes, drove Nero into a feare left he should assaile him; alwaiestimorous and fearfull, but then more thenever, through the conspiracy lately deteded. The Centurion therefore when he had befet all escaping places, openeth to Offering the Emperours commandement. He converted against himselfe his courage often tried against the enemy. And because his veines when they were opened yeelded but little bloud, using the hand of his slave only to take out a Rapier and hold it stedfast: he drew his right hand to him and ran himself thorow the necke. If Ishould have written of forrein wars, & deaths sustained from the common-wealth, with divers other accidents and chances: yet I should not only have seemed tedious to my felfe; but to others also: abhorring the deaths of Citizens, being dolefull and continuall, although honourable. But now a fervile patience and fo much bloud loft athome, doth trouble my minde and oppresse it with griefe. Neither doe I require any other defence or excuse of those who shall know these things, but that they hate them not, for dying fo cowardly. That was certainely the anger of the gods against the Roman State, which ought not so easily be run over with once writing, as in the overthrow of Armies, or taking of Townes. Let this prerogative be given the poflerity of worthy personages, that as how they are distinguished from the confuse multitude in the folemnitie of their funerals : fo in the delivery of their last ends, that they may receive and have a proper and peculiar memory. For within a few daies by the same violent course, Annaus Mella, Cerealis Anicius, Rusus Crispinus, and C. Petronius perished. Mella and Crispinus were Gentlemen of Rome, and equall in dignity with Senators. Cristinus once Captaine of the Guard, and honored with Confulary ornaments, and of late through the conspiracy, exiled into Sardinia, having received tidings he should die; slew himselfe. Mella borne of the same parents as Gallius and Seneca, forbare purchasing of dignities, by a preposterous ambition, to the end that a Roman Gentleman might be equalled in authoritie to the Consuls. Withall he thought it a shorter course of getting wealth, to manage the affairs of the Prince in quality of a Procurator. The same Mella was Anneus Lucanus father, which was a great credit to him: but after his death, feeking out too narrowly his goods, stirred up an accuser against him, one Fabius Romanus, one of Lucans familiar friends: which falsly fathered upon him and the father, the privity of the "Conspiracy, by counterfeiting of Lucans letters: which Nero having perused, com." manded to be carried him, gaping after his wealth. But Mella, which was then the readiest way to death, loosed his veines, having bestowed in his testament a huge summe of mony upon Tigellinus and on his son in law Cossuitanus Capito, that the rest simple stand good. Headded to his will as it were a complaint of the injustice of his death: That he died for no causes deserving punishment: but Rusus Cripsius and Anticius Cerealis enjoyed their life, being the Princes enemies. Which words were thought to have beene forged of Crispius because he was already slaine; of Cerea. Its, because he should be slain. Who not long after killed himselfe, lesse pitted then the rest: as bearing in minde that he had discovered a conspiracy to G. Cessar.

IIII. The constant death of C. Petronius, and what life he led.

F C. Petronius, a few things above recited are here againe to be repeated. He passed the day in sleepe, and the night in delightfull sports, or other asfaires of life. And as others, industry, so this man, sloth had raised to same: a riotous and waltfull spender he was, not accompted like many, which run through all, but using riot to his credit. And his words and deeds how much the freer, and shewing a certaine carelesnes; so much the more gratefully received, as savoring fomewhat of fimplicity. Notwithstanding being Proconsull of Bithynia, and anon after Confull, he shewed himselfe quicke and stout, and able to wade thorow great matters. Then falling againe to his vices, or else shew of vices, was received e. fleeming nothing pleafant ordelightfull, unlesse Petronius had approved it. Therupon grew Tigellinus malice against him, as against a concurrent, or one more skilfull in pleasure then himselse, whetting Neroes cruelty (unto which all other lusts gave place) against him: objecting the friendship he had with Scevinus, corrupting a flave to be his accuser: taking from him all meanes of defence, and the greatest part of his family drawn into prison. By chance about that time Casar went to Campania, and Petronius gone as farre as Cumas, was there stayed; and notable any longer to indure the lingring betweene hope, or feare, yet did not rashlykill himselfe, but cutting his veines, and binding them up aspleased him, opened them againe, and talked with his friends, though not of any ferious matter, or worthy to purchase the glory of constancy: but gave eare to those which discoursed with him, yet nothing of the immortality of the foule, or oppining of wife men, but of light verses, and easie songs. On some of his slaves he bestowed gifts & on some stripes. He went sometimes abroad, and gave himselfeto sleepe, that although his death was constrayned, yet it should be like a casuall death. Neither in his Testament (as most men were wont to doe) did he flatter Nero or Tigellinus or any other favorite, but wrote downe the uncleane life of the Prince, underfained names of stale calamities abused against nature and of women, with the strangenesse of the abuse of either of them; and sealed up, sent it to Nero, & brake his seale, least afterward it might ferve to breed danger to others. And Nero doubting how the invention of his night pleasures should come to light, Silia by being the wife of a Senator not unknowen, and abused in all his licentious lusts, and very familiar with Petronius, came to his minde, whom he thrust into banishment, as not having kept secret those things she had seen and suffered: moved thereto by his own particular harred ruther then just occasion. He delivered Numicius Thermus once Pretor, to Tigellinus privie harred, because Thermus freed man had laid some criminall matter to Tigellinus charge, which he should pay for by torment of torture, and his master by undeserved death.

V. Neroes hatred against Thraseas Pætus, and Bareas Soranus.

O many worthy men being murdered in the end Nero coveted to destroy verthe it felf, by killing Bareas Soranus and Thraseas Patus, of old enemie to both . and new occasions rising against Thraseas, because he went out of the Senate, as I have already faid, when Agrippinaes cause was debated; and because that in the naftime of youth called Juvenales, he shewed not so acceptable indeavour as was expected: weh grudge pierced the deeplier, because the same Thrasea at Padua where hewis born in the Cestian playes, instituted by Antenor the Trojan, sangin tragicallattire. The day also that Antistius the Pretor was condemned for outrages against Nero, he gave a milder sentence, and obtained it: and when the honour of the gods was ordained for Poppea, absent of set purpose, was not at the convoy of the finerall. Which things Capito Cossularus did not suffer to be forgotten, besides his over-readie inclination to naughtines, enemy to Thrasea, because that by his authoritie, countenancing the deputies of Cilicia, he loft his cause, when they pursued Ca-"puto for using injustice and extortion in his office. He objected farther: That in the "beginning of the yeer Thrasea did avoid the oath, which was not present with the "rettat the offering up of vows, although he were one of the fifteen Priests, vet he "never offred facrifice for the health of the Prince, or heavenly voice, that hereto-"fore he hath been often prefent, & diligent, shewing himfelf a favorer, or an adver-"fary to the ordinary confultations of the Lords of the Senat, but hath not once en-"tered the Curia this three yeares: and very lately when every man ran who first "might, to punish Silinus & Vetus, he attended rather on his clients private busines: "that was now a revolting, and a faction, and if many durft do the like, it would "breed to a war. As in times past (faid he) the city desirous of garboile, spake of "C.Cafar, and M.Cato, so now of thee o Nero and Thrasea, and hath his adherents or "rather followers, we imitating, though not his obstinacy of opinions, yet his beha-"viour and countenance, severe and sterne, do cast thy lasciviousnes in thy teeth. "This man only is carelesse of thy health, no way procuring thy honor, he little re-"gardeth the Princes prosperous successes. What, is he not filled with thy griefes, "and forrows? It proceedeth from the felf fame minde not to believe Poppaato be "a goddesse, and not sweare to observe the ordinances of Augustus and sulius of fa-"mous memory. He despiseth holy things, abrogateth laws. The diurnals of the "people of Rome are curiously read in the provinces and camp, that it might be "known what Thr.sea hath not done. Either let us condescend to his ordinances if "they be better: or let the captain and author be taken away from defires of novel-"ties. This feet brought forth the Tuberones and Favoniaus, unpleasing names to "the ancient common-wealth. That they may overthrow the state, they pretend "liberty: but if they should overthrow it, they will give an assault to overthrow li-"berty likewife. In vain thou hast extinguished Cassius, if thou wilt suffer the follow-"ersof Brutus to grow and take head. In fine, write thou nothing of Thrasea; leave us "the Senat arbitrator of the cause. Nero extolleth Cossuitanus stoutnesse, whet on with choler, and joyneth with him Marcellus Eprius, of a quick and lively eloquence As for Barea Soranus, Offerius Sabinus, a Roman gentleman had required he might accuse him for matter committed in the Proconfulship of Asia: in which he augmented the displeasure the Prince bare him for injustice and industry: and because he had been very carefull in opening the haven to the Ephefians; and had left unpunished the violence of the city Pergamena, which hindering Acratus Cafars freed man to carry away their images and pictures. But the fault indeed laid to his charge, was his friendship with Plautus, and ambition in alluring the province to new hopes, The time chosen to condemne him, was, when Tiridates came to take the kingdome of Armenia; that domesticall wickednesse might be obscured and hidden with the rumours of the strangers arriving; or else that he might shew the greatnesse of an Emperour by the death of worthy men, as a royall act. Whereupon all the city being run out to receive the Prince, and behold the King, Thrasea forbidden to goto meet him, lost not courage therefore; but wrote to Nero, demanding his accusation ons, boldly affirming that he would purge himself, if he might have knowledgeof the crimes, and licence to cleare them. These writings Nero received very greedly, in hope that Thrasea being terrified and dejected, would have written somewhat founding to the magnificence and excellency of the Prince, and discredit of his own reputation: which falling out otherwife, fearing the countenance, and counge, and liberty of the innocent, commanded the Lords of the Senat to be affembled Then Thrasea consulted with his his friends, whether he should adventure his pur. gation, or let it passe. Those which thought it best he should enter into the Senat house, said, they were affured of his constancy, and that he would say nothing but "what should augment his glory. Cowardly and timerous men did shut themselves "in secret places at the time of their death. The people should see a man offering "himselfe to death; the Senate should heare words more then humane, as it were " of some divine power, that Nero himself might also be moved with the miracle: "but if his crueltie should continue, certes the memory of an honorable death "fhould be diftinguished with posterity from the cowardlines of such as perished "with filence. Contrariwife, fuch as thought it convenient to expect within doors "what might happen, faid the same of Thrasea; but yet that skoffes and injuries "were at hand: he should therefore withdraw his eares from checks and reprochful "speeches: not only Cossuitanus and Eprius are prompt to naughtinesse: somethere "are which peradventure would let their hand walk and strike, through the cruel-"tie of Augustus: yea the good do the like for fear. That he would rather deliver "the Senate whom he had alwayes honoured, of the infamie of fo great a villanie: "and leave it doubtfull, what, having feen Thrasea, the Lords of the Senate would "determine. That Nero should be assumed of his wickednes, was to trouble himself "with a vain hope: and that it was much more to be feared, less he should grow "cruell against his wife, his family, and the rest of his children. Therefore that un-"defiled and uncorrupted, whose steps and studies he had imitated in his life, their "also he should follow in the honour of his death. There was present at this confultation Rusticus Arulenus, Tribune of the people, a hot young man, who for desire of praise, offered to oppose himselse to the decree of Senate. Thrasea coold his "courage: left he should begin a vain enterprise unprofitable to the criminall, and "dangerous to the opposer. As for himselse he had ended his yeares, and that he "ought not for fake the manner of his life fo many yeares continued: but he entred "now into offices, and was in his choife to accept or refuse such as are behinde. That "he should weigh well and ponder with himself what course of governing he should denter into, of taking charge in the common-wealth in fuch a time as this. Wheather it were fit for him to come into the Senate, or not, he would have it restinates own consideration.

VI. Thraseas accusation and death.

He next day two armed Pretorian cohorts, befet the temple of Venus the mother: the waies to the Senat a company of gownd-men had filled, not hiding their weapons: and a thick array of fouldiers dispersed in the place of assem-"blies and Temples; amidft whose looks and threats the Senatours went into the "court, where the Princes oration was heard by his Quæstors mouth. None noted "by name, he blamed the Senators; That they neglected publike duties, and that by their example the gentlemen of Rome were become lazie. For what marvell "wasit, if from Provinces far off they came not to Rome, when as the most part "having obtained the Confulship and priestly dignities, gave themselves rather to naffe the time with all pleasures in their gardens? Which the accusers took hold of asit were of a weapon. And Confutianus leading the dance, and Marcellus with great-"er vehemency: Cried that this touched the whole state, that through the disobe-"dience of the inferiours, the lenity of the commander was made leffer. The Lords "of the Senat until that day had been too milde in fuffering Thrafea to for fake their "fide, his fonne in law Helvidius Prifcus in the fame madnes, Paconius Agrippinus, "heire of his fathers hatred against Princes, and Curtius Montanus composing dete-"stable verses to scoffe and abuse men without punishment. He found a lack of a "Consull in the Senat, of a Priest in vows, in an oath a Citizen: but against the ordi-"nances and ceremonies of our ancestors, Thrasea had openly put on the person of "attaitor, and an enemy. Finally, that he should come and play the Senator, and "as he was wout, protect the backbiters of the Prince, and give his censure what he "would have amended or changed: for they could more eafily endure one finding "fault with all things, then endure his silence now, condemning all things. Doth "peace throughout the world displease him, or victories without losse of the ar-"mies? That they would not fuffer him have the defire of his overthwart ambition, "who grieved at the common prosperity, thought the place of assemblies, the The-"ater, and Temples, folitary places, and threatned his own banishment. These "things unto him feemed not decrees, not magistrates: nor this the city of Rome: "that he would abandon, and separate his life from that city, whose love in times past, and now whose sight he had cast off. When with these and the like speeches Marcellus had inveighed, grim and threatning, in voice, countenance and eies kindled with rage: not that known, and by often use of dangers, usuall heavines, but anew and a deeper feare feifed the Lords of the Senat, beholding the hands and weapons of the fouldiers. Besides that, the reverent representation of Thrasea came to their imagination: and some there are which had compassion that Helvidiss should suffer punishment in regard of harmlesse affinity. What was objected against Agrippinus, but the lamentable fortune of his father? When as he innocent allo, was ruined by Tiberius cruelty. Montanus a vertuous young man was banished, because he made shew of his wit, though not with any diffamatory verses.

VII. Soranus daughters Oration in Senate, and his death.

T N the meane feafon Oftorius Sabinus, Soranus accuser, cometh in, and beginner with his friendship had with Rubellius Plantus: and that being Proconsull of Asia. he carried himself rather as fitting his own nobility, then the common good, by entertaining and nourishing sedition among the citizens. These were stale matters. but as if they were fresh he joyned the daughter to the fathers danger, alleadging that she had bestowed money upon Magicians. So it was indeed, through the love and affection Servilia (fo was she called) bare her father, and undiscretion of age, yet the confulted of nothing but of the fafety of their house, or whether Neroes wrath would be pacified, or the Senators hearing of the cause, would be to the prejudice of her father. She was called into the Senate, and stood one from the other before the Consuls tribunall, the father very aged, the daughter under twenty yeares. 2 widow, and defolate, her husband Annius Pollio of late banished; and not so much as looking towards her father, whose dangers she imagined she had increased. Then the accuser asking her whether she had fold her dowrie ornaments, and taken her jewell from her neck, to get money to practife magicall superstitions? first prostrating herselfe on the ground, with a long silence and weeping, then imbracing the altars, said: I have not called upon any wicked gods, I have made no divelifi invocations, nor any thing else by my unhappy prayers, then that this myvery good father, thou, O Casar, and you Lords of the Senat, would fave alive. So I have given my jewels and apparell, and ornaments of my dignity, even as I would have done my bloud and life, if they had demanded it. Let these men heretosoreumo me unknown, look what names they carry, what arts they practife: I madeno mention of the Prince, unlesse it were among the gods. Yet my most unfortunate father knoweth it not : if it be an offence, I alone have offended. Soranus tookthe words out of her mouth as the was yet speaking and cried, that the went not with him into the Province: for herage Plantus could not know her; she was not confederate with her husbands crimes; the was guilty onely of over-great and tender love: and therefore what soever should fort to his lor, he befought them that they would separate his cause from hers; withall, hastened to cast himself in the armesof his daughter which came to meet him, if the Serjeants putting themselves between them had not hindered both. By and by the witnesses were heard; and how much pity the cruelty of the accuser had moved, so much anger P. Egnatius the witnesse stirred. This man being a client of Soranus, and then hired to oppresse his friend, pretended gravity of the Stoicall feet, in demeanour and countenance to represent the patterne of honest exercises, but in minde was traiterous, and deceirfull, covering avarice, and a lewd minde: which being diff overed, and made known by money, hath taught us to beware of such, as under colour of liberall sciences are falle in friendship: no lesse then of those which are notoriously noted for vice and treacherous dealing. The fame day was shewed a notable example by Cassius Asclepiodotus, who for wealth, being the chiefest among the Bithynians, used the same tokens of kindnesse towards Soranus in his adversity, as before he had donein time of prosperity: for which cause being deprived of all his goods and cast intobanishment, by the justice of the gods which lay before us a prefident as well of good as of bad. Thrases, Soranus, and Servilia had their choice given them what death they would have. Helvidius and Paconins were banished Italy. Montanus was granted to his father, with condition that he should beare no charge in the commonwealth. To

the accusers Eprins and Coffutianus, to each were given * 5. millions of sesterces, to *About 39062 che accurets Eprime and thousand *, and the ornaments of a Questor. Then toward the pound. 10. shit.

Offerius 12. hundred thousand *, and the ornaments of a Questor. Then toward the pound. 10. shit.

About 9375. evening, the Consuls Questor was sent to Thrasea, being then in his gardens, visited pound. with a great company of noblemen and women, very attentively hearing the do-Aur Demetrius, one of the Cynicall fect, of whom as it was to be conjectured by his countenance, and heard if they spake any thing loud, he demanded fundry questions of the nature of the foul, and of the separation of the spirit from the body, untill Domitius Cacilianus, one of his familiarest friends came, and declared what the Lords of the Senate had decreed. Those which were present bewailing and moaning Thrasea with all speed were exhorted to depart, lest their lot should betopartake the dangers of a condemned person, and perswadeth his wife Arria. who would have died with him, to follow the example of her mother Arria, to keep herfelf alive, and not bereave their daughter of them both, and of her onely hav and support. From thence he went to his gallery, where the Questor found him, rather cheerefull then fad, because he had understood that Helvidius his sonne inlaw was only banished Italy. Then having received the order of the Senate: he brought Helvidius and Demetrius into a chamber, and stretching out the veines of both his armes, after he saw the bloud gushout, sprinkling it on the ground, and calling the Questor nearer, said : Let us sacrifice to Jupiter the deliverer. Behold, "young man, yet the gods preserve thee from the like luck: neverthelesse thou art "born in those times in which it is expedient to strengthen thy minde with con-"flant examples: then the flow going out of the bloud, caufing grievous torments, turning to Demetrius *

The rest of the Latine is lost.

FINIS.

THE Y 3

THE DESCRIPTION OF

GERMANIE: AND CV-

STOMES OF THE PEOPLE, BY

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

LL Germany is divided from the Galli, the Rhætians, and Pannonians, with two rivers, Rhene and Danubius; from the Sarmatians and Dacians by mutuall fear of one the other, or high hills. The reft the Ocean dothen viron, compaffing broad and wide gulphs, and large and fpacious Ilands; the people and Kings of which hath been flate discovered by w.r. The river of Rhene having his beginning on top of the inacceffible steep Rhætian Alps, and winding somewhat so wards the straight form the top of the hill Abert, falleth into the north Ocean. Danubius springing from the top of the hill Abert, and the straight form the powids of the straight of the straight form the straight form the Rousids.

the top of the inacceffible freep Rhætian Alps, and winding somewhat to wardsthe West, falleth into the north Ocean. Danubius springing from the top of the hill Ab. noba, not so sleep, paffing by many nations, falleth by fix chanels into the Portick fea: the feventh is loft in the marishes. I may think that the Germans are home-bred and the naturall people of their country, and not mixed with others, coming from other places; because such as in times past sought new habitations, came by seaand not by land: and that huge and spatious Ocean, & as I may term it, different from the other, is feldome travelled by our men. For befides the danger of the rough and unknownsea; who (unles it were his native soil) would leave Asia, or Africk, or Italy, and plant himselfin Germany? Being a country of it selfrude, and the aire unpleasant and rough, to look on ilfavoured; not manured nor husbanded. They give it out as a high point in old verses (web is the only way they maintain the memory of things, as their Annales) that the god Tuifco, fon of the earth, and his fon Mannus, were their first founders and beginners. To Mannus they affigue three sons, we ofe names the Ingavones took, a nation neare the Ocean: the Istavoners, and Herminones lying between them both. But some through a licence which antiquity doth give, affirm that the King had moe sonnes, from which moe sonnes took their names; as the Marsi, Gambrivi, Suevi, Vandali, all true and ancient names. As for the name Germany, it is a new name lately coyned: for those which first passed the river of Rhene and drove out the Gallois, were now called Tungri, now Germany: fo the name of one people, not of the whole nation, growing great by little and little: as they were all at the first called for fear, as best liked the Conqueror, so at last, Germans, being a name of their own invention. And they recorded that Hercules came amongst them of all that ever was the valiantest person. They go singing to the wars. And have certain verses by singing of which, calling it Barditus, they incourage their people, and by the same song foretell the fortune of the suture battel: for they both strike a feare into others, and are themselves striken with seare, according to the measure and tune of the battel: feeming rather an harmony of valour then voices; and do affect principally a certain roughnes of the voice, and a broken confuse murmure, by putting their targets before their mouthes, to the end their voice by the reverberation might found bigger and fuller. Yea some are of opinion, that Vly ses in his long and fabulous wandring, being brought to this Ocean, came into Germany, and built the town Asciburgium upon the banke of Rhene, and inhabited at this day, which he called a manager. And that an altar consecrated to Vly ses harh been found in the same place, with his fathers name Laërtes: and there are yet monuments extant, and certain tombes inscribed with Greek letters, in the confines of Germany and Rhætia: which I intend not to confirme by reasons, or confute: and therefore I leave it to every mans judgement to beleeve or not. For mine own part I hold with them, which think that the people of Germanie, not changed and altered by marrying with other nations, have continued the true and pure nation like unto none but themselves. And therefore you see they have all one feature and making, though they be infinite in number: firie and gray eyes, yellow haire, great bodies, and ftrong at a push onely. Travell and pain they cannot endure: nor verthirst nor hear; but to hunger and cold the aire and the countrey hath enured them. The foile, although differing fomewhat in kinde, yet generally is wilde with woods, or unpleasant and il-savoured with marishes: moist towards Gallia: more windie towards Noricum and Pannony: batfull enough; but bad for fruit-bearingtrees: cattell plenty, but for the most part harlatrie runts: their kine and labouring beaft hath no beauty in him: all their joy is in plenty of them: and therein confifteth their wealth, and the wealth they chiefly defire. Silver and gold whether the angry or favourable gods have denied them, I doubt. Neither will I affirm that there is no vein in Germany which yeeldeth filver and gold: for who hath fought it? the possession of these metalls or use, they do not greatly affect. Yet vessels of plate you may fee among them presented to their Embassadours and Princes; but as smallvaccounted of, as if they were of earth: although the borderers for commoditie of traffick, like gold and filver well; and do acknowledge and choose some coin, bearing our images. Those which dwell further in the land, goe more simple to work. and according to the old manner, have no buying and felling, but by exchange of commodities. The older the money and longest known, the better liked, as that which is toothed about like a fawe: or hath the picture of a charriot drawn with two horses. They defire rather silver then gold: not for any liking unto it; but because that, being in smaller money, it is easlier put away in buying and selling of fmall wares. Iron they have little among them, as by their weapons it may be gathered. Few of them use swords or great lances: but carry Javelines, or as they term them Frameas, with a narrow and short iron, but so sharp and handsome, that as occasion serveth, with the same weapon they cau fight both at hand, and afarre off: and the horfman is contented with a shield and Framea. The footmen use weapons, tothrow one man a great many, and that a great way off: naked, or covered with alight calfock. Handfomnes and neatnes in attire they do not brag of, but trim and diffinguish their shields onely with varietie of colours. Brigantine or coat of fence few have. Salet or head piece scarce any one useth. Their horses are neither beautifull to the eye, nor fwift, nor managed to the carriere according to our fashion; but to go on ftraight, or turn on the right hand so close and round, that not one drags behinde another. All things well considered, their greatest strength consisteth of footmen: and therefore in their fight they mingle the one with the other; the footmen which are a chosen number out of the youth, and placed before the battel, neither going too hastily before the horsemen, nor drailing after, but marching in proportionable measure with them. There is a certain number set down, that is, of every township or borough an hundred, for so they term themselves: and that which was but a number at the first, is now a name and an honour. Their battels be pointed: to give ground, fo as they charge lustily after, they think rather a point

a point of good policie then cowardlines. The bodies of their fouldiers they carry away, even in doubtfull battels: to abandon his shield is the chiefest difgrace and offence: an ignominious person is barred from their sacrifices, and from their affemblies; and many which have fled from battels, have for shame hanged themselves. Their Kings they choose by noblenes of birth, and their Captains by valour. The Kings power is restrained, and not to do what he listeth; and their Captains if they be forward in fight, and in the point of the battel, are admired and reverenced rather for their example, then commandery. Power to punish, to imprison or beat none have but Prieits: yet not that as a punishment, or at the Captains commandment: but as it were by the commandment of God, whom they believe doth assist warriors in battels; and carry before them certain images, and monuments taken out of the woods. And which is the chiefest encouragement of all, they make not their pointed battel at hap hazard, of all persons as they come; but of their family and friends, and kinsfolk, with their children not farre of, from whence they may heare the howling of their wives, and crying of their children: which are to all, facred witnesses of their valour, and best commenders. They go when they are hurt to their mothers and wives; which are not afeard to number or fuck their wounds; and carry the fouldiers meat, and incourage them to stand to it: It is reported that some battels, even ready as it were to be lost, and discomfited, have been by the womens earnest prayers, exposing their bodies to the danger, and by shewing how neareat hand their captivity was, recovered again: which in regard of their wives is a greater griefe and heart-break unto them; in somuch that those cities are more straightly bound, which amongst other hostages have delivered also noble mens daughters: for they dream that they have in them I know not whatholinesse and foresight of things, which maketh them regard their counsell, and give credit to their oracle. Under Vespasian of famous memory, we have seen Velledaa long time, and with many nations counted as some divine thing: snd in times past did adore Aurinia, and many others, not of flattery, or as though they would have made them goddesses.

II. Their religion and policie.

F all the gods, they adore especially Mercurie: unto whom they think it lawfull certain dayes, to offer men in facrifice: but Hercules and Mars they pacifie with beasts, lawfully killed to that use: and some of the Suevianssa-crifice to Isis. What reason they have to use that strange facrifice I know not: unlessed in be that the image of that goddessed being sashioned in form of that kinded boat, doth declare that their religion hath been brought them from a strange countrey. They think it a matter ill beseeming the greatnes of the gods, to inclose them within walls, or paint them in mansshape. They consecrate woods and forests; which secret places they call by the names of gods: which they see only by apprehension and reverence.

Soothfaying and lots they observe above all others. Their custome in casting of lots is without fraud: for they cut a branch from a fruit bearing tree, into many pieces; and diffinguished with severall marks, cast them upon a white garment, at a venture: then if the matter belong to a communalty, the Priest; if to a private person, the master of the house having prayed the gods, and looking up to the heaven, taketh up every of them three times: and interpreteth them according to their marks. If the lots fall contrary to their mindes, they consult no more that day, touching

the same matter. But if they do, yet they will trie what further credit there is in Soothfaying: for they are not ignorant in this countrey of observing the singing of hirds, and their flying, consulting with their gods of both. And it is a thing peculiarunto that countrey to trie the prefages and warnings of horses, which are bred and maintained in those woods and forrests, white, unbacked, or unlabored: which homeffed and put to a facred charriot, the Priest, King, or Prince of the city do follow. observing their noise and neying. Of all presages this is of greatest credit with the Priefts, Noblemen, and common people: thinking themselves ministers of the gods; and the horses privie to their secrets. They have another observation among them, by which they fearch out the event of great and weighty battels; which is this. They get some one, how they can, of that nation with whom the warreshall he, and take another choise man of their own, and arme them, each according to hisfalhion, and so trie their valour: and by that prejudice, conjecture on whose fide the victory shall fall. In small matters, the Princes themselves determine of them: but if they be of importance, they all in generall confult: but yet fo, that those things whose determination belong to the people, are concluded before the Prince. And unlesse some casuall or sudden accident fall out, they make their assemblies certain dwes, either in the first quarter or full moon; thinking that to be the luckiest time tobegin their works. The number of dayes they reckon not, as we do, but of nights; and in them make their appointments and fummonces to appear, thinking that the day is governed by the night. Their liberty is cause that they meet not together, nor as they are commanded, but spend two or three dayes in expecting one another. They fit armed as they come, and the Prieft, who hath authority to punish, commandeth filence. Then the King or Prince, or every man according to his age, nobility and renown of warre, or as he is eloquent, beginneth to speak. Using rather perswasson then authority of commanding. If their opinion mislike them, they reject it with a murmuring noise: if it liked, they shake their javelins: but the most honourable manner of liking is to approve it by their weapons. It is lawfull in their councel to accuse and arraigne in criminall causes. Punishments are distinguihed by the offence: traitors and fugitives they hang on trees, the cowardly and unwarlike, and fuch as were unnaturally lewd of their bodies, they did drown in mud and marishes, and cover them with hurdles. The drift of that diversitie of punishmentswas, to declare that it was expedient to shew offences as they were, in punifling, but hide hainous crimes. But in leffer trespasses, according to the quality of the punishments, the parties convicted, are fined in some number of horses, or other cattell, whereof part goeth to the King, or city, part to the party damnified, or to his kindred. In the fame counfels they choose rulers, to administer justice in towns and villages: which have an hundred chosen out of the people, to accompanie them, which are as their counsell and authoritie. They consult neither of publike norprivate affairs but armed: but yet it is not the manner for any to take weapons, unlesse he have been judged before by the city able to use them: and then in the councell, either one of the governours, or his father, or fome one of his kindred, doth honour the young man with a shield and a Framea. This is with them a gown; this is the first honor given to young men: before reputed a part of their particular house, but from thence forward, of the common-wealth. High nobility, or merit of predecessors, maketh their children although they be but young, worthy of dignity, which affociate themselves to the stronger, and long tried: and take it for no difgrace, to be feen among their followers: among which there be likewife degrees according to his discretion of whose traine they be. And there is a great emulation among 262 among the followers who should be in greatest favour with his Prince: and amongs the Princes, who should have the greatest number following him, and most couragious. This is their honor, this is their strength, to be guarded alwaies with a company of choice youth: which is a credit and reputation, in peace, and in war a defence. And it is not only an honour and glory in ones own nation to have a gallant number, and a valiant, in his train, but is also a matter of reputation with cities adjoyning: as men fought unto by Embassadors: and presented with gifts: and do oftentimes by their onely fame end warres. When they come to joyne battel, it is a dishonour to the Prince to be overcome in valour: and to his followers, not to go as far in proweffe as their Prince. Now to returnalive from that battel, in which his Prince is flain is a perpetuall infamie and reproch: being the principallest part of their oath, to defend and maintaine him, and ascribe their own exploits to his glory and honour, Princes fight for victorie; the followers for the Prince. If the citie wherein they are borne, grow lazie with a long peace, and idlenes; most of the young noblemen goe of their own will to those nations, wherein there is warres: because that nation disliketh rest and quietnesse: as winning greater renown in doubtfull and hazar. dous attempts; and notable to entertain fo great number of followers, but by vio. lence and warre: fometimes by the liberalitie of their Prince getting that horse of fervice, and bloudy and conquering fword. Their banquets are large, but rude diet, infleed of pay: but matter to minister liberality, cometh by warre and repine. To manure the ground, or expect the feafon, thou canft not fo eafily perswade them; as to provoke the enemie, and deserve wounds: to get that with the sweat of their browes, which thou mayest win by the losse of thy bloud, they hold as an idle and stothfull part. When they are not busied in the wars, they give not themselves much to hunting: but spend more of their time in idlenes, as a people much given to sleep and feed. When the valiantest and warlikest are idle, they commit the care of house hold affairs and tillage, to women and old men, and to the weakest of their family; and do themselves grow heavy and lazie: a strange diversitie of disposition, that the same men should so much love sloath, and hate quietnesse. The custome is incities to bestow by pole upon the Princes, either of their cattell or graine, which is received as an honour, yet supplieth their wants. But above all, they are exceeding glad if any thing be presented them by neighbour nations, which do send sometimes in particular, sometimes in common, as choise horses, great weapons, furniture for horse, and chaines; and now we have taught them also to receive money. It is wellknown that the Germans dwellin no cities, nor will not suffer their houses to joine together, but a funder, the one from the other, as they liked best of their fourtains, fields or wood. They build not their villages as we do, one house close to another: but every man leaveth a space about his house, either as a remedie against misfortunes of fire, or by unskilfulnesse in building. Parget and mortar they use not, nor tiles: and use to all buildings unsquared and unwrought timber, without any beautie or delight, but to daube some places very diligently with such a clearcand shining earth, that it resembleth a picture, or draught of colours. It is a fashion amongft them to dig deepe caves under ground, and cover them over with dung, as a fuccour in the winter, and garner for their grain, tempering the rigour of the cold by fuch places: as if at any time the enemie come upon them, he torrageth all open places, but hidden under ground, are either not found, or els are faved, because they are driven to feek them. They all weare a kinde of cassock called fagum, clasped, or for want of one, fastned with a thorne, and having no other garment, but naked lie all day in the harth, or by the fire. The richer fort are distinguished from

the others by their garments, which are not large and wide as the Sarmates and Parthians use to weare them, but strait and shewing the proportion of every part of thebody. Befides, they weare certaine pelts made of beafts skins; those neare the Rhene-bank carelefly; but those which are farther off more curiously, as never trimming themselves with far fet marchandise. They make choise of certain beafts, and here and there speck their skins with spots: and the like with the skins of beasts taken in the farthest Ocean, or unknown sea. The man and womans attire differethin nothing, faving that the women often use linnen garments trimmed and interlaced with purple: and the upper parts of their bodies without fleeves, their armes bare, and their bosome naked and uncovered. Yet matrimonie is severely. keptamong them, the thing most commendable of all their manner of life: for of all barbarous people, they alone content themselves, every man with one wife, except some very few: which not for unruly lust, but for their nobilitie are sued unto for fundry marriages. The wife gives not a dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. Their parents and neare kinfmen are present, when they give any gifts the one to the other: which are not exquisite as to daintie dames, or for to beautific and trimme the new married wife; but oxen, and a horse with furniture, and a shield with a fword, and lance. With these gifts the wife is taken, and she also doth bring herhusband some armes: this is the greatest bond: these are the secret ceremonies: these they think to be the gods of marriage. And lest the woman should think herself exempt and free from bonds of vertue, or hazards of war, in the very beginnings and first speech of marriage, she is put in minde, that she cometh as a companion of his labours and dangers: and that she shall suffer and venture the same in peace and warre that he doth: that is the fignification and construction of the oven voked, of the horse with bridle and furniture, this the meaning of the weaponsand armes given on one fide and the other: thus she must live, thus she must die: the receiveth that which the must deliver unviolated and pure to her children, which their daughters in law do receive as worthy things, and yeeld againe to their nephewes. They live therefore in m ft strait chastitie, uncorrupted with the allurements of shewes and specticles, or provocations in banquetting. As well men as women are ignorant of the secrets of learning. Adulterie is seldome committed in so populous a nation, and the punishment for it incontinently inflided, as best liketh the husband: who having cut her haire, turneth her naked out of his house in the presence of her kinsfolks, and driveth and beateth her throughout all the town: no pardon given to her that hath violated her chastitie: neither for her beauty, nor age, nor wealth, can she ever after finde another husband. No man lugheth at vices: neither when any is corrupted, or doth corrupt do they fay, it is the time. Yet there is one thing more commendable in those cities, that onely virgins do marry, and that only once, and the man the like, contracting with the hope and defire of one wife. As they have but one body, one life; so they take but one husband: that they might have no other thoughts, nor farther defires, nor love him asso deserving it, but because of matrimony. To prescribe a certaine number of children, or kill any of their neare kindred, they count it a hainous crime. Good manners are of greater authoritie and force among them, then elsewhere good lawes. They grow to have these great lims and bodies which we marvell at, naked and flovenly in every house. Every mother nurseth her owne children with her owne breafts, and fend them not to nurses or other women. Thou shalt not know the Lord from the flave, by any note of daintie and nice education: for they live amongst the same cattell, and on the same ground, untill age doth distinguish the free-borne, and his valour make him known. Young men gave not themselves too timely to company with women; and therefore decay not fo foone: neither are maides haftened to marrie: they are of the same yeares, of like growth: they are matched with such as are of like strength; and the children expresse and shew the ftrength of their parents. Sifters children are as much fet by in their uncles house as in their fathers. Some are of opinion, that this bond of bloud is the straitest and holieft, and most of all required, in taking of hostages: as those which are of a more constant minde, and in the family the greatest part: yet every mans children succeed as heires: and testament they make none at all. If there be no children to succeed the next in degree are brothers, uncles by the fathers fide and by the mothers. The more kindred, the greater affinitie, the more an old man is honoured: and to be without children, is of no reputation. They must as well become enemy to their fathers enemies or kinsmens, as friend to their friends. Their hatred is not implacable: for mans flaughter it felf is fatisfied and redeemed with a certain number of beafts, which contenteth the whole family, and is profitable for the common good for where libertie is, there private enmities are dangerous.

111. Their domesticall life and behaviour.

Reater hospitality and entertainment is no where more bountifull then there. Theing a curied deed to barre any man his house: and not give him meate and drink according to his abilitié. When all is spent, the last hoste will bea guide and companion unto him to the next house uninvited: for that skilleth not; but are received with like curtesie: in respect of hospitalitie making no difference whether he be of acquaintance or not. If any thing be demanded of him whichis going away, the manner is to grant it; and he may with like facilitie aske again, Gitts are things which please them well: but those which give them doe not think they doe you a benefit therein, and those which receive them not bound or beholden for them. They entertaine their guests courteously: immediatly after they rife (which for the most part is very late and the day well spent) they wash, and most commonly in warme water, as having long winters: and when they have walked, they fall to eat, every man his stool and his messe to himself: then they fall to their bufinesse; and as oft to banquet and make good cheere all armed. To fit a tiplinga day and a night is no disgrace to any. There arise many quarels (as commonly it happeneth where drunkards meet) which feldome end with brawling and injurious tearms, but often with murder and hurt. In their bankets they confult of peace and warre, make atonements betwixt fuch as are at debate, make marriages, and choose their Princes: as a time when the minde is never more open to plaine dealing; or more stirred up to great attempts. The people being neither crastie nor subtile, through the libertie of the place doth then most discover the secrets of his break Every mans minde then being open and discovered, the next day, they waigh and examine it; with a regard had to both the times. They deliberate when they cannot dissemble; and resolve when they cannot erre. Their drink is a liquour made of barley and corn, corrupted into the likenes of wine. But those which dwell neare the bank of Rhene, buy wine: their meats are simple; wilde apples, fresh venifon, or curds or creame: they drive away hunger without any folemne fervice, or dainties: but against thirst they use nor the like temperance. If thou wilt please their humour in drunkennesse, in giving them what they aske: they will be as eafily overcome with vices as armes. They have but one and the fame kinde of pa-

fime in every affembly. Young men, which know the foort cast themselves naked. and leap betweene fwords and lances. Practife bred the art of doing it, and Art the grace; yet neither for gaine nor recompense: albeit the reward of bold and rafitoies is the delight of the beholder. And (which thou wouldest marvell at) freshand fasting, they play at dice, as a matter of serious and earnest businesse. with fuch a rash desire of winning & loosing, that when al else is lost, they lay their liberty and body upon the last throw : and he who is overcome, entereth a voluntary fervitude: and although he be younger and stronger; yet suffereth himselfe to be bound and fold. Such is their obstinacy in a bad matter; which they call faith: but flaves of this condition they make away by merchandife, to rid themselves of the hame of fuch a victory. Their other flaves they employ not in certaine affaires of house, as we do ours; but every one governeth his owne house and houshold. The Lordenjoyneth him to pay a certaine of corne, or cattell, or apparell, as he doth his remaint, which the bondflave performeth & no more: other duties of house belong to the wife and children. It is a rare matter to beat their flaves, or over-labor or immison them: yet they are wont to kill them; not by discipline & severity, but carried away with sudden anger, as against an enemy, saving that it is unpunished. The freed men are not much above the flave; they feldome beare any fway in the house orcity, faving in those countries which have a King. For there they are in greater authoritie, then either free borne or noble men; in other countries freed men beingofunequal condition, make liberty better known. To practife ufury, and enrich themselves with it, they know not what it meaneth: which is better kept then if it were forbidden. All the ground the inhabitants about doe possesse, according to their number: which they divide among themselves, according to their calling; which is easily done by reason the fields are so spacious. Their carable land they thange by yeares: and let one lie; not labouring to overcome the fertilnesse and brgeneffe of it by industry; by planting of orchards; in-closing their medows; and watering their gardens: onely they use much tillage. Hereupon they divide not the yeare into fo many feafons, as we do: the winter, fpring time, and fummer, they inderstand, and have names for: but as for the autumne, as well the name, as the commodities it bringeth, are unknowne. Ambition they use none in their funerals: onelythat one thing is observed; that the bodies of the noble men are burned with atertain kind of wood. The pile of the funerall fire, they doe neither fill up with appitell nor fweet odors: every mans arms, and somes horse were burnt likewise. The tombe is raifed up with turves of earth: great works and laborious monuments they despise as heavy for the dead, lamentations and teares they quickly forbeare; but grieve and forrow flowly. It is feemely enough for women to mourne; and for men to remember the dead. This is it which we have learned in generall, of the begining and customes of the Germanes. Now I will lay downe the ordinances and comes of every people in particular; and how they differ; and what nation have one out of Germanie, to the Gallois.

IIII. What Gallois have passed into Germany.

Plins of famous memory, the chiefest of all authors doth deliver, that the state of the Gallois hath in times past beene of greater force and power, then now it is: and therefore not unlike, but the Gallois went into Germany. For what great hinderance could the river be; that, every nation as he was strong, should not exhimsels in possession and change seats, yet unoccupied, and not divided by any

power of kingdomes? Therfore the Helvetians held that which lieth between the Hercynian forrest, and the two rivers Rhene and Moene: and the Boij that which is beyond, both nations of Gallia. The name of the Bojemi doth yet continue. and doth fignifie the old memory of the place, although the inhabitants be chaunged But whether the Aravisci from the Osi, a people of Germany, came into Panno. nia; or the Ofi from the Aravifci into Germany, is yet uncertaine: confidering they use the same language, lawes, and customes: for being equall in times past in poverty and liberty; the commodities and discommodities of both the banks were common to them alike. The Treveri & the Nervijambitiously seem to have their beginning from the Germans: as though by this glory of blood they should be unlike, and differ in cowardlines from the Gallois. Without all doubt the banken Rhene is inhabited with the people of Germany, the Vangiones, Treboci, Nemers. The Ubij, albeit they have deserved to be a Roman colonie: and desire to be called rather Agrippinians by the name of their foundresse, though not ashamed of their beginning, have heretofore past over; and for good proofe of their fidelity, have beene planted upon the banke of Rhene, to keep off others, and not for any fafety of their owne. Of all these Nations, the chiefest in valour are the Batavians, which enjoy small part of the banke of Rhene, but inhabite an Ilande of the River of Rhene; in times past a people of the Catti, and went by reason of civilledition into those countries to be a part of the Roman Empire. The honour and markes of ancient alliancedoe yet continue, for they are neither contemned by paying tributes, nor oppressed by the Farmer of publike revenewes. They are exempted from charges & contributions, as referved for use of war, as it were atmes & weapons. The Mattiaci doe the like allegeance: for the greatnes of the people of Rome hath been inlarged further then the old bounds of the Empire did extend and beyond the Rhene. Therefore in regard of their habitation and bounds, they inhabite the banke, but in heart and minde dwell with us: in other things like the Batavians; faving that by reason of their soyle and ayre, they are more forward and ftout. I will not account them among the people of Germany, albeit they are planted beyond Rhene, and the Danube, of whose land the tenth is raysed. The lewdest of all the Gallois, and whom need hath driven to venture, have possessed that countrey as doubtfully holden. Not long after, having enlarged their bounds, and placed fortresses farther, they are within the compasse of the Empire, and are a partofthe Province. Beyond these, the Cattians begin from the Hercynian forrest, but have not so wide and marish a countrey, as the other cities in which Germany dothopen and spread it selse: for the hils are one by another, and continue a certaine space, and then by little and little waxe thinner: and the Hercynian forrest doth contains the Catti, and is the bounds of their territory. They are a people hardened tolabour, well set, sterne countenanced, and of greater courage. As Germans goe, they are sensibly wife men, and considerate: they preferre choise men, hearken to their leaders, know their rankes, know where advantages are, bridle their heate, dispose of the day to their benefit, intrench in the night, hold fortune among things doubtfull, and esteeme of valour as of certainty: and which is most rare, and understood onely by discipline, they repose more assurance in their leader, then in the army All their strength consisteth in footemen, whom besides their armes they loade with yron tooles and provision. Thou maiest see others goe to skirmish: butthe Cattimarch for warre. They feldome skirmish, or fight at adventure. Their horse men are of this property, that they either quickely win the victory, or yeeld. Suddennes is neare unto feare; lingring draweth nearer constancy. And that which is

feldome used among other people of Germanie, through their boldnes, and hardinesitis growne to a common confent among the Catteans: that is, when they come rofipe yeeres, they suffer their haire and beard to grow at length; & neither put off that vowed ornament of the face, and asit were a bond of vertue, untill they have killed an enemie. Upon blood and spoile, they uncover their forehead, and say, they have payed backe the price of their birth; and thinke themselves worthy of their countrey and parents: the cowardly and unwarlike remaine in their ilrayourednes. Refides this, every man as he is most valiant, weareth an yron ring (an ignominious thing to that people) as it were a bond, untill they rid themselves of it by killing an enemy. This quality pleafeth many of the Catteans. And then they grow gray, respected of their own people and enemies: these begin every battell: these make alwayes the first ranke; strange to behold: for intime of peace, they are altogether asserce in countenance. There is not one of them that hath a house, or living, or care of any thing. As they come to every mans house they are maintained: prodigillofother mens; and contemners of their owne: untill through feeble old age, they are no longer able to indure so hard a labour.

V. Of the Teneterians, Chamavians, and Frisians.

TExt unto the Catti, the Usipij and Tencteri do inhabit the Rhene, running in a certaine channell, and which may suffice for a bound. The Tencteri befides their incient renowne of warres, excell the rest in service of horse: and the Catteans deserve no greater commendation for footmen, then the Tencteriansforhorsemen. So did their predecessors ordaine it, and successors follow it. These are the childrens pastimes; this the emulation betwixt young men; and old men continue the fame; and horses are delivered, as rights of inheritance among the family: and the fonnes receive them, though not the eldest, but he who is most couragious, and likeliest to make a martiall man. Hard by the Tencteri, in times natthe Bructeri did inhabit; but now it is reported that the Camavians, and Angrivarians, are entered into that countrey, and wholly rooted out and chased the Brusterians, by agreement of nations adjoyning: either as hating them for their pride, or for sweetnes of pray, or some favour of the gods towards us; as not denying usthe spectacle of the battell, wherein there were flaine threescore thousand, not by the Romans armes and weapons: but, which is more glorious, to shew us pastime, and please our eye. I wish that if those people cannot love us, that they would hate one another, seeing that the state of the Empire fatally declining, fortune can do us no greater favour, then fow fedition among the enemies. The Angrivarians and Chamavians, have behinde them the Dulgibini and Chafvari, and other nations not greatly spoken of; and before them the Frisians. The Frisians are called great orfmall, according to their strength: the Rhene bordering both unto the Ocean, and besides that, do comprehend huge & spacious laks, which the Roman navy hath Puft: yea and the Ocean it felfe we have entred into, and tried on that fide. And the fame goeth, that Hercules pillars are there yet to be seene; either because Hercules went fo farre, or else because by common consent all that is any where magnificall, isattributed to his renowne. Drusus Germanicus wanted not courage: but the Ocean hindered us for being over inquisitive of him or Hercules. After that, no man affayed to doe it, as being an act of greater devotion and reverence, to believe the actions of the gods, rather then know them Hitherto we have seene the West part of Germany: towards the North it goeth bowing with a great compasse. And first 2 2 of all the people of the Chauceans, although they begin at the Frifians, and poffeffe part of the shore, coast all those nations I have made mention of, untill they winde into the Catti, and fo spatious and huge countrey the Chauci do not onely hold, but fill likewise: of all the Germane nation the noblest, and desirous to maintaine their greatnesse by justice: without covetous nesse or unbridled lust, quiet and retired: stir up no wars, never wafte, spoile, nor robbe. And which is a speciall marke of their valour and strength, they got not their superiority over others by any wrongs of fered. Yet they are all ready for warre, and if occasion require to make an armie, wanting neither horse nor men: and although they lie quiet, yet their reputation is neverthe lesser. On the side of the Chauci and Catti, the Cherusci have nourished long, being never provoked, an idle and lazie peace, which was more sweet then safe unto them, because there is no sure peace between sirring and strong people. For when the matter is come to hand-strokes, modestie and good dealing be termes which belong to superiours. So the Cherusci in times past good and just, are now called cowards and fooles: and the fortune of the Catti being favorable, is cause that they are counted wise. The Fosi, a people bordering upon the Cherufci, are touched with their ruine, companions in their adversitie. thoughin prosperity they were inferiour unto them. Neere unto the same coast of the Ocean, the Cimbrians inhabite; now a small people, but highly renowned: having yet remaining certaine markes of their old glory; to wit, on both the banks, trenches and lodges: by the circuit of which, thou maift yet measure the greatuesse and strength of that Nation, and beleeve the number of so great anarmy. It was fix hundred and fourty years after the foundation of our Citie, before the Cimbri. ans armes were heard of, when Cacilius Metellus, and Papirius Carbo were Confuls, From that time unto the second time that the Emperour Trajan was Consul, by just account, are two hundred and ten years: and fo many years we were a conquering Germanie. In the middle time, there were many losses on both parts. Not the Samnites, nor the Carthaginians, nor the Spaniards, nor the Gallois, no nor the Parthan have so often troubled us: the libertie of the Germans being more earnest, then the kingdom of the Arsacides. For what can the East object against us, saving the death of Crassius, when he had defeated Pacorus, before troden downe by Ventidius? But the Germanes, having either flain or taken Carbo and Cassius, and Scaurus Anreliu, and Cervilius Cepio, and M. Manlins, have defeated also five Consulary armies, and Varus with three legions in Cafars time: neither have C. Marius in Italy, or Inlimin Gallia, Drusus, and Nero, and Germanicus, molested them in their houses without blowes. After that C. Cafars great threatnings were turned to a jest. Then there was quietnes, untill our civill wars gave them occasion, when they had taken the standing camps of the legions, to have a defire to enter Gallia: from whence being a gaine driven out, in late times, they have been rather triumphed over theu vanquished.

VI. The Suevians and other people.

Ow we will speake of the Suevi, which are not one nation as the Catti and Tencteri: and possessing the greater part of Germany, and severed by peculiar names and countries: although by one generall name they be called Suevi: whose marke is to curle their haire and tie it on knots. By that the Suevian is distinguished from the other Germanes; and the free born Suevian from the bond man. That in other Countries is used also but seldome times, either for assistance.

nitie with the Suevians; or as it often happeneth by imitation, and whileft they be woung: but the Suevians even untill they be old and gray, have their haire standing an end, & often tie it on the crown only: princes weare it after a finer fashion. That isthe harmelesse care they have of their beauty. For they vse it not either to winne love, or be beloved: butturn it up to a certaine height, to feem to the enemy more terrible, when they goe thus trimmed to the warre. The Semnones say, they are the most ancient of the Suevians, and the most noble. The credit of their antiquity they confirme with this ceremony. At certaine times, all of one blood meet by their deputies in a wood, reputed holy by the auguration of their forefathers, and ancient reverence; where publikely killing a man, they celebrate the barbarous beginnings of their ceremonie. Yet there is another reason why the wood is had in reverence. No man entrethinto it, but bound with fomewhat as an inferiour perfon, & acknowledging the power of the god. If he fall by chance; it is not lawfull for him to rife, or get up; but is rowled out: all their superstition tending to this. that from thence the nation had his beginning: that there dwelleth the god, ruler ofallothers; and unto whom all other things are subject and obedient. The fornue of the Semnones giveth this authoritie: their countrey is inhabited by an hundiedvillages; and by their great body, they take themselves to be the head of the Snevians. Contrary, the Longobards are renowned, by reason their number is so small: that being hemmed in with many, very puissant nations, yet maintaine them felves, not by doing any duty to any but by warres and dangers. After them the Reudigni, and Aviones, and Angli, and Varini, and Eudofes, and Suardones, and Nuithones, are defended by rivers or woods: having no notable thing particular inany; faving that generally they adore Herthum, that is, the mother earth, whom they believe to be prefent at mens affairs. There is a wood called Castum in an lland of the Ocean, and a chariot dedicated in it, covered with apparell, which one Priest onely may lawfully touch. He knoweth that the goddesse is in some secret part of the house, and followeth her with great reverence as she is led by Kowes: and make those holy dayes & places of joy which she youch safeth to honor with her presence. Warre they make none, nor put on any armour, nor shew any weapon: but peace and quietneffe is onely knowne and loved untill the fame Priest bring backethe goddesse to her Temple, filled with the conversation of mortall men. Then the chariot and the apparell, if you will believe it, the divinitie it felfe is wahed in some secret lake; bond-men minister unto her, which the same lake doth incontinently swallow up. Whereof ariseth a secret terror, and an holy ignorance, what that should be, which they onely see which are a perishing. And this part of Suevia, reacheth far within the country of Germany; the nearer (that I may describe that part which lyeth by Danube, as I have done that which lieth along the Rhene) is the Citie of the Hermunduri, faithfull to the Romanes: and therefore of all the Germans traffique, not onely upon the bank of Rhene, but even within the heart of the countrey, and in the most famous colonie of the Province Rhætia. These goe allover without a guard: and whereas we shew other Nations, sometimes our arms, fometimes our campe; to these we lay open our houses, and villages, as people not desiring them. In the countrey of the Hermunduri, the river Albis bath his beginning, in times past a famous river and well knowne; but now onely heard of. Necreunto the Hermunduri dwell the Narisci, the Marcomani, and Quadi. The greatest renowne and strength that the Marcomans have, is in that they got their dwellings by valour and driving out in times past the Boiens. Neither do the Naisci, and the Quadi degenerate. And that is as it were the frontier of Germany, on

that side which the Danube borders. The Marcomani and the Quadi, had even un. till times of our memory, Kings of their own Nation, of the noble flock of the Maroboduni, and Tudri; but now they fuffer strangers; which have their strength and power, by the authoritie of the Romanes: and seldome use our armes, but are of ten helpt with our money. Neither are the Marsigni, Gothini, Ofi, Burii, which are behinde the Marcomani and Quadi, of leffer valor: among which the Marsigni. and Burii, resemble the Suevians in speech and attire. The Gallican tongue doth convince the Gothinos, and the Panonicall the Ofos, not to be Germans; and that they endure to pay tribute; part of the tribute the Sarmates, part the Quadicharge them with, as ftrangers. The Gothini, the more for their shame, digge for mines of iron: and all these people inhabit small store of plaine ground, but wood-lands, and hill tops. Suevia is divided by a continual lridge of hils, beyond which dwell many Nations: among which, the name of the Lygians is farthest spread into many Cities. It will suffice to reckon the strongest, as the Arios, Helveconas, Maninos, Elyfios, Naharvalos. Among the Naharvalians there is a wood long agone confectated to religion, over which a Priest apparelled in womans attire is Superintendent: but the Romanes interpret them to be the gods Castor and Pollux. The name of the god is Alcis. Images there are none, nor figne of strange superstition: yet they are reverenced as brothers, and two young men. But the Alii besides their strength, wherein they go beyond the other people I have made mention of, fel and cruel do fet forth their naturall fiercenes with art and time: for they use black targets, and die their bodies with the same colour; and choose the darkest nights to fight in, striking a terror with the shadow of so deadly an army, into the enemies, none of them able to endure so strange and as it were hellish fight, the eies being first overcome in all battels. Beyond the Lygians the Gothones live under Kings in a more severe government then the other people of Germany, and not in full liberty. Then from the Ocean follow the Rugii, and Lemovii, all of them bearing for their markeround bucklers, and short swords, and living under the subjection of Kings. After those are the cities of the Suionians, fituated in the Ocean; besides men and armor, strong in shipping; which in making differ from other vessels, in that both ends are foreparts, ready to land at each end, without fayle, or oares in a ranke in the fides, but the marriners are at libertie ready to change hither and thither, as occasion serveth, as in some other rivers. Those people esteeme of riches: and therefore one hatha. mongst them absolute rule and government, and not at the will of the subject. They are not all licenced to weare weapons as in other parts of Germany, but their weaponsare shut up under a keeper, and that a slave, because the enemy can makeno fudden incursion against them, by reason of the Ocean. If the souldiers be idleand at rest, they easily grow infolent: and indeed it is not for the Kings profit to commit the charge of armor to noble men, or free borne, or freedmen. Beyond the Suionas, there is another sea so slow and almost immovable, that many thinke it to bee the bounds which compasse in the whole world, because that the Sunne continueth so cleare and bright, from his setting till the rising, that it darkneth the starres. And some are farther perswaded, that the sound of him is heard as he risch out of the sea; and many shapes of gods seene, and the beames of his head. So sarre the fame is true, and that there was the end of nature and the world. Now on the right shore of the Suevian sea, the Æstyans inhabit whose manner of life is like the Suevians, but their language more like the Britains language. They adore the mother of the gods: for a skutchion of their superstition, they carry the pictures of wilde Boates. That serveth them for all weapons and all desence, and assure thall

those that worship that goddesse, even amongst the enemies. They have small use of iron, but great of clubs. They fow come and plant fruits, more painfully, then ordinarily the flothfull Germane is accustomed to do. They search out what the fea will yeeld: and onely among stall, gather on the flats, and on the very shore Rosin*, which they call Glesum. Yet they have not sought out (so barbarous they * or Ambo. are) what is the nature of it, or by what meanes it is engendered. Yea a long time it lay as nought worth, like other purging of the fea, untill our wantonneffe gave it a name. They have no use of it themselves: but gather it soule and filthy: and so bring it, and marvell at the price we give for it. But it is the juyce of trees: for there fine in them some birds or sowle, which wrapped in the humour, and afterwards wax hard, are so shut in it. And as in the secret places of the East, there are fertile Woods and Forrests, which sweat Frankincense and Balmes: so may I believe that in the Ilands of the West, there are others, which beeing neere to the Sunne beames, yeeld an humour, which melted, runneth unto the next fea, and by force of tempest is carried to the opposite shore. If by fire thou wilt make proofe what the nature of Amber is, it will burne like unto wood pitched and rofined: and nourisheth a fat and strong savouring fire: then waxeth pliant and clammie like Rosin or Pitch, Hard by the Suionians, be the Sitones: alike in all things, faving one, which is that a woman is their ruler: fo farre they degenerate not onely from liberty, but also from bondage: and there is the end of Suevia. I am in doubt, whether I should reckon the Peucinians, Venedians, and Fennians, among the Germans or Sarmates, although the Peucinians, which some call Bastarnas, resemble the Germanes in language behaviour, housing, and dwelling: but all are generally, slovenly and lazie: and the noblemen allied by marriage with the Sarmates, are somewhat transformedinto their usage: and the Vinedians have learned many of their fashions also. For they fcowre and rob all the hils and woods which lye between the Peucinians and Fennians. Yet these may rather be accounted Germanes, because they build houles, carry targets, and are good footmen. None of which the Sarmates doe use, but alwaies ride in chariot, or on horseback. The Fennians are very barbarous and beggerly: having neither armes, horfes, nor houfes; no food but herbes; no apparell but leather pelts; no bedding but the ground: having all their hope in their arrowes, which for want of iron, they head with bones. Man and woman liveth by the same hunting: for the Women follow, and aske for part of the prey. Young children have no other fuccour against wilde beasts, and hard weather, but fome coverture made of boughes: that is the lodging of young and old. That they thinke to be more glorious and magnificall, then toyle in manuring the earth; and trouble themselves in buildings; and turmoyle betwixt hope

and feare, about their owne and other mens goods. Thus fecureagainst men and gods, they have won this hard point, that they need make no vows at all. The rest is sabulous, as that the Helluss, and Oxiona, have the visage and countenance of men, but the bodies and members of beasts:

which I leave as a thing to me unknowne.

 $F I \mathcal{N} I S.$

THE END OF NERO AND BEGINNING OF GALBA.

FOVRE BOOKES

THE HISTORIES OF

Cornelius Tacitus.

THE LIFE OF.

AGRICOLA.

The fixth Edition.



LONDON

Printed by J. L. for Richard Whitaker, and are to be fold at the figne of the Kings Armes in Pauls
Church-yard. 1640.



TO MOST SACRED MAIESTIE.



Present here to your Majesties view my imperfections in their owne colours, and the excellencies of another man with much losse of their lustre, as being transported from their naturall light of the Latin by an unskilfull hand into a strange language, perchance not so fit to set out a peece

drawne with so curious a pensil. The cause of undertaking a worke of this kinde was a good will in this scribling age not to doe nothing, and a disproportion in the powers of my minde, nothing of mine owne invention being able to passe the censure of mine owne judgement, much lesse, 1 presumed, the judgement of others. The cause that I published it under your Majelies name and protection (befide the testification of my bounden duty) was the great account your Highnesse most worthily holdeth this History in; hoping thereby, that as some for the excellency of the wine, have liked also the lees, so it might peradven ure please you, to accept into some degree of favour this worke as it is, though by chance from vessell to vessell having taken winde and lost his pleasing taste to the palate, yet retaining somewhat of his former strength, and much of his substance. But the principal cause was to incite your Majesty by this as by a foile to communicate to the world, if not those admirable compositions of your owne, yet at the least those most ture and excellent translations of Histories (if I may call them Translations, which have (o infinitely exceeded the originals) making evident demonstration to all who have seene them, that as the great actions of Princes are the subject of stories, so stories composed or amended by Princes, are not only the best patterne and rule of great actions, but also the most natutall Registers thereof, the Writers being persons of like degree and of proportionable proportionable conceits with the doers. And so wishing your Majesty either so much leisure your selfe, or a Tacitus to describe your most glorious raigne, I commit this Booke (whereof I claime nothing to my selfe but the faults) to your most gracious patronage, and the curteste of the Reader, from whom at least from his hands that shall finish out the rest, I hope to finde both pardonfor my faults, and some pity for my paines.

The Almighty bleffeyour most excellent Majesty with a long, happy, and prosperous raigne, and the only true meanes thereof, many watchfull eyesto foresee, many valiant hands to fight, and many godly hearts to prayfor the

peace of your state.

Your facred Majesties

most humble Subject and Servant,

HENRY SAVILE.



A. B. To the Reader



Here is no treasure so much enriches the minde of man as learning; there is no learning fo proper for the direction of the life of man as Historie; there is no historie (I speake only of prophane) so well worth the reading as Tacitus. For learning Nature acknowledgeth a reason, by leaving industry to fi-

nilhher unperfect work: for without learning the conceit is like a fuitfull soile without tilling, the memorie like a storehouse without wares, the will like a ship without a rudder. For Historie, since we areeaslier taught by example then by precept, what study can profit us so much, as that which gives patternes either to follow or to flye, of the best and worst men of all estates, countries, and times that ever were? For Tacitus I may say without partialitie, that he hath written the most matter with best conceit in sewest words of any Historiographer ancient or moderne. But he is hard. Difficilia qua pulchra: the second reading over will please thee more then the first, and the third then the second. And if thy stomach be so tender as thou canst not disgest Tacitus in his owne style, thou art beholding to Sapile, who gives thee the same food, but with a pleasant and easie tafte. In these foure bookes of the storie thou shalt see all the miseries of a torne and declining State: the Empire usurped; the Princes murdered; the people wavering; the souldiers tumultuous; nothing unlawfull to him that hath power, and nothing so unsafe as to be securely innocent. In Galbathou mayest learne, that a good Prince governed by evill ministers is as dangerous as if he were evill himselfe. By Otho, that the fortune of a rash man is Torrenti similia, which rises at an instant, and fals in a moment. By Vitellius, that he that hath no Vertue can never be happy: for by his owne basenesse he will lose all, which either fortune, or other mens labours have cast upon him. By Vespahan

Vespasian, that in civill tumults an advised patience, and opportunity well taken are the only weapons of advantage. In them all, and in the state of Rome under them, thou mayest see the calamities that follow civill warres, where lawes lye afleep, and all things are judged by the sword. If thou mislike their warres, be thankfull for thine owne peace; if thou doest abhorre their tyrannies, love and reverence thine owne wife, just, and excellent Prince. If thou doest detest their Anarchy, acknowledge our owne happy government, and thanke God for her, under whom England enjoyes as many benefits, as ever Rome did suffer miseries under the greatest tyrant.

THE OF NERO AND

BEGINNING OF GALBA.

Alerius Trachalus, and Silius Italicus being Confuls : Cajus Iulius Vin- The yeere of dex, Lieutenant of Gallia Lugdunensis, perceiving that private conspi- the City 821. racies against the person of Nero had been often intended and ever discovered, determined to give the first onset in armes and openly goe to the field. Vindex was by his Father of a Senators house, by birth French and extract from the line of their ancient Kings, of body puif-Sant, quick of conceit, of a ready dispatch, skilfull in armes, and bold ustumpt: his province peaceable, and therefore utterly disfurnisht of forces: no Legion, no smilen under his government. Notwithstanding as in a body corrupt, and full of ill humars, the first paine that appeareth, best never so stender, drawes on the rest, discloseth old ubes and straines, actuateth what else is unsound in the body : so in a state universally disliked. While diforder diffolvers the whole. Yea and oft fo it bappeneth in both, the difeafe that grew and gave cause to the other, being recured, the rest notwithst anding worke out the finall Montion. Now Vindex, before he declared himselfe, well weighing the weaknesse of his thus, and withall his owne person uncapable of the Empire, as being but a stranger, without followers, without friends or allies among the Nobility, deliberated to cast it on some other man f more reputation, who also by necrenesse and strength might second his attempt. Corbulo sulately murdered by Nero; Vespasian farre off warring in lewry : Suetonius Paullinus at hime without army, the most famous men of that age for military matters. Of high Germany Vuginius Rufus was Lientenant, with three Legions, next neighbour to Vindex. only of a mane genslemans bouse. In low Germany Fonteius Capito, with foure Legions, and Clodius Mater in Africke with a competent army, neither of them likely to repaire that which Nero budruined. There remained then in armes Servius Sulpitius Galba, a man of great wealth udancient Nobility, who had been eight yeeres Licutenant in neerer Spaine, to the reasonable untenment of the country, with an hoast of one Legion, and the Aydes belonging thereto. Vom him Vindex finally resolving dispatcheth into Spaine, and other countries adjoyning, scun letters declaring his purpose to the Lieutenants. Galba, in whom age had abated the heat if ambition, experience and dangerous times engendred a wary and fearefull proceeding, thought as then upon nothing leffe then diademes and kingdomes, having given himfelfe over, forcertaine yeeres past, to an idle and obscure kinde of life, sequestred as it were, and retired from affaires for feare of Nero; under whom to doe ill was not alwayes safe, alwayes unsafe udoewell, and of doing nothing no man constrained to yeeld an account. Whereupon the letunsarriving, he flood much amazed, divided in minde what course he should follow: to trust thin ? peradventure it was but a traine : to disclose them and send them to Nero? that were indeed to put in his head an eternall jealousie, and him selfe into a needlesse perill: and perhaps Mothere might be good meaning. Whercupon in so doubtfull a case, the extreames seeming dangerous, he tooke the meane way, suppressing the letters, and not entring into the cause any further, referving to governe himfelfe in the rest, as events and occurrents should lead and diwithim. The other Lieutenants sent all their letters to Nero, betraying Vindex, betraying the cause, whereof themselves anon were partakers.

Now Vindex certaine dayes after the Calends of March, though not fully affured,

ce Hispania

net hoping well of Galbaes intent, and presuming good lucke to so good a meaning, asem. bled them of his province, such chiefly as were chiefe in their countrey for credit, and chiefly had beene touched in goods or in honour. To whom recounting in order the tyrannies of Nero, namely his paring of "France to the quicke, to the utter destruction of so many men. the universall decay of so goodly a country, he exhortesh them all to take armes, to succount themselves, to succour the Romans, and to free the whole world from so heavy a yoake. Or if, which the gods forbid in fo good a cafe, yet let in (quoth be) fell him our lives inthe field with honour, feeing we cannot poffeffe them with fafety. For another Prince (our broken state, and age voyde of vertue, not bearing a free common-wealth) we have here at hands man of great birth, great wealth, and great forces, one that hath made bonourable proofe at himselfe, at home, and abroad, in all respects worthy the place, Galba Lieutenant of " Are. Tarraconeniis. gon. If you like of the man, there remaineth then only we muster the countrey to the most that me may, without whose swords all talke of warre is but vaine, and this pernicious. His de. mands being all accorded by common confent, he levyeth a power, many men, and few fouldi. ers, taken upon the sudden, not descriptined, not trained to the order of service; he published edicts diffaming the person and governement of Nero. Then cansing Galba to be proclaimed be writes him aletter, now, or else never, to declare himselfe in favour of mankinde against that monfter of Nature, to furnish the body of an hundred thousand French men in arms. and more if need were, of a head. The Sequani, Aedui, Arverni, Remi, and the flower in a manner of France, were all of the party, conferring men, horse, armour, money, and what elle was requisite for service in field. Rufinus, Flavius, Asiaticus with others were appoin ted Captaines, and Vienna feate of the Warre; whose next neighbours, and ancient enemits. the Lundunenses banded themselves against them and the cause, or the cause for their sales. Many conflicts between them, and skirmilhes during the warre, fo thicke, and fo hoth out fued, that one might perceive much private choler paffe under the shadow of publike pretences. The Lingones likewise and Treveri, and some other Cities, for saking their fellowes. linked themselves with the Legions confining. Three Legions, as before it is said, with thin aydes, Verginius had in his charge; who feeing all France on a fire, and that now of force he must either rebell with the rest, or warre with the rebels (for so they were styled till they me. valled) in private beholden, for publike respects misliking of Nero, no admirer of Galba, with Vindex proceeding highly displeased, the example being unseene, that a Province should be a Prince-maker, thus unresolved, resolving this only that he would not be resolved by others. determined to stand on his Guard; and gathered his men about him in haste, valiant soulding

and expert in service, and likely to sway where they went. Of the other side the Lieutenant of Aquitania, against the troubles of France, requested the assistance of Galba his neighbour, who then at new Carthage kept a law day : but anone be perceived how that he had taken a wrong addreffe. For Galbareceiving the letters of Vindex, and being advertised that warrant was out for his death to the Procurators, had debated the matter a fresh with his friends. Some unwilling to play their state at a cast, wisht him to stay and attend to what head the humours in Rome new stirred would gather : as for the Procurators, they might be prevented; and warned is halfe armed. To Titus Vinius, then Lieutenant of the Legion, and anon chiefe in favour with Galba, that course seemed unsafe. Armed indeed (quoth be) for a while against a Procurator or two: nay, put case we could bang up these few in our places, shall we live, doe you think, for lack of a hangman? Give us armes against Niro, and then we are armed. But perhaps fith nothing is past on our part, he may be persuaded to call in his sentence againe. Even good Princes are jealous of soveraigne points, and that string being touched, have a quicke eare. They have bought it full deare which ignorantly have fate in their chaire of estate, that have worne their diademe to keepe it from wetting, or

won like occasion. Germanicus, as some here may remember, because one or two in the army bulouth a purpofeto salute him Prince, was never well brooked, till by his owne death he had und the price of other mens ra hneffe. Corbulo, eventhat Corbulo, which had quieted Ger-1819, Subdued Armenia, broken the Parthian Spirits, brought Arfaces line on his knees befor Nero, after he had so highly deserved at his bands, it cost him his life, that some men in luret thought him a fit man to succeed. We are, as they say, openly proclaimed, we have an amin field: Shall he then repent it, that never repented but when he did well? Let him luke that lift for succours from Rome, where liberty is lost, fit mento free others. Galba and vindex their (words and their armies must purchase our freedome. This opinion prevailing applible to prove, but of force to be followed, a day was appointed by Galba, therein to difsuch the freeing of flaves. The Country came in at the day suspecting thematter, apt to rewive any new impression. And Galba having placed of purpose before his tribunall, a mante if images of great personages executed or banisht in Neroes time, and fetched from exile a you noble man, out of the next Ilands, to stand by his seat, his army about him, spake in wwwife. My fellow fouldiers and friends, we are at this present assembled to enfranchise unbondmen, to bestow upon others that great benefit of liberty and freedome: which we our lives, whom both nature and fortune bath freed this long time, have [mally enjoyed. The Melhave led hitherto will sufficiently discharge me from any aspiring conceit, and my owne inscience bearethme witnesse, that I (peake not upon any malice, or private respects. It griewib me to fuy, but it helpes not to hide that which every man feeth. Hath even bondman unbracruell master passed a yeere of harder service, then we have done foureteene under Nene What kinde of exaction hath he not proved to supply with extortion that which with hume be hath spent ? What kinde of cruelty hath he not practifed ? If we should conceale or luter suppresseit, these dumbe stones would declare them. Behold porsoned his father and buller, abufed and flaine his owne mother, murdered his wife, his mafter and what elfe focorvoliant or vertuous in Senate, in citie, in province, without any difference of fex, or of vi, I neede not to speake of the forrowfull sighes and bitter teares of so many young gentlemusbereft of their fathers, so many wives robbed of their husbands, so many great men depivel of their country, which cry vengeance upon such a Prince. A Prince : nay, an inindiary, a finger, a fidler, a stage player, a cart driver, a cryer, no Prince, nay no man, that bith a man to his huiband, and a man to his wife, but a monster of mankinde; against whom what Vindex in France hath already intended I am sure you doe know, and I, for my part, lan most forry to heare. The whole course of my former life hath beene otherwise removed from ambition in court, from ayming too high: and this little that remaines of my dayes I wald heartily wish were spent in more case. But sith, I know not by what my missortune, some bweimposed upon me a part, which I never meant to sustaine, and least of all at this age, I will wrefule, if you also approve it, to sacrifice this old carcasse of mine for the wealth of my contrey, not as Emperour, or Augustus, which facred names I adore afarre off, not daring happroach them, but as --- The speech was not finished, when the souldiers, and people with one ummon voyce interrupting, Saluted him Emperour. Galba commending their zeale to the 24d of the Empire, and accepting the substance refused the name, terming himself Lieutenant of the Senate and people of Rome. Next care was to muster more men, to make good the wooli : the countrey was prest and souldiers came in of all hands : new Legions and Aides were entilled, and to helpe at a need, a ship of Alexandria laden with armour, without master, withonmariner, without passenger, arrived at the port : which accident, besides that the wrecke tamein good feafon, increast to the cause reputation, as though against Nero the gods had furwhed weapons from heaven. Then he ordained a Councell in forme of a Senate elected out of the chiefest

chiefest and gravest men of his traine, and a guard of young gentlemen to watch and ward at his lodging, he published edicts, and sends them abroad to every province, exhorting them all to take armes, and concurre in common against the common enemy. At any revolted from N. ro and came to the fide : M. Salvius Otho with the first, then Lieutenant of "Portingall

bringing his jewels and plate, which Galba made into money. In high Germany, the fouldiers confidering the weakenesse of Nero; that France had al ready rebelled; that Spaine made a Prince; that the rest of the countries were likely to follow. if not all for the same, yet all against Nero: viewing their owne forces, and strength no united, which before lay differsed in troupes and in bands, strangers to Galba, and greath disdaining that one simple Legion should impose them a Prince, finally concluded to make their benefit, and bestow the Empire themselves. A fit manthey needed not seeke farreeff Verginius Rulus the Lieutenant, though of a Gentlemans house, and no higher, in flrengthat body, matters of action, and all other things excelled Galba: in birth what if Galbawie better? Catulus the top of his kinne fled dishonourably away in the Cimbrian warre, where Marius, baselier borne then Verginius, worthily flucke to it, and saved the state. Hereunun they goe and breake downe tumultuously the images of Nero, falute Verginius Prince, inferi. bing his name in the banners. Verginius feeing the matter grow to a tumult, and being un. able to refift their violence, shewed to yeeld in some degree against Nero, but not for himselfe. much leffe any other named abroad. For his part he faid he had no need of the place which all men befide fo greatly defired : nor was not to fuffer, but fuch as by order of Senate shouldbe appointed: that they were the men to whom that election belonged, whose right he would furely maintaine against whomsoever. The fouldiers being in part thus appealed, he com. mands the inscription to be defaced, and with his whole army entreth France, pretending to warre against Vindex. The City of Bezanson, which first resused to receive him, he straightway besiegeth. Vindex to succour the towne and levy the siege, or bid him battle, if it might be no better, with twenty thousand men commeth against him. Lying encamped not farreafunder, there passed letters betweene them : whereupon they secretly met and conferred w. gether, none elfe being present on either side. Their conclusion was friendly, doubtleseu joyne against Nero: some thought to set downe Galba also; and it was not unlikely. Thu departing as friends, each to his campe, Vindex secure as in a quarrell already composed, and nothing attending lese then the shocke, meaning to enter the towne, and repose his army with all his men made towards the gates. The fouldiers of Germany lying at the walles, and puceiving the army approach, marching, as it seemed, directly upon them, not privy to their Generalls purpose, or not willing to lose so faire an occasion, ranne out without bidding, and falling upon them at unawares and in difarray, not able on a sudden to remedie the errour, as men newly trained, and unexpert in warre, slew them all in a manner, and soiled the carriage. Vindex seeing the unluckie successe of this unlooked for battell, having lost in a manner the flowre of all France, and suspecting fraude of Verginius side, as though be meant to entrap him, and fend him to Nero, ranne him (elfe upon his owne fivord: man) coming after bestowed their blowes upon the dead carcaste, seeking a colour for praise or remard if Nero prevailed. After this slaughter the fouldiers pressed Verginius against to accept of the Empire, and embassages came almost from every quarter requiring the fame, with affured promise of all possible assistance, if not ready to returne to Neroes obtdience: but Verginius bewalling the heavy mishap of his unfortunate friends rejected the speech, and marcheth forward in France. This end had Iulius Vindex, amanin the course of this action more vertuous then fortunate; who having no army provided, no le gion, no fouldier in charge, whiles others more able looks on, first entred the lists, chall lenging a Prince upholden with thirty Legions, rooted in the Empire by foure descents of and beginning of Galba.

guiffors, and sourteene yeares continuance of reigne, not upon private despaire to set in compultion the state, not to revenge, difgrace, or dishonour, not to establish his own soveraignty, lings which have moved most men to attempt; but to redeeme his countrey from tyranny miles bondage, which onely respect he regarded so much, that in respect hee regarded nothing www.life or securitie. For when it was shewed him, that Nero by publike edict had prized ishead at "ten thou fand thou fand sesterces; Well, quoth he againe, and he that kills Nero, "That is, ais head at the tron though and should make in exchange. And though in this action fortune gave four fourfore thoughtings me his head, shall have mine in exchange. And though in this action fortune gave
four thoufoor thought the check, and by a strange accident, which mans wisedome could not foresee, over-fand pound. unudibe enterprise, yet must we confesse, that Vindex first stirred the stone, which rowling

lung tumbled Nero out of his feat.

of vindex revolt the first newes came to Nero at Naples, about the twentieth of March: with the made hero fo lightly to fet, that he would not vouchfafe once to intermit his acsigmed passimes and pleasures, but rather seemed to rejoice, and embrace the occasion, as falby out filly to convert to his cofers by the law of armes the spoile of so large and so wealthy a money: as supper also receiving more letters of fresher advice, and certainer danger, he alled them onely ill chance, which thus by rebelling had troubled his drinking, and so for wh dayes he neither wrote letter, nor gave out order for any dispatch. At length through Judix edicts, so thick and so biting, being awaked, he warned the Senate by letter to avenge but for and the common wealths, excusing his absence by reason of sicknesse. In Vindex ulti, supporting the rest patiently, one thing above all troubled him most, that his skill was muched in playing: wherein he thought surely there was not his peere; eft soones demanding them about him, whether, without flattery, they knew any in that profession more skilfull mahim: by this then so manifest an untruth, in an Art that he had so painefully laboured, surfeitly learned, he willed them to esteeme of the rest. The Senate, receiving the letters, sulving and fearing, adjudged Vindex a traitour, the felfe same men which soone after beand the like upon Nero. But urged by newes upon newes, at last in a fright herepayred to limi: where not calling Senate nor people together, but some principall mento the Palace at unftasonable houre of the night, as to consult of urgent affaires, he shewed them certaine muits, and new strange devices of musick by water instruments discoursing of the manner addifficulty of each, and that he had found out a way to make them found both sweeter and wader, and shortly meant to produce them in stage, if Vindex would give him leifure to doe a. But hearing that Galba and Spaine had rebelled, he tare his clothes, beat his head, and suld in no wife receive any comfort, till such time as the Senate by decree had declared Galhummie to the state. Then resuming courage, and somewhat revived with some rumours wof Germany, he returned to his riot and carelesse licentious life, and putting Galbaes serunisin prison, seized his goods and set them to sale. The like did Galba with Neroes in spaine, and found a great deale more ready chapmen.

Anon as the tumult beganne, it is supposed credibly, that Nero had purposed to have mude away all the governours of armies and provinces, as being conspired against him; to moder all exiled persons, lest they should joyne themselves with the rebels; all French he wald finde in the Citie, as being friends to the cause; to poyson the Senate in banquet; to stafire the Citie, turning the wildebeasts among them which endeavoured to stop the course of the flame. But fetting apart the device, not as disliking, being so succable to his prouding, but as despairing to bring it about, he determined a wolage in person, sending before is the meane season Petronius Turpilianus, and Rubrius Gallus with certaine others asunst them. To furnish the journey; his chiefe provision consisted in carriage for playing sumiture in concubines shorne and polled as men, armed with hatchet and target according to is the Amazonian fashion. For mustering of men there were but few able enrolled and

most of them bondmen. Money was hardly and with much adoe a little extorted. For where in time of civill sedition most neede is of money, and a wife Prince will least grieve the subject with new impossion, as seeming to stand in some fort at his countesse, and having to employ his body beside; Nero in peace no store for warre, was forced then to offend, when he wish in reason have sought to have wonne, and yet raised less with more opposition then even, ne putation now waining, a contrary saction being on foot. As for policies, and plots of ware, he told his samiliar friends, he had one most assured. Assone as he entred the province, he would venture himself emarmed amongst them, and with silence and teares move them to compuse, on, and so they returning to former obedience without more adoe, he would the next day mornly sing, in that merry company, sonnets of victory, which he willed to be composed out of band a gainst the time came.

As Nero was thus bufily occupied in making provision for the warre, against Galbaand Vindex, letters were brought in at dinner of Verginius defection, and the rest of the armies. Whereupon in a desperate rage, be tare the letters, overturned the table, dasht two cups onthe ground, which he dearely efteemed, and casting away all care of himfelfe, notwithstanding the perill pressed no neerer, he called for poyson, which he put up in a golden box, that bis death at the least might be according to bis estate, and so walked forth into the Scrulian gardens. From thence he fent of his trusty fervants to Oftia to make ready the thips, purpoling to have fled with his friends into Egypt, and thereto have taken himselfe to his musicke to gethim. living: sottishly supposing in Egypt an imaginary surety to himselfe by his musicke, whenly could not live (afely Emperour at Rome. To that purpose sounding the mindes of the Tribunes and Centurions of the Guard, and finding them some to draw backe, some flatly refuse to see with him, one among others directly to tell him, that fure his best way were to make anend of himselfe, he was distracted into diversopinions, casting about what course he should follow: flee to the Parthian, whom of late he had pleasured? to Galba, who peradventure might bit his estate; or were it else better in lamentable sort and mournfull weed to goe out abroad, and in the place of cummon affembly, most humbly for that which was past demand pardon : or else if he could not obtaine it, that at least they would grant him the government of Egypt. This liked him best, and thereof he framed a speech, which afterwards was sound in his papers: but fearing the people would pull him in pieces before he came to the place, he deferred themster till the next morning.

Nymphidius Sabinus and Sophonius Tigellinus were Captaines of the Guard, pulured by Nero from nothing to that honourable place, and now the first to forsake him. But Tigellinus, as a person infamous and generally hated, prevailed not much: Sabinus had the credit with the fouldier: who affirming that Nero was already fled into Egypt, and promifing donative in Galbaes name * of thirty thousand sesseres a man, and * five thou and to the souldier abroad, much more then would or could be performed, easily wanne them to leave him, who had as they thought already left them, and foto pronounce Galba Emperour, not upon any speciall liking they had to the man above others, but whilest some doubted, some other denyed, Galba pretending directly the suit, and no counter-(uiter appearing, they were content to accept him for Prince. Their fellowes which warded that night foreseeing the issue, and coveting in this creation of the new Prince a part with the rest, left Nero assespe alone in the garden. Who being awaked about midnight, understanding his Guard was departed, leapt out of his bed, and sent about for bis friends : from whom receiving no answer, he with a few went to their lodgeings himselfe. The great Monarch of the World, adored erewhile as a god, attended upon and guarded by thousands of friends, of souldiers, of servants, now as a page knocking at doores findeth all that against his unfortunate state. Thus in adversity destituted

aid, of counsell or comfort of friends, hee returneth home, where finding his chamber rifled. the chamberlaines fled, his box of poylon removed away, he lought for Spicillus the "fincer or some of his fort, by whose hands hee might be dispatched: and finding none, "Gladiator. wanting alike both friends and Foes, he ranne desperately out, as though hee would have showing himselfe headlong into the Tiber : but his heart failing he repressed his pace, and thereupon desiring some secret place to recall his wits, and resume courage againe, Phaon his freed man offered his house foure miles off in the countrey, which Nero accepted; and so accompanied with four emen onely, Phaon, Epaphroditus, Sporus and Neophytus, fleeth awwbadly apparelled, and worse mounted, covering his head and hiding his face with a hundkercheffe. As he was in the way out of his Citie, approching the campe of the Guard. heheard the fouldiers shouting and wishing good lucke unto Galba, and ill to himselfe. In riding along, his horse starting aside, his face was discovered, and he known and saluted by meef the Guard which met him by chance. Whereupon for saking horse and highway. thorow bushes and briers, he crept in at the last into a thicket of reeds on the back side of Phions farme house, who perswading Nero in the meanewhile to sit in a pit out of the which fund had beene digged, he refused that favour, denying to goe alive under ground, und so cast him seife downe close in the reedes till they had beaten a hole in the wall, thorow which Nero upon all foure crept into the backfide, casting himselfe upon a simple pallet in a

Whilest Nerothus lurked, the Senate assembled in counsell declare him enemy of the fue, and punishable more majorum, sending out to seeke him and bring him alive. Conuning the choice of a new, although in their fecret opinions Virginius deferved to refume subenefit which he had put into their hands, yet being not willing to enter into further troublus, and raife up new civill warre, without which Galba, who had already foreprized theplace could not be fet downe, following the fouldiers example they onely agree all upon Gibs. By this time they about Nerowere instant upon him to rid himselfe quickly out of the contumelies and indignities, which anon he should be forced to endure. To whom yeelding himselfe, he commands to make ready for the funerals, weeping and wailing at every word, what great pitie it was, that fo good a Minstrell should be cast away. In the meane feafon, unameletters which were brought to Phion from Rome he snatched away, and finding therein the Senates decree, demanded what more majorum meant, for that piece of Law he hadnever perufed : understanding it was that his neck should be locked in a forke, and himselfewhipped naked to death, having in horrour so shamefull an end, he took up two rapiers which he had brought with him, and trying the points how (harpe they were, put them up againe, desiring some of them to beginne and show him the way to be manfull but desiring evertuous example out of so vicious a schoole, a Court so corrupt, he desired in vaine. And now the horsemen sent by the Senate approached, which Nero perceiving, by feare encuraged, ran him selfe thorow, Epaphroditus his secretary at his request helping to dispatch him the fooner, for which fervice he was afterwards put to death by Domitian, who thought inot meete to suffer any to live, which had in any fort lent his hand to the death of a Prince. Thus Nero a Prince in life contemptible, and batefull in government, having thereby difarmed himselfe both of the love and feare of his subjects, ended his daies the eighth of June inthe one and thirtieth yeare of his age, and fourteenth of his Empire, at the first having ruleathe flate with reasonable liking, insomuch that Trajan was wont to say, that even good Princes were short of Neroes sive yeare: but after breaking forth into all infamous behaviour, and detestable oppressions and cruelties, and being withall a Prince weake in actim, not of vertue sufficient to uphold his vices by might, hee was at the length thus over-

Nero being flaine, the people and Gentlemen, but principally the Nobilitie, the prin-A cipal

* 234.1.5 s.
6. pence.
* 39.1ib.1. s.
3. pence.

cipall object of tyranny, sacrificed to the gods and feasted for joy: some also were Bonnets, as being newly enfranchised. The Senate assembled again, decreeth thankes to Nymphidius in most exquisite manner, extolling his high wisdome and sender cave over the state; consistent to Galba all princely prerogatives and imperial titles; making thereof a publishe infruenth to Galba all princely prerogatives and imperial titles; making thereof a publishe Embassimit, which the Consuls sent him in post: and moreover concludeth upon a solemne Embassimit, which the Consuls sent him in post: and moreover concludeth upon a solemne Embassimit, sole of homour able personages with instructions, beside congratulations and complements, save of homour his personages with instruments, beside congratulations and complements, humbly to desire of near his presente entire to the more of membershap when which had been were so much detested, and the memory of their malice so fresh, that the order passed by very were so much detested, and the memory of their malice so fresh, that the order passed by very were so much detested, and the memory of their malice so fresh, that the order passed by very were so much detested, and the memory of their malice so fresh, that the order passed by very were so making them all with the rest of the ministers of Nerces tyranny, punishble more majorum: but was onely executed against one base persons, which had gained but little, and done little harme: the principal males factors brake thorow well enough, and essay.

While matters thus passed in France and at Rome, in Spaine Galbaes souldiers input ped the danger. were in termes to for sake him, and hardly reclaimed. About the same time also a freedman of Nero had bestowed upon Galba a present of bondmen prepared for a practise: who according to their instructions watching opportunities, as Galba by a narrow passage entred the balh, using their tongues, when time was, for hands, and exhorting one another not to let slipthe occasion, were suddenly apprehended, and being examined what occasion they mean, and put to the rack, confessed the treason. Anon after these hazards so hardly escaped, the news came to Galba of Vindex death, and that upon fo great a victory most men were willing Verginius should take the Empire upon him, or else would return to Nero againe. Galba extremely afraid writes to Verginius, befeeching him most instantly to joyn in defence of the liberty and Empire of Rome: himfelfe notwith landing as destitute and forlorne, and wtary of the world that went fo against him, leaving Vinius Licutenant in the army, retirebu Clunia, repenting of that he haddone, and wishing againe his private estate, as thoughin this case there were any meane between highest and nothing. Thus being distressed and an guisht in minde without any care of himselfe, or the cause, in very good scason comes telus his freedman from Rome in fewen daies thicker, reporting that Nero being yet alive, but mi to be found, the fouldier, the Senate and people had pronounced Galba Prince, that fraight thereupon Nerowes said to be flame, but himselfe not belowing it, went to the place, sw him lye dead, and fo came his way. Two daies after Vinius came from the campe, declaing to him the particular points of the Senates decree. Galba receiving the news with greating, as greatly above expectation, priviled geth Icelus to weare gold rings, advanceth Vinius chiefe place in credit about him : and laying afide the name of Licutenant, assumeth the title of Cafar, preferreth Cornclius Lacotobe Captaine of his Guard, and judging his pre-Sence necessary to settle the state, giveth out order for his voyage to Rome with his army by

New at Rome Nymphidius making his count that Neroes fall was his onely deed, that no recompence is sufficient for bestowing the diademe but the diademe, that Galba was old, no recompence is sufficient for bestowing the diademe but the diademe, that Galba was old, and searce could last out in a little to Rome, not by degrees, but with a maine course dero all to himselfe. The Guard in respect of their donative, were at his devotion, to be empload to himselfe. The Guard in respect to fit be senate coursed him daily, and seemed to deed as he should direct them. The Lords of the Senate coursed him daily, and seemed to depend wholly upon him. Whereupon usuring authoritie undue to his place, he commands the pend wholly upon him. Whereupon usuring authoritie undue to his place, he commands the and by Tigillinus his companion to put off his sword and surcease from his office, he consulted for such upon a displeasure, that they had sent the publike patents not by his soldiers, not consult upon a displeasure, that they had sent the publike patents not by his fouldiers, not consult upon a displeasure, that they had sent the publike patents not by his fouldiers, not consult upon a displeasure, that they had sent the publike patents not by his fouldiers, not consult upon a displeasure that they had sent the publike patents not by his fouldiers, not consult upon a displeasure that they had sent the publike patents and the have deprived.

And

And laying the plot for himselse be biddeth to banquet the principal men of the City: he surface hand to put in the souldiers heads to present supplication to Galba, to estability Nymphidius captaine for life without any fellow. To pleasure the people and get the billy Nymphidius captaine for life without any fellow. To pleasure the people and get the godwill of the commons, he permits them to vex and torment whom they could catch of Nematica. The properties of Nero, trailed him along the "Gladiator. To the streets, and dispatchs him in the place of publike assemble, Aponius an accuse, they wonthrew, and drew carts loaden with stones over his bodie, beside many other ourraged and slaine, and some, as it happeneth where thereine is let loofe to the furious multisude, inmentify: insomuch that in Senate a grave and honourable counseller openly protested, that is short time there would be great cause to wish Nero againe, as being more tolerable onety-quithen many, and better to live where nothing then where all things were lawfull. Thus symphidius, some to Nymphidia a libertine and old servant in court, and Martianus a senur, sorely assigned to the Empire, working in Rome by certaine gracious women and Senaus, sund sending to Spaine Gelianus one of his friends to especially the proceedings and actions of cula

Macer in Africke, the state being troubled, mustered men, and pretended for himfille; but being for avarice, and cruelise hated extreamely, and finding no followers, could miber maintaine it with strength, nor leave it with safety. Galvia Crispinilla Nenu schoole-mistresse in matter of pleasure and lust, when Nero was dead, misdoubting milihances, sailed into Africk, by ber advise Macer beset the sea-coasts, and forbade on corne should be transported, meaning to famish the Citie of Rome. Fonteius Capin, Lieutenant of low Germanie, somethought had a meaning also for himselfe. Ceruntit is that sitting in judgement, the partie aggrieved appealing to Casar, he shipped out of the feate where he fate, into a chaire of estate fet up on high, and then but him tell on his tale before Cafar. But Fabius Valens, Lieutenant there of a Lejim, greatly befriending Galbaes part, sware to him first he with his company, and in rest of the army followed the example, Verginius, the onely concurrent of Galba in buch of the people, baving overthrowne Vindex, and mastered France, notwithhading bis fouldiers after the death of Nero was knowne, pressed him againe in such whement fort, that one of the Tribunes drawing his sword, willed him to accept of it or the Empire, persisted constantly in his first resolution : and receiving anon udvist of the Senates decree, himselse most willingly, his souldiers hardly, and mit much adoe were perswaded fith lower Germanie had sworne to sweare alliquince to Galba. The rest of the Provinces without any difficultie accepted him

Now Galba disposing as Prince the affaires of the Empire, fineth the Cities of Spaine, which were not so forward to surther the cause, and some he dismantelable certaine Procuratours and officers be putteth to death, their wives and their children, a crueltic practiced no not by Nero, much lesse expected in Galbaes beginnings. He directeth out warrant to Trebonius Garrucianus Procuratour of Africa to pat Macer to death, dismisse the Legion lately mussered, and quiet the Countrey: and upoms in Prezimus place Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant in Germany. Then with summer on backe a sickly old man, himselfe and his men in warlike order much over the mountaines. The Cities of France that tooke part against Vindex be punisheth with losse of revenew and Countrey: the rest were relieved, their tributes a quarter absted, themselves made Citizens of Rome by meanes of their money, and Vinius; who carrying an ill minde, and serving in great place a weake master, made upen sale of his Princes free graces and favours. At Narbon the Embassadours settle from the Senate met him in a dutifull manner, whom Galba received courteously with friendly

friendly and familiar speeches and feasted in Sober fort all with his owne, though otherwise ho had plenty there of Neroes walters and service sent by Nymphidius. But anone Vinius which wholly possessed and governed the old man, counselled him to put off popularitie as not befer ming his place, to accept of Neroes provision, and to become royall in expense and service, Ver ginius having delivered the army to his successour met Galba on the way, received of himnet as in displeasure, and yet with small honour. So dangerous a point it is yeato have but onely

refused the Empire.

At Gellianus returne Nymphidius hearing that Laco was Captaine already, that rinius had all the authoritie and credit, that his messenger was suspected and watched of all not suffered to talke with the Prince in private, not once to approach to his person, was wonderfully moved in minde. Whereupon a Sembling the chiefe of the Guard, he shewed them. that Galba was for his owne part a good harmelesse old man, but misse led by two persons much of Tigellinus making, Vinius and Laco: and therefore it were not amisse to send one or two in the name of the whole to make him remonstrance, that remooving away thefe two from about him he hould be more welcome, and better accepted. This speech seeming strange and abfurd, to prescribe to a Prince of those yeeres, as it were to an infant, his counsell and fervants, he taketh a contrary courfe, and writeth to Galba in terrifying manner, That the matters at Rome were doubtfull and dangerous, that Macer in Africke had stayed the Ships, the Legions of Germanie stirred a new, the like was reported from Iewrie and Stria. But perceiving that Galba gave to his tales small care and lesse credit, and having the souldiers all well affected, he determined to prevent and give the attempt, notwithstanding that Clodius Celsus a sober wise man and one of his friendes plainely protested, that in his opinion scarce any three persons in Rome would accept him for Emperour: but the rest scoffedit out, named one Mithridates of Pontus, Perhapes, quoth he, Galba feemes fome body now to the Romanes, whilest he is absent, but when they shall see that bald head, and riveled face, he will feeme the very reproach and difgrace of the dayes in which he was Prince. And so they concluded at midnight following to bring Nymphidius into the campe and proclaime him Emperour. But when the Evening was come, Antonius Honoratus principal Tribune assembling the souldiers under his charge, demanded what evill spirit had bereaved them of understanding, mooving them so suddenly and without cause to change their allegeance. If Nero deserved it, what mother, what wife, had Galbathen killed? or for what misdemeanour would they forsake Servius Galba to preferre a Curtizans some? with whose blond they should ere it bee long, if they would bee directed by him, but revenge Neroes death, whom he first betrayed, and shew themselves loyall to Galba, a. gainst whom he intendeth: willing them lastly to reckon in reason what successe might tennethousand attend against the consent of the Empire armed for Galba. His souldiers thus being perswaded, perswaded the rest all in a manner to remaine in Galbaes obedience. Whereupon a shoute being made in the campe, Nymphidius supposing the souldiers had called him, or halling to confirme the wavering, and prevent the tumult, went thither himfelft with torches and linckes, having learned without Booke an oration composed by Cinconius Varro, to pronounce there among them. But finding the Gates of the campe made fall, and souldiers in armes on the walles, hee feared the matter, and drawing neere demanded what they meant, and by whose warrant they had put themselves so in armes. And when it was answered by all agreeably, that they knew not, nor would not accept other Print beside Galba, Nymphidius finding the perill, joyned with them, and wished also longlist and prosperitie to Galba. Augustus commanding his followers to doe all the like. And To by the fouldiers, which guarded the Gates, being admitted with a few of his traine, he was at his entrie welcomed in with a dart hurled at him, which one Septimius bare off with a buckler. But seeing so many at the receit with naked swords prepared

wint him, he fled, and being purfued was flaine at the length in a fouldiers cabin. The day following his body was laied out to view in an open place railed about.

Galba being yet in his way and hearing of Nymphidius death, commanded the rest of his fevourers and complices to be executed: among which Mithridates of Pontus paied for his with, and Cingonius V arro who penned the oration. As Galba drew neere to the City at the Milatian bridge, the Mariners met him, whom, being by Nero taken from fervice by fea, and invalled into a Legion, Galba had commanded to return to their former estate. But they being muy in number, and loath to go back to the Gallies againe, be fet the high way on both sides, demanding their Eagle and enfignes tumultuously, and so without order, that the Prince could neither be heard nor seen of the people making his entrie: neither could be appeale them by putting them over to another time of greater leisure and better audience, but taking defring as a kinde of denying, seditiously they murmured and followed with out-cries. And some of them also drew out their swords, as though they would obtain it by force, which by fure meanes they could not . Whereupon Galba commanding the horsemen to ride in among st hum, slew of them being unarmed seven thousand, and of the residue allotted every tenth musto suffer, putting the rest close up in prison, which neverthelesse he after enlarged to

hisdisadvantage.

Now Galba, being with generall applause and great good liking of the Empire placed inflate, behaved himfelfe under expectation. And though in most points he shewed himlifeavertuous Prince, yet were not his well doings fo well accepted, as those disallowed which were otherwise. All persons unjustly exiled by Nero, as well of the Nobility as muner fort, with their children he mercifully restored againe to their countrey and homur, though not to their wealth. Contrarily Petronius Turpilianus, an ancient man and we Confull, without forme of processe or order of law, hee commanded to die, beim charged with no other crime, but onely that he had beene faithfull to Nero, and would not betray him as the rest. Then was represented a plausible and gratefull spectacle, Elius, Polycletus, Locusta, Patrobius, Petinus and others in fetters drawne through the City and publikely executed, as ministers of Nero in mischiefes, whereas Tigellinus the Muster, not without notable congruitie, was by Galba protected. And notnuhlanding the people in Theatres and all common assemblies ceast not importunately to demand his death, as an accomplishment of due and exemplary justice pleasing to God and toman, yet gold with Vinius and Vinius with Galbaweighed fo much, that not oneh hereceived undeferved protection, but also for his take the people were rebuked by whike edict. Whereupon Tigellinus solemnizing the feast of his deliverance, Vinius nse from Supper with Galba and went thither with Crispina his daughter to banquet, upw whom Tigillinus bestowed a courtesie of * a thousand thousand sestences in ready mo. * That is a my, and beside all the jewels and Carcanets of his principall minion which sate there at chousand uble, by estimation * six hundred thousand sesterces. Beside Tigillinus one Halotus of pound Enelish Neroes instruments the most pernicious, was likewise by Galba protected, and pre- * Almost five funed also to an honorable office. Now for necrenesse Galba was noted extremely, a vice thousand though incident to age, yet doubtlesse in a Prince much misliked, and in a new Prince danzero is. To a certaine Musician which had wonderfully pleased, hee gave with his owne hands out of his owne purse * twenty sestences: and to his Steward at * Three shilthemsking up of his Bookes a reward from his Table. But that which was most ma-lings English. urial of all, and prepared the way to his fall, was his hardnesse towards the fouldiers: to whom large donative being promised in Galbaes name, and requiring if not so much, yet so much at least as they were wont to receive, he wholly refused the fait: adding withall. That fouldiers he took up in the muster, bought not in the martt. A saying no doubt fit for a great Prince in a more vertuous age, but not so in those

[casons

The end of Nero, &c.

seasons for him, who suffered himselfe to be sold every houre, and abused to all purposes; to be governed by three pedagogues, Vinius and Laco his favorites, and Icelus his man. Toprivate men it is sufficient if themselves do no wrong: a Prince must provide that none do it a. bout him: or elfe he may looke when the first occasion is offered against him to be charged with all the whole reckoning together. To him that suffereth the injury, it matters no much who made the motion when he feeleth the hand that is heavy upon him. Thus Galla though innocent of much harme which passed under his name, yet because he permitted them to commit it, whom he ought to have bridled, or was ignorant of that which he ough to have knowne, lost reputation, and opened the way to his owne destruction.

FINIS.

THE HISTORY

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. The Proeme of Tacitus, wherein he professeth simple dealing without partiality.

HE beginning of my Worke shall be at the yeare, when Servius Galba The yeare of the was (1) second time Confull with Titus Vinius. For the ancient sto-Cuy 822. rie of the people of Rome, for a feven hundred and twenty yeares af- a Tac. Ann. r. ter the City was founded, (2) many excellent men have delivered, firm vel adverwith no lesse elequence then liberty of speech: but when as after the figure memorata

battell at Actium, the whole foveraignty, as it was b meet for the peace of the state, four timperson was conferred upon one, those worthy wits were no more to be found, and with all the truth of the story was diversly weakened: partly (3) because having no more done slivers and the truth of the story was diversly weakened: partin the state, they were ignorant of publike affaires; and partly being led away distance described with a lust to flatter the Princes, or againe to deface them. So betweene malice b Tac. Ann. of the one fide, and awed partialitie of the other, finall regard there was taken by damitipartices either, how posteritie should be truely enformed. But that endeavour, to please medium fuiss, quam at 49 miles and winne thankes, in a Writer a man shall easily mislike, having in it the foule note regretion. offervilitie: detracting and envious carping, carrying a counterfeit flew of liber- & claudi as Netherland, offervilitie, off findeth a good and gracious audience. Now for Galba, Otho, Vitellius, but infly to menun tome they are as unknowne, for either benefit or wrong I have found at their fulfe, positional reconhands, My first rising, I will not deny, was under Vespasian, my state bettered by thus offic compo-Titus, and so further advanced by Domitian: but they which make profession of Ann. the simple truth, may not say ought of any man for love or for hatred. Hereafter, ifthe gods spare me life, I purpose when I am old, to set down the story of (4) Prince Newa of facred memory, and of the Emperour Trajane, a more plentifull and fafe matter to deale in, where a man may thinke what he will, and fay what he thinkes: ararefelicitie of the time.

(1) When SERVIUS GALBA was fecond time Conful) Cornelius Tacitus, whom Vepifcus calleth faripmin hiffmin Augusta, wrote two teverall volumes of histories: one from the death of Augustas, as it may feeme, whit Calends of January next after the death of Nero, comprehending Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, and Neroes ime, and the greater part of Galba; another from the faul Calends to the death of Domitian. Of this latter volume in order of time, how foever it was in order of writing, the first foure books comprile the hillory of one yeare and some moneths onely, from the beginning of January, when Galba and Vinius entred their Consultings, in the Year ab urbe condita \$ 2.2. according to Tacitus, or rather the confent of the Empire in that time Clardio C. fare quarwa, Fiellio tectium coff. faith he, 11. Annalium, just two and twenty years before Galba and Vinus, Lidi feederes offagents fino pol Raman conditan anno spellatifual, which account exceedent the Capitolin (as they call it) by one pengand agreeth tully with (a) Varo, (b) Cicero (c) Plinic and (c) Dioes reckoning. Now although the Prince a Conformat. 21, and an officer may feem in one person incompatible qualities, yet the custome of that state beareth, that the Empe. b Bruss. Tour the first year of his Empire of order, and efficiency upon pleasure supplied the one Constituent in Empire of order, and efficiency upon pleasure supplied the one Constituent extension is the Seap. 7.

Tour the first year of his Empire of order, and efficiency upon pleasure supplied that the supplied of the Seap. 7.

Tour the first year of his Empire of the Seap of the end nothern up the supplement of the Committee of the state of the sta winement was content to be made Confull against with Metellus Pins, and from home it proceeds the peradventure, that even at budg, the Romaine Princes, when they name Corfuls for the flate, divers times pronounce than floes also, not disclaiming even mil their foverage authoritic to joyne alfo the title of oufult. Now the first Confulat of Galba was(e) foure yeares before e Tar. Low Therius death, obtained by favour of Livia Augulla, faith Plutarch in Galba; Melies muegyouless unwere de muzerle ማሳኝም : which I thinke is an overfight, for the was dead foure yeares before, in fmall favour with her fonne, and they infmaller, that fought by her meanes to rife in honours, Tacit. 5. Annalium. Quin & parte ejufdem epiflole in-

שנים אונים אונים

of gods by men

per umbras.

i lile A.

cretnit Tiberius amicitias mulicbres, Fusum consulem oblique persti ingens is gratiz Auguste florucrat, aptus alliciendis sommirum animis, co. Neither was it Tiberius manner to bestow offices so long before hand. Tacit. 2. Annalium.

(2) Many excellent men] Principally meant, as I take it, of Livie, although his ftory reach somewhat further. of whole eloquence, those works are witnesse that remaine; and of his liberty, Tacit. 4. Annal. in the oration of Or whole eloquenes, those Livius eloquentic ac sidei practarus inprimis Cn. Pompeium tamis laudibus tula, ut Pompeiarum cum Augustus appellaru, neque id amiciike torum esfecit. Scipionem, Afranium, hune ipsum Cassium nusquam latrones & pari. tidas, que mino vocabula imponuntur, sepe ut infigues vinos nominat.

(3) Because having no paut in the state they were ignorant: Issatiursipub. ut ali.ne.] Aliexa ignorantur, sitherbe.

cause we cannot, or because we care not to know them. The first seemeth here to have place; for whereas before f As of the 12. the people and Senate of Rome to ok knowledge of all that was done where foever, now the most important affaire of chate passed thorow fewer fingers, in more secret fort. Dio. lib. 53. rd wir nashwayda, aj de angistrar 31 rd miskan do five only , lulius, Augultus, Clau- or citate panete thorows tower integration and. That is, The most part of offices began in secret son to be difficulted. Augustus, Clau-

whereof the certaine truth no manlikely knew, except the doers themselves. (4) Prince Nerva of faced memory: Principalum Divi Nerva & imperium Trajani] To certaine Emperours the nonized : the o-Senate for their good government, or importuned by their fuccessours, awarded Templum & caleffee religiones, and ther 7. as being the title of Divus. And not onely to the Princes themselves, but sometimes to their wives, mothers, and children allo; as we reade in the stories. Appraise 2 Euton is multi inclus agents (ipcaking of Divus Julius) prugiu no infin were not youchfafed the honor. எம் முழு எம்றி நேற்றான, மா மும் எழுது எம்றி நேற்ற கூறு காறிய முறிய முறிய முறிய முறிய நிறிய g lib. 15. Annal.
h This making is, From Julius Casar downsward all the Princes, except they were tyrants, or extreamely victions, were by the Roman and cfier their deaths. Nam Deum honor Principi non ante babetur quam agere inter homines desferit, (9) Tacitus. And therefore Last lib 7 de in this place he nameth Trajan, who then lived, fimply without addition: the other that was dead, Divam No. างแก. The ceremonies of this (h) มัการ์เตาร or canonifing, as being in part conformable to the use of some countries rideth, Cladu tumen union to the principal points. Afterthe beams Vinditam in our time, I will here briefly fet downe out of (1) Herodian, and others, at least the principal points. Afterthe quanta terris data Princes death, the body being buried honourably, and in sumptuous fort according to the manner of other men. they framed an image of wax refembling in all respects the party deceased, but palish and wan as a sick manaadso Betta pures Jopens boing (k) layed at the entry of the Palace in (1) an Ivory bed covered with cloth of gold, the Senate and Latus affifting in mourning attire, the Phylicians daily reforted unto him to touch his pulse, and confider in colledge of vos Fulminibas his difeafe, doctorally at their departure refolving that he grew in worfe & worfe tearms, and hardly would leapein manes,radiifque At the end of (m) leven dairs they opined, & found by their learning, the crifis belike being bad, that the pricet was ornalit & aftris, Angue Denum temperated: whereupon feme of the Senate appointed for that purpole, & principall gentlemen, taking up the bedupon their shoulders carrred it thorow Vialacrainto the Forum; where a company of young gentlemen of greatel birth standing on the one fide, and maids on the other, sung hymnes and sonners, the one to the other, in commendation of the dead Prince, entuned in a folemne and mournfull note, with all kind of other mulick and meloter the death of the lare Charles die, as indeed the whole ceremony was a (n) mixt action of mourning and mirth, as appeareth also by STATEA X menhexwordes, at the confectation of Claudius. Et et at omnium formossssimum (funus (laudii) & impensa cura plenum, u sinn image was laid Deum off eri, tibicinum, convienum, omnifue generus encatorum tanta turba, tantus conventus ut etiam Claudius audne pole. in a rich bed, in Afterward they carried the herfe out of the city into Campus Martius, where a square tower was builded of tim-"Afterward they carried the herfe out of the city into Campus Martius, where a financ tower was builded of ta-tramplatature, where a financ tower was builded of ta-with the crowne ber, large at the bottome, and of competent height to receive wood and fagors fufficiently, outwardly bederk and win the clowne with cloth of gold, imagery work, and curious pictures. Vpon that tower flood a fecond turret in figure and upon his head, & hung with cloth of gold, imagery work, and curious pictures. Vpon that tower flood a fecond turret in figure and the coller of the furniture like to the first, but somewhat leste, with windows & doors standing open, wherein the herse was pixed, order about his and all kinde of spiceries & odours, which the whole world could yeeld, heared therein; and foa third & someway and for the same of th y ret, and to forth growing Ieste and leste toward the top, the whole building representing the forme of 4(0) lanthorn daies at ordinary ret, and to forth growing telle and lette toward the top the whole building repretenting the forme of a (o) and the most of dinner & or watch-tower, which give thight in the night. Thus all being placed in order, the gentlemen first nde about, imper was fer- marching in a certain measure: then follow others in open coaches with robes of honor, and upon their facts nved in with all zards of the good Princes, and other honoral le personages of ancient times. All these ceremonies thus being peraccustomed cere- formed, the I rince which succeede that eith a terch, and first putter to the fire himselfe, and after him all the edfor monies, as sew- formed, the I rince which succeede that the same handled our of the property bushes to the hobest succeede was let succeeded. mounts) where the company: and by and by as the fire was kiedled, out of the top of the highest turret an (p) cag le was let the top of the highest turret an (p) cag le was let the top of the highest turret and p) cag le was let the top of the top of the highest turret and p) cag le was let the top of the top of the highest turret and p) cag le was let the top of the top of the highest turret and p) cag le was let the top of the top of the highest turret and p) cag le was let the top of the top of the highest turret and p) cag le was let the top of the top of the highest turret and p) cag le was let the top of the top of the highest turret and p) cag let was let the top of the highest turret and p) cag let was let the top of the highest turret and p) cag let was let the top of the highest turret and p) can be a simple to the top of the highest turret and p) can be a simple top of the top of the highest turret and p) can be a simple top of the top of the highest turret and p) can be a simple top of the highest turret and p) can be a simple top of the highest turret and p) can be a simple top of the highest turret and p) can be a simple top of the highest turret and p) can be a simple top of the highest turret and p) can be a simple top of the highest turret and p) can be a simple turret and p) can be a sin carving, say 12- carry up his foule into heaven: and so he was afterward reputed, and by the Romans adoted, among the rest of the carving, 129 ta- carry no histotic into neaven: and to ne was atterward reputely and by the contain and the thing, &c. all the golds Marry, which I had omitted almost, by fore confectation it was usually that form gentleman at least shouldbe Cardinals. Pre- troy an oath to proove their deity. Suctionius Augusto: "Me definit vir Prestoins, qui se spiguor crimati (August) area, to the proof of the succession of the successio renen, annum cersaternling in Ilh. co. Mich er in yanis Arbeite in nie iemer, durch drocharon, ginit Inte ousprechtim inegring fann. Edisyn ind. et ginne is de gini muju, et seiden, innewaich. Or, ni nied dinne Indi Mayertogie, zi fi lande cae'ine, is a nien zi einen weplake it. nie etten i fice ne vote vapie, et hadden, ivaegoväck. G., vi v vid anne die dingeproje, ze vi lauvie carine, is e vi ver ze item quiede inte nie etten i fice had beene alive. That is, One Livius Cominius a Senatour sware that he saw Dross a gleending up into beaven, & concersing with the godenste National no. ing to king-ife and his chiedea utter destruction if he sp. k. an instruth, calling to writing to both sandry other gold , and especially the control of the control of special gold of the special property of the control principal special property of the control principal special spe particularities of the long. Whose tale, for all it was well paid for, men beleeved never the hetter. Senera, hereo, warmfor: Possum on specified in 18. long. Whose tale, for all it was well paid for, men beleeved never the hetter. Senera, hereo, warmfor: Possum on specific in the long of the in fenatu juravit fe Drufillam vid ffe culum afcendentem, & illi pro tam bont nuncio nemo tredidit, quod viderit, veibit tonuqtis offi mavit, se non judicate run, ettores in medio foro hominem vid secocisium. This lesson they may feeme to havelessa. m During that ed of Proculus Julius, who took an oath not much otherwife for Romulus deitie, whom the Senate murdered and philinus, there is made a god-ifrom whence this race of the Roman gods may feeme to have taken beginning. Tully also had a men-tioned also a page in ginar way for his daughter Tulliola, as appeareth by his Epitlles ad Atticum, but worldly troubles pur out of his cocks feathers to head those heavenly cogitations. From C. Carlar, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, in a manner without interkeepe away the tuption, the cultome dured folong, that many also of the Christian Emperors enshrined in this fore their fathers & thes from his free as filewere predecessours. And this was the honor done to the good Princes after their death: as for the bad, they lacked not free as filewere predecessours.

unt ancepe n Heredin I.4. Mulgiairer 17 1190g-topri gi Spensisa. Dio. leb. 56. in Epitapo. Angeli: s'angeò bil modil duris qui repirta indi d'appe de già. de 2012-201. O Phanus. p Dio. leb. 56. in funce Angeli: egià rarad data legent nappe y deberre, spi fun durit; (m) tripar) si è ui d'adicata, disti il si il dario dellis, distilato, de si di d'appe darii e trè region de napper.

not likewise the Senates reward, ut nomen fastis eximeretur, ut slatue de ficerentur, ut corpus uneo traberetur in Tilerim.

II. A generall view of the whole History following.

Worke I take here in hand containing fundry changes, bloudy battels. violent mutinies, a peace full of cruelty and perill: b foure Emperours staine a Chiefly referwith fword, 'three civill warres, forraine many moe, , and oft both at once: test bountain time.

good fuccessed in the East, bad in the West: 'Illyricum troubled, the countries of b Galla, Otha, Ot gout awavering: 3 Britanny all conquered, not all retained: invafions of the Sat-1646. Domition and Suevian nation: the * Dacian giving and taking notable overthrowes: treen 6.799 the Parthians also almost in armes, +abused by a counterfeit Nero. Now for Italie, and Viellius, the second bethe fecond behefore: townes * burnt or overwhelmed: 5 most fruitfull tract of Campania, and Thethird of the city of Rome wasted by fire: the most ancient temples confirmed to alhes: even Land to be capital it felfe fet on fire by the citizens owne hands: the holy ceremonies pro
Notice to the confirmed to alhes to the confirmed to alhes to the confirmed to the total to the confirmed to the confi bined with bloud: and yet greater rage of cruelty in the city. d To have beene civil differing wealthy or nobly borne, was a capitall crime; 8 offices of honour likewife either to ons: or mutuae henethem, or forbeare them; and vertue the ready broad way to most assured de- Hauste section. Andion. Neither were the wicked practifes of the informers more odious, then was or generally ustherecompenee they obtained: fome gained, as spoiles, Pontificall dignities what for first and Consults roomes: some other 10 Procuratorships and 11 inward credit, man and supply the consults and 11 inward credit, man and supply the consults and 11 inward credit, man and supply the consults and 11 inward credit, man and supply the consults are supply the consults and 11 inward credit, man and supply the consults are supply the consults and 11 inward credit, man and supply the consults are supply the consults are supply the consults and 11 inward credit, man and 11 inward credit. highavocke of all without any difference. 12 The bondmen upon hatred or feare, 17 the wreallured to betray their owne mafters, the freedman his patron, and where enewere allured to be tray their owne marters, the freedman in spation, and where the pullow of Nere, messwere wanting, one friend ruined another. And yet for all this, was not the age did markin all butterly voyde of all good, but that it yeelded fome good examples; divers wives kind of tyranny. were content to take fuch part as their banished husbands did; divers mothers. as merchildren; some kinsfolke hardy; some sonnes in law faithfull; some bondmen wracke could remove from being true to their masters: the death of some honoablemen, and their last torments manfully borne, and to be matched with those of ancient times. Befide fo manifold changes in humane affaires, many prodigious fights were feene in heaven and earth; many forewarnings by thunders; many preliges of things to come, fome portending good lucke, fome bad; fome ambiguous and doubtfull, some plaine and evident: such heavy and horrible calamities in the Romanestate, yeelding proofes never more pregnant, 13 that the gods are carefull mher to revenge our wrongs, then provide for our fafety. But before I enter into mypurposed matter, I thinke good to rehearse first, what the state of the city was, how the fouldiers were affected, in what termes the provinces stood, and what there wany where in the whole Empire found or complaining: foshall we see 14the rasons and causes of things, not onely the bare events, which are most commonly governed by fortune.

I. And oft both at once . As pleyumque permixta] Both at once, or perchance both in one, as in Antonius Trimus myathe toking of Gremona, out cives, focis externs interessent. Tacitus 3. Hist. and in the same booke : Principes omnarum Jazigum in commilitium afciti, trabuntur in partes Sido atque Italicus reges Suevorum, fo that this warre, and his like, though in respect of their captaines civill, by reason of externall helpes might be called fermixta.

1. Illyricum troubled] As in O hoes time by the Koxolani. Tacitus in this first booke, in Vitellius, by the Daci : 143. hill. in Velpafians by the Sarmala; Josephus 2200. 7.c. 12. and generally the nations upon that border in-

uded the Romans under Domitian. Tacitus in the lite of Agricola.

3. Britanny all conquered, &c. Britannia perdomita : & flatim missacoborte in Sarmatarum at Suevorum genies | Some mund men correct this place, which no doubt is corrupted, thus: perdomita Britannia at flatim amiffa: coorte Sar-Maum ac Sucverum gentes, perdomita Britannia is meant by Julius Agricola in Domitians time. Tacitus in vita

The first Book of the History Agricole : Quia tura demum perdomita est Britannia : now must it be lost againe in the same Domitians time (for this hiltory passeth no further) which cannot be prooved by any story, no not by any stender conjecture. Tacitus writing nitory panein no intrier o milita cannot be proofed of any faith he, reip. tempora, que fileri Agricolam non finerent i tot conthe lite of Agricolain I rajans time, Lainjeenia jam, laitin ne, rep. compout, que juit roy isonan our justen i lotton, tus in Niefa Daciaque, & Germania Pannoniaque, temevitate aut per ignaviam ducum amilji i tot militares viri com u cobortibus expugnati & capit; nec jam de limite imperii & ripa, sed de hibernis legionum & possissipon dubitatum. The lossest Britannyif there had beene any fuch, had much better becomed this place, then any other calamity that he could a Tradident inte- have told us. But A Agricola left the country in good quiet, and so no doubt it continued all Domitians time a Traditoral line have counts. Dut - nginona set incoming in good yacts, and the country, but fome diforder) being cut of rim Agricola fine. As for any matter happening under Adrian (which yet was no lofte of the country, but fome diforder) being cut of the compalle of this hiltory, and as it is likely, of his life that wrote it, I will easily believe it was not intended to be the compane of this finer, you as it is many on misting that who left, which will be needed to briefed in this place. More according to the flory, and with lefte change in the letter, we may thus amendit. Mag. nia perdomita & fatin miffa falia (i. miffa, desifiés) coorte Sermataum ac Saconum gentes, to lignific that all Briting maperannua o pattin mijajatea (t. mija) vinero) toniz Germanianos as Sievonos (este, o cientite tati Ditang was conquered, but not all retained. App. vis Bariaribs rive, faith he, is aetines izcers dato funo (il Paudo) ili was conquered, out not an recained. The same of the same of the land of Britanny the Romens poffill the bift pag about baffe of the whole Ite, not taring much for the rift. For even of that which they have they reape no great profit.

one way of the second surplus enough many for the rips, a weeking that control the forest temperature from the Analysis for 4. Abuted by a counterfeit Nero J his hapned in 1 itus time. Auntains ium, 1. வாட்டிர் நாள்ளுக்கு மார் மார்க்கும் வர்கள் நாள்ளுக்கு முற்றுக்கு மார்க்கும் நாள்ளுக்கு முற்றுக்கு நாள்ளுக்கும் மார்க்கும் வருக்கும் நாள்ளுக்கும் நாள்ளைக்கும் நாள்ளைக்கும் நாள்ளைக்கும் நாள்ளைக்கும் நாள்ளைக்கும் நாள்ளைக்குக்கும் நாள்ளைக்கும் நாள்ளைக்குறைக்கு நாள்ளைக்குரைக்கு நாள்ளைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குரைக்குறைக்குரைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குரைக்குறைக்குரைக்குறைக்குரைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குறைக்குரைக்குறைக்குரைக்குரைக்குரைக்குக்குரைக்குறைக்குரைக்குறைக்குறைக்குக்குரைக்குறைக்குரைக்குறைக்குக்குரைக்குரைக்குரைக்குரைக்க ares as, compare y septimes postation ocypecter would other adoptioners, by the ocyc opticates its the residence expecting and મુક્ત દેદ શું di opple vir virus motifolio , toll gare virus ni newspayir ets fatetto magnerated form. That is, in Titus time time angle counterfeis Neo, called ind ed Te critis Maximus, by bithof Aja, and much refembling Neo both in countenance and was, skilled also an influment. This fillow got in Afa (me followers, and going forward to Euphratis many moc. At length he fall Antabanu King of the Parihians, who bearing ill voil to Titus gave him entertainment, and made provision to reduction to Rome. Succonius Winne fermeth to make it in Domitians time. Quam polt weginit onnos, (after Neroes deah) [sinh he, adol feette me exittifiet conditionis interte, qui se Neronem esse jattaret, 1am severable nomen e jus apud Parthusa, u vehemence odjutus, & vix reddivis fit. Tacitus 2 hift, and the abridgement of Diomaketh mention of another shed

in Othors time was flaine in Cythno infula by Calpurnius Affrenas.

Senors time was hame in 1, young unjura by caparano approve.
5. The most fruitfull tractof Campania, and the City of Rome wasted by fire] Suet. Tito. cap. 8. Quedia [6] eo fontuita a: triftia accidentat, ut confirgratio V favii montis in Campania, & incendium Ron a pertriduum, totudenquendu, Xiphilinus the abridger of Dio describeth this burning of Vestuvius at large with all the circums and according to the control of the circums of the control of the circums and the circums are administrative to the circums and the circums are administrative to the circums are ad cles, among the reft, that the aftes thereof were dispersed into Africke, Syria, and Egypt: 4790,547 3 314 7 1044, को न के बीहर में पढ़ांक बच्चेंट क्लिक्टरन, मुं को क्रिका क्लिक्टांबर. That is, And at Rome filled all the ayre about the city, and defeating fume. Plinius Sccundus in an Epitle to Tacitus fetteth it out upon occasion of his unkles death, who was finded there with ashes and smoke. In the latter Emperors time the same mountaine burned againe in such velumention that they at Conftantinople were choaked all up with the after that iffued from it, if we may fately believe thirms that they at Contrantinopie were chosed all up with the airc's that much from it, if we may take to refer the foliate. Now for the walting of Rome by fire, Xiphilians delivered; it at large, or of the large of the fire in the right foliation. The backs involved to the state of the application, it is to be a state of the state of the application in the state of the state of the application, it is to be applicated by the state of the application of ரு எக கிறுள்ளில்ல, நீ சக் விதில்லே சென்ற, நீ சி விறையாள்ள கையக்கு நீ மி காவிக கட்டிறாக ஆடி சிதி நிகிக்கு, சிச் சாவர் விழுக் resurrantive to Al number dural restrictions. That is, the serie following that of Vefacius, another fire weited very manyang Rome. For t confumed the temple of Scrapis, that of Ifis, the places called Septa, the temple of Neptune, Astrippes blash, the ac theon, the Diribitatium, the Offaviens butkings with the bookes, moreover the temple of Iupiter Capito ieus and his florege.

6. The llands, &c. Plenum exiliis mere] Mare pro infulis. So Tac. 4. Ann. calleth Serphus, [axum Scriphur, yan of contempt: for fuch commonly were the llands, into which the religation were fent. The usual Hands of decident cation were Pandateria, Planafia, Cercina, Seriphus, Gyarus, Cythera, Amorgus, Donula, Trimetu, Bicus,

7. The chittes, &c. Infectifelibus Coputi The relegation infulam were commonly upon a fecond meffageledate Sardinia, Naxus, and perhaps others. to come erecke or promontory, and co quietly made away, or peradventure floque i is taken here po in it, man

8. Or forbearethem] Xiphilinus Domitiano maketh mention of Herennius Senecio, whem Domitiano maketh death, decause after the Quellorship he had not demanded in all his life any higher office. Tacitus and the cole. Salarium tamen poconfulari solitum esseri, & quibus dam à seinso cencessim Agricole non dedu (Domitionus) seine

9. Asspoyles] In Tiberiustime, when Libo Drusus was accused of treason, bona damnati inter accusaminate but Tacitus him- fies non petitum, five &c. bantar, & fretme extra ordinem date is qui fenatorii ordinis crant. Tacitus 2, Annal. Againe 3, Annal. Hust firam face of Agricola Sabinum) Letinius Latinis Portius (ato, Pettius Rufus, M. Opfius pretwa functi aggred unter cupicline confuldat speck ing not of the time here intended, but of the fame manner of proceeding; rather of other men, thenother ther reason, becaute he publith-

16. Procuratorthips] Tous ator, faith Cicero pro Cerina, dictor is, qui omnium return () s, qui in Italia nos fi assessing nip, caufe, quaft que dan gene d'uniens if, h. c. alons juin vicame. Appian translateth it à 7 Northulas Fatherias. Em this generall not; m, the word was afterward particularly applyed to certaine officers, which were appointed in en province (befide the Prefidents, or Lieutenants) as it were, treasures or receivers to gather up the revenues of the Empire. Dio 1.53. Vargiers in wife of a sunit combination of the commence of the Empire. nom proportion.

or over Romanus tors we call them which receive, and according to their commissions fay out the common revenue. Tac. in vita Agricos buts and Administration of the common revenue. eth in the Britaines complaining · Singulor fibi olim reges fuisse, nune tinos in pont, è quibus legatus in sangunem, pracum in bona fevire. An office of gaine rather then honour, supplyed by the gentlemen of Rome, or by the Principle bertines, generally by his molt affored and trully fervitors. And this was their first institution. Besides this they was fer also to frie the Lieutenants actions, and sometime they had speciall commission to murder them. Sometime and niferanda principal de la compania actions authorisation and preciai committee of mander them. Sometime and principal de la committee of the procurators cam principal, or vice procurations and principal description and the committee of the procurators cam principal description. Tac. in this booke: Due Mauritanie, Rhuita, Noticum, Thratia, & que alia procuratorism conibernius, ut cui que carrier vicine, ita &c. Claudius especially enlarged the office, or jus, fault Tacitus, sepins andita vox ell, paren vin reanis

bodam a poetratoribus suis judicaturum, ac st ipse stat viss t. Ac no fortuito protapsus vid retur, senatus quoqueconsulto cantum, beauth & processing the state of the processing the processing the part of the processing the pr prant Litutenant, or Prefident. Tacitus 15. Annal. Autor workins ejas Chiffus, qui Tiberio impetitate, per procuramem Pontuem Pilatum Supplicio aff Chas crat.

in Inward credit] Such was the credit of Mæcens with Augustus, and of Salustius Crispus, who as Tacitus (e) reporteth, Quanquam prompto ad capeffendos honores adutu, Mecantiem a mulates, fine disontete fin tiona multos trium- s Ann. 3. (B) repuission and potentia antesit, incolumi Mecenati proximes, mox primus, cui scerta imperatorum inniceentus. In former, fuch as cared not to beare office of honor, but otherwife governed the prince peaceably, in quality of favou-

rites, or mimons, as they call them. 12 The bondmen] In ancient time by a decree of the Senate the bondman could not be put to the torture in caand amini : but Tiberius, faith Tacitus 2. Annal. callidas, & novi jures repertor, maneipari singu'os actori publico jubit : passeum a dominum ex servis sato senatuseonsulto quereretu. Afterward induta servorum without torture were usually name as good evidence, and largely rewarded, Tacitus 16. Annal, in the cause of Petronius; corrupte ad 14-

deium fervo. That the Gods are carefull rather &c.] Titus the Emperor, having thipped away all the informers & promous menti anuno fecuritati noftre vitioni que profiperent ad aque nominibus equatus eff, such Plisy in his Panegyrick, attribuing to the gods both qualities to fave us from haime, and to revenge us when we are harmed, and carrying a motreverent conceit of them, then his fellow (h) Tacitus feemeth to do in this place, and in some other places be- Lucanlib. 4. the 14 Annal. Producia quoque crebia & unta intercesser. Anguem enixa molter, & alia inconstitutumarti sulmine ex- Fasix Roma we. 14 immol repente obferrates, & table de colo quaturdecim urbis regiones. Que adio fine cura deun evenicoant at multos quidem, civelfa; ngum Afro imperium & faelera continuaverit. Annal 16. Exptus onnulus fortanis, & in exilian actus (Cashis Afele-habitura beator. monus) aquitate deum erga bona malaque documenta. And yet in some other places he letteth fall sometimes religious Si libertatis sumontes, corrying himfelfe as it were in ballance doubtfully between the careleinesse of Polybius that way, and pensiam ema before thirounnelle of Livy, two princi, all writers of the Romane flory.

pageres, pageres, it Thereafons and causes of things, not onely &c.] The commendation of an history confished not in report- Duam windista. in but events, but in discovering the causes of those events, without which the Reader can picke but small profit placet. in part events, out in autorems in the state states of permition, (i) faith Polybius, The dor'd The medical form they describe the second frame of inculring ma, mege 3 το uiner eder agraed το παρείπαι. That is, neither are the writers of flories nor readers fo much to regard and assistant the bare narration of the actions themselves, as the precedents, the adjuncts and configuences of the actions. For take confirm flory the causes whereupen, and the monner how, and the purpose where fare things were dent, and whether the affine ballub facceffe as in probability was to be expetted, that which yer aincib is a tale indeed, but no instruction, for the present detalum facteffe as in provate us to the term to the transfer fact of the fact o при фамоно confestum fit, & quis criumphains imrait i , & que in co bello gela fint iterace ; non pra desri autem interen tal mans decreverit, ant que lex rogatione la a fit, neque quibus confilis ea gefta fint; id fabulas preus est navara, na hilloinligibere. Wabis non modo latis elle vid a qua i lattum ellet id pronuntiare; led etiam avo confilio ovenue ratio e velta effent templane And Dionvine Appendon 5. Tota describerant to isocia in ingrit els apinetes, to the doto the occasione क्ष्याच्या है है। इस के कार supposes, it madries distances Not But To mesustan rois cochypan nueguodudir. That is, in reading of livres the principal most willth not in knowing onely the end of things and was, but every man defreth to understand the causes of that which passed, ungun on in quowing oneign on the foreign of the doors, the econiveness of fortune, and to be ignorant of mothing which belonged any 1 in fragmentis. my wheathen. The like lib. 1 t. For this vertice The epomous why the fame (1) Dionytius extolled, and praifed in most exquisite manner mainten, faith he, Est To sport out (Θιοπόμπου) & χαθαπηρικάτατος, ο παράλει το danar out-William Alicia and Ceralter at rate observed airloc rill medicur, a rill medicurus duran rat madon rate forat, a miled fin role monoce eith-19. έπαθητα έκχαχύπθεν τε μιστίζεια της τα δικάσης είρετες, η - αγγοκμένης γακίας, η μοι δικές ος είμοθινόμβο το του του κατολουθείο thrindigane Remouseshi To enei digario, estus du gant if it din i Dionicurou γραφές γιγνέμα . That is, The laft of bis verwe and mult precious and proper, as being by no other inflory wester old ner new fo exactly performed, as this, in every action not sulto fee and de line what was apparent to the view of the world, but alfo to fearth out the first earles of actions, and to fee webe affections of their mendes who are agents : things not eafily fienc of the common fort, and final yto discover all the myleries inhofmeraded vertue and coleid vice, the examination and triall by the compute writings being no left exact then the arraignand of footes faintently develed before the of small fidges. Now Tactus in this place fetting us downer a Theoreme of billory, wherein with our controverse he excelled; that an hilloriographer is to give knowledge of counsels and m In division mory, wherein with our controverse necessary, that eventus pleanage fluit fortuit, that is, either had no of mitions. or metions.

confession of the first could be diffeovered, may from in (m) program diagnost, to have from very neerely, but a Incomposi-Jain (n) owe soft to have looked not fo well about him: inything formewhat thrangely two contrary notions to-

III. The

praise of Helvidius Prifcus. e Tar. 16. Anne Mella petitione henorum abstinue. rat per ambitiotentia aquaretur, fimul acquirenda

din struig சேரி மீர் மாலம் பெர் மீர் மா

paier Hranes.

felfe in the pre-

alledgeth ano-

ed a booke in

The first Book of the History

He death of Nero, as it was a the first very joyfully received, so wrough it anon very divers effects in the mindes of the Senate at home; the people and City-fouldier, and of all the Legions, and captains abroad, perceiving the 2 fecret of state disclosed, that a Prince might be made elsewhere then at Rome. The Lords of the Senate were glad, finding their liberty straightway put in practife. 3 making indeed very bold with their Prince, as being new in state, and away: next were the principall Gentlemen as in degree, so in rejoycing; of the people the sounder fort, and fuch as were linked with great houses, the followers and freed-men of condemned and exiled persons were raised to hope: the base people noseledun in the * Race and Theaters, together with the worft fort of bondmen, and those which having eaten their owne, lived onely now upon Neroes dishonours, huno downe the head, and liftned for novelties. The City fouldiers possessed with the Tac. 14. Ann, oath of allegeance so many descents a to the house of the Cæsars, and to forsake Nero being wrought rather by art and cunning perswasion of others, then of their Pretorianos tota owne motion, when they faw the donative, which was promifed them in Galbaes Cxfarum domui name, not to be performed, nor the like poffibilitie and meanes of great defen, and great gaine in peace, as in warre; feeing also their thankes prevented by the Legions, who first proclaimed the new Prince: upon these and the like respects being prone to innovation, they were pricked forward by meanes of Nymphidius Sabinus their captaine, who by treason aspired himselfe to the Empire. And though Nymphidius was in the very attempt suppressed, and the head cut off thereby of the treason; yet there remained many of the fouldiers guilty of the fact, and hating him whom they had wronged. Moreover speeches were given out, noting theage and avarice of Galba. His severity, which was wont to be highly commended by bthe common voyce of the fouldier, was now di pleasant to them, who were generally weary of the ancient discipline, and so trained up by Nero fourteen years, that now they loved their Emperours no leffe for their vices, then once they rererenced them for their vertues. And Galbahad let fall a speech honourable indeed for the common-wealth, but for himselse dangerous, That souldiers he took upin the muster, bought not in the market, for the rest of his doings were not according. Histwo favorites, Titus Vinius, and Cornelius Laco, the one of all mortall men most unhonest, the other most unable, with the hatefulnesse of their lew dactions furcharged, & with the contempt of their infufficiencie, utterly overthrew the filly

reported by Sucton us: Dife Galba elt, non Getalicus. Galbæ.cap.6.

obstrictes.

· Annoureis condite 811. 4 Against Gal ba Zonar.ts. e Edoğe pin topi-pus (i, Far Sas) ei xi, dinajas padi dummars armentance nelmos ช . J อุตร นัก ส่วานุนษา Plut in Galba, as it were translating this place.

old man. His journey to Rome 4 was flow and bloudy: for by his commandement Cingonius Varro Confull elect, and Petronius Turpilianus who had beene Confull, were both put to death: Cingonius, as an affociate of Nymphidius, theother as one of Neroes "Captaines: who "howfoever they deferved it, dying as they did, not called, not heard, died as guiltlesse. His entrie into the City, when as so many thousands of unarmed fouldiers were put to the sword, seemed an unlucke beginning, and was had in horrour, even of those which executed the flaughter. The Citie was full of extraordinary fouldiers: Galba s brought in the Spanish Legion, and there remained another, which Nero had gathered out of the Navie, befide many companies out of the Legions of Germanie, Britannie, and Illyricum, which Nero had felected, and fent before to the oftraits of the Caspian mountaines, for the warrreintended with the Albanes, and afterward called againe to

employ against Vindex: matter enough for invocation, though not greatly in favoir of any, yet ready prepared for him that would venture. By chance the news came together that Clodius Macer, and Fonteius Capito were flaine. Macer without question had begun to worke troubles in Africke, and was by Trebonius Garucianus the Procurator dispatched, by commandment from Galba: Capito in Germany attempting the like, Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens (7) Lieutenants of Legions, flew without warrant. Some men were of opinion that Capito (though otherwise for extortion and vicious living very infamous) was nevertheles not guiltie of treason: but that the Lieutenants having moved him to undertake the matter against Galba, and seeing they could not induce him, took a new course, scrimen at dethe matter against Gatoa, and referring the referring accuration against him, and consequently killing him for the crime has a freeferring accuration against him, and consequently killing him for the crime has a free free place, crimen as whereof themselves were the hatchers: and so Galba either upon a fickle disposition of the delimination of the solution of the tion, or as being loth to fearch any deeper, did give allowance to that which was prefirmed effe feedone how foever, fithit could not be undone: but furely both the executions were equivolent to greatly misliked, as in a prince once in obloquie, do he well do he ill, all is ill taken. Now his freedmen being over mightie, made open fale of all matters: his bondmen greedy upon prefent advantage, and hasty, as being under a master that was old. and not like long to continue: in fumme the faults in the new court being but the fame, and of the like nature, yet were not excused alike, the very age of Galba was matter of scorne and contempt to them that were used to Neroes fresh youth.comparing the Princes, as the manner is of the common fort, in beautie and comelinesse ofpresence. And this was at Rome, as in such a varietie, the state of mens mindes. Nowfor the 8 provinces abroad, 9 of Spain Cluvius Rufus was prefident, a person very eloquent, and for fervice in peace able, in warre unexpert. Those of Gallia.belikethe memory of Vindex, were another way affured to Galba, being of late by himmade citizens of Rome, and released of part of their tribute for the time to come; only the cities which lay neerest the armies of Germany, having not the like honour done, yea & some beside having part of their territory taken away, were aggreed as well with their fellows benefits, as with their own wrongs. The fouldiersof Germany (a perillous matter in so mightiearmies) swelled with pride upon their late victory, and again, as having supported in some degree the contrary side, g Those he were perplexed with feare, they were flow in revolting from Nero: neither did meaneth, as I think that had Verginius declare himself at the first for Galba: whether he desired the Empire given our he was himself, or no, was a question: without question his souldiers made him a profer. theretie con-The death of Fonteius Capito even they is stomached, that could not justly complain: onely there wanted an head, Verginius being fent for away under colour of had tique estated friendship: whom when they saw not to be sent back, and moreover his doings "cal-judicially, that ledin question, they took it all as their own case. The army of upper Germany made from single state of the army of upper Germany made from the state of the upper Germany made from the state of the upper Germany made from the state o ight reckoning of Hordeonius Flaccus their Lieutenant, a managed and gowtie, must faith Placus thour refolution, without authoritie, unable to rule a quieter company, now being it dispused to infury, and finding him weake to govern the bridle, they ftirred and troubled the gabage found more. The legions of lower Germany were a while without a Lieutenant generall, or to the foulditillat length Vitellius came, fent by Galba, the sonne of Vitellius which had been grow have a li-censor, and thrice Consult: that seemed sufficient. The armie in Britanny was built been grow have a liquiet; and in truth among all the legions, in all those eivill troubles, none behaved were, being so themselves k more innocently: whether it was, that they were farre off, and severed k had yet they have consinual explosive seasing the appears of the property of the pr byfea, or that by continual exployts against the enemy, the malice of their hu-felves with Vimour was spent otherwise. Illyricum also stirred not, although the Legions which Britannice Ocea-Nero had called thence, while they lingted in Italy, had sent to Verginius to offer cital Viteblar,

241.Str.17. to keepe them in awe, from gadding and iecking ayde from abroad. m Tiberius A-lexander illustris n Tingirania &

their service, but the armies being farre a funder (a point most holesome to keepe fouldiers in due faith and allegeance) could not joyn neither faults nor forcestogether. The East as yet was calme. Licinius Mutianus with four elegions ruled Syria. a man in the course of good and bad fortune famous alike: in his youth he had to his cost wound himself into the acquaintance of great men; anon wealth wearing away, his state decaying, suspecting also the displeasure of Claudius, he withdrew himselfe from Rome into Asia, then as neere to the state of an exiled person, as after Business करें के of good and ill parts strangely compounded: pleasures excessive, when his leifure station करें के of good when the case required excellent vertices compounded. ferved: when the case required, excellent vertues: openly praise worthy, his secret actions were ill spoken of: but generally with them under him, with them about him, with his companions in office, by divers allurements very gracious; and flich a one as could more easily deliver the Empire to another, then obtaine it himselfe, Flavius Vespasianus with three legions governed the Jewish war, appointed Gene. rall by Nero; a man that wished to Galba but well, and never meant to attemptagainst him; for he had fent his sonne Titus to doe him his dutie, as anon in conve. * pol exprimer ment place shall be declared. After the event we surely beleeved, that the Empire true denim m. nient place shall be declared. was by the secret course of fate, by signes and oracles fore-appointed to Vespalian certelike are hardeft matters and his line. (10) Egypt and the garrifons therethe gentlemen of Rome everfine to their fullyeast Augustus time have ruled with royall authoritie: for foit was thought expedient that he was exto bridle and keepe under a province of hard acceffe, fruitfull of grain, feditions
testing a physical and variable through superstition and wantonnesse, not accustomed to obey any
testing acceptance of a physical acceptance of the superstition and wantonnesse, a man borne in the accustomed to a physical acceptance of the superstition and wantonnesse, a man borne in the accustomed to a physical acceptance of the superstition and wantonnesse, a man borne in the accustomed to a physical acceptance of the superstition and wantonnesse, a physical acceptance of the superstition and wantonnesse, and the superstition and wantonnesse, and the superstition are superstition and the superstition are superstition and wantonnesse, and the superstition are superstition are superstition and the superstition are superstition are superstition and the superstition are superstition are superstition are superstition are superstition are superstition. was governour there. Africke and the Legions there, Claudius Macer being flain, liked well enough of any Prince what soever, having had * triall of a meaner mafter. CEJATION IN THE ONE MAURITAINIA and the other, Rhoetia, Noricum, Thracia, and the other booke: facili rauffin at proxi- countreys ruled by Procurators, as they lay neere to any of the armies, were fivaved to like or diflike, as it liked their betters that bordered about them. The Provinces which were unfurnished of forces, and especially Italy it selfe, lying open to be subdued by any, were to become the prize of the warre. And this was the state of the Romane Empire when Servius Galba fecond time Confull with Titus Vinius, began the yeere which was last to themselves, and last almost to the Common wealth also.

> 1 Citie fouldier] The fouldiers that were refiant at Rome were of two forts, Pietoriani and Vibani proprietili, both of them by I acitushere and elfewhere comprehended by the name of Miles urbanus. Miles urbanus love (sie Tum (acramento imbutus: and again neurbano quidem matitifatis confifus, meaning onely or principally of the Practians. In his proper fignification and Handing in opposition to Pratoriani, Tacit. add du slassi Vrbavas colontes, & Merosque e Pretorianis. Again quod varo ains Pretorianus, Vibanusque miles in aciem deductis : now when it doth stand for the one, or for both, onely circumstance must help to discern.

> the one, or for both, onery circumitance much nery to oncern.
>
> 2. That feerer of itate disclosed: Evulgato imperit arcano] Evulgate arcana imperit may seeme to be that which Dionylius in the place before alledged calleth πε λαγολοπίει πέρος με από περολοπία το δικόπε από, κέ τ' λη για μίπε καιας, in affines of onlying in the place before alledged calleth πε λαγολοπίει πέρος με από το δικόπε από, με τ' λη για μίπε καιας, in affines of Rate to reveale the good openly pretended, and the ill fecretly intended. Notwithstanding acana impaii, being in mine opinion fo fundry in nature, can hardly be bounded with one definition. Tac An. 2. Cenfuit Gallus in quinquent um magistratuum com tia babinda: haud dubium erat cam semtentiam aliius penetrare, & arcana imperii tentari: the secret of state herein was, that whereas hope of honour or gain is the only soveraign mean in court to retaine suters and sevants in diligence and due devotion, to speed so many at once were to make flack wayters; and for so many yettes before hand to drive the rest to despaire. In the same book. Augustusinter alia dominationis areana, veitits niis pamija, ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis illustribut, suppluit Acyptum ne fame urgeret Italiam, quisquis camprovinciam, cut fraque terre ac maris quamvis avi prasidio adves sus ingentes exercitus inscalifit. The secret is, into a countrey which rebelling might endanger the flate, never to fuffer men of great houfes, or greater credit among the common people in have acceffed in this place, as it may feeme, are meant the feeret truths of apparances in affaires of effate, for the mafe of the people is guided and governed more by ceremonies and flews then matterin substance. The example of an act done in undue place, whereof there had been no precedent before. In congruitie a Prince of Rome were to be created at Rome, and an Emperour in the feat-towne of the Empire, and fo it had been alwayes observed: but the

muh was, and fo much the secret imported, that in substance it mattered not much where he were made, that aftermm was the could maintain it with armes, and with the good liking of the thisplets of the Empire. This ferrer of thate Galbadichofed, and making his profit thereof against Nero, gave occasion to other to practice the like against him. The fouldiers of Germany in the choice of Vitellius, as Plutarch reporteth, 2019 3, 700 Erreiter in the place of it after in 1975. The lowers of the state of the the some that we have a common to the common of the common Rome, Belide these imperit, or dominationis areana, . Tacitus maketh mention of areana domus Augusta: that is, secrets a Annal. 1. of court, or of Palace, and 3. Ann. of screta imperatorum.

Making indeed very bold with their Prince, as being new in state] Tacitus 2. Hist. Recens Galba principatu, sugam patres ut accusaturum causa moscerentur, and 4. Hist. in the oration of Curtius Montanus. Elanguimus P. nuiam ille fenatus fumus , qui occifo Nerone delatores, & minifiros more majorum puniendos flagitabat. Optimus eli post maha mucipem dies primus. Now accusatores, promooters or enformers are reckoned inter instrumenta imperii, with By purpose was presented. New managers, promovers of entertains are reconstruct unter impuremental regarding production is one Loculta in Claudius and Nercost time, unper ventificit dammata & dais inter infirmatua regarding. It is that Tacius 12. Annal. For acculers certaine it is that many good Princes, or not very bad, have been common maintaine them. Mutianus the mouth of Vespasian tensital positive pro accustationists: Tacitus 4. Histor. Besides Prises fullers from the decree, Dubia voluntate Galbe became studenty non-fuite.

His journey to Rome was flow] At what day Galba began his journey from Spaine to Rome, and when tentered the city, the stories being lost, it is hard precisely to determine. Notwithstanding to give some light to hisplace, and withall to yeeld a reason of the times fee down by me elsewhere, I think good to note the reas b In the end of aspace, and within the yeter a reason to the third solution to the property of the motion and begin in which moved me theretoe. Firlf Galvin Trachalo, Silio Italiac Eoff: Arapoli de moiu Gallian morganoii (Nevo) die ining 66 Gallian die growth of the Nevon. Now Agrippina was flaine 1916 Suinquatuum diebus: Tacitus 14 co. 40 Allian and Sueton. *Nevone; and Quinquaryab beginne the innecental day of March, Ovid, Fast. 3, 6 allowing d asp. 34. for competent time for Vienna, or Lions to Naples it will appeare that Vindex rebellion began about the renth windlith of March. Againe Xiphilinus faith that Galba reigned nine moneths and thirteene dayes, which is to modaics, and died in the moneth of July Saith Zonoras tomo 2, which two fayings cannot be both true, for if Nepotentied in July, then reigned he more then thirteene yeares and eight moneths: but if his reigne was no longer, potential alloadureth usof, then died he not in July. Again the lame Aiphilin writeth; கூன் என்ன மழுதின் விரு ம்கி Sphilin alloadureth usof, then died he not in July. Again the lame Aiphilin writeth; கண் என்ன மழுதின் விர மாக நீர்க் தீரிகளா ந்ழிஞ்ச கோல் விகேவிச்ச விருமாடு முத்து விரும் மணைகளை முதல் மில்கிர். Thatis, Thatby a just comnumen from Neroes death till the beginning of Vespasians reigne, there was one whole yeare and two and twenpapen more recroes ecant in tre veginning or verpanan tegers, ancre was one whole yearcana two and twen-nings. But the first day of Vespassans Empire was the sirt day of July: Tacit, 2. Hiss. for that Nerous death was more 8.07 June. And so it should seem by Tacitus in this very book, speem a Neumis see monster sum. Aurelius some sink ostenses septem dusq, totidem (imperavit Galba) web understood from Nerous death agreeth justly with the mort account. About the very lame time with Nero died Vindex in France. The word came first of his death to Galain Spain, and certaine daies after of Neroes in post. Plutar. Galba. And certaine it is that Nero never had any urtof Vindex overthrow. For it could not have been otherwise, but that being heard must needs have wrought โดย เอเมโย alteration at Rome. Philostratus lib. ร. de vita Apollonii ช่นรัชบุ อุสัตร ลัด Niger เล้ว เอเมราย กรริวัฒน์ วิ MA That is, it was reported (at Messana where Apollonius then was) that Nero was fled and Vindex dead, as him time for provision, it may feeme that Galba fet forward about the beginning of July, and entred the city, as imay be reasonably supposed, about September following; his journey saith Tacitus was flow, the way long, and

s Galba brought in the Spanish Legion] That is, as I think, Septima Galbiana, gathered (as it may feeme by Trins g. Hift. Dio lib. 95. and Suctonius) by Galba in Spaine, which notwithstanding seemeth to have been huaway into Illyricum before his death under Antonius Primus, Lieutenant, and therefore without cause remembullere. In the tumult of Otho I finde no mention of any Hispana legio, neither in Tacitus in this book, nor any marbelide, unleffe percale they alone were afleep, when all the world belide was in armes.

6 Tothe straits of the Caspian mountaines] Suctonius 5 Nerone. Parabat (Nero) & ad Caspias portas expeditio- g cap. 15. m, unstripta ex Italicis senum pedum tyronibus nova legione quam Magni Alexandri phalangem appellabat. Xiphilinus ademfurther thathe had purposed a voiage into Æthiopia.

7 Lieutenants of Legions : Legati Legionum] Legatus in this very book hath three fignifications. 1. Legatus for an Embaliadour. Censuerant patres mittendos ad Germanicum exercitum legatos 2. Legatus, or Legatus consularis, or con-Maifor a Lieutenant, deputy, prefident, or governour of a whole province, or army: Othonem in provinciam Lufivoim specie legationis spossific. Hordeonius Flaccus consularis legatus aderat. Inferioris Germanie legionis diutius sine con-biospece. 2. Legatus legionis, or legatus Pretorius, or legatus simply, but by circumstance to be discerned, for the limitenant of a Legion, whereof were in every army as many Legions. Collins Legatus vicelima legionis in vita Agiala speaking of the same Legion and man; Quippe legatis consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat. Nec legatus nemius ad cohibendum potens. Rullo legatorum, tribunorum ve pro Galba nitente. Fædis legatorum certaminibus, spoken mirocally, and to the advantage of the word; for the one of them was legatus confularis, and the other legatus le-

Provinces abroad: E provinciis | Scilicet Cafaris, onely meant, as I take it, here. For Augustus after the warre at Adium, enforced forfooth by the Senate to undertake the Monarchy, divided the provinces into two forts. The

i lib 53.

agan agoriga.

n ep.64-55.

p Or according to Dio Lucium

Io quiet and peaceable countreyes he rendered into the Senate and peoples hand; the provinces that limited and horquiet and peaceante countreyes ne remarced into a marre might be feared, he retained to himfelfe, and his dured the Empire, with the reft where any rebellion, or warre might be feared, he retained to himfelfe, fuccessours, in them to sustaine himselfe all danger alone, and leave to the Senate the sweet at their ease, butin truth to keepe himselfe alwayes armed, and them without aimes. To the Senate and people, as a Strabo, and (i) Dio write, belonged these provinces following, which Y Tacitus, if I be not deceived, calleth Publicar Trac vincias, Die confidents, Africke with Numidia, and Afia, so called because these two provinces were properly affign. ed to those who had beene Consuls, whereas for the rest it sufficed to have borne inferiour office: and decempe. torie, Beetica, Narbonenfis, Sardinia with Corfica, Sicilia, Epitus, Macedonia, Achaia, with Theffalia, &c. Creta with Cyrene, Cyprus, Pontus and Bythinia. To himfelfe he retained diffpania Tarraconeniis, Lufitania, Gal. ta with Cyrene, Cyprus, Fontus and Dythuna. To Influence the Celanad companie 1 arracontening, Lunding, Gallia Lugdunenfus, Belgica, Aquitania, Syria, &c. Cilicia, Ægypt, Dalmitia, Mocfia, Pannonia, and the tradio Rhene upon the French fide called by the name of 1 Jupener and inferior Germania, as it is allo at this day colla 1 In Marcellinus Germanie, but by Casarsdeleription comprehended in Gallia, and a very part of Belgica, who knew no other Ga. manis, but that which the late writers call for difference (ake musting aryahlm, Great Germany, beyond the Rhene manis, but that which the late writers call for difference lake Museum Manasa, Great Germany, beyond the Rhene:
prime (wherein manis, but that which the late writers call for difference lake Museum Manasa, Great Germany, beyond the Rhene:
where Magnita- whereas Tacitus in this fift book naming often Germany, meaneth alwayes the other two Provinces, focalled
were Magnita- whereas Tacitus in this fift book naming often Germany, meaneth alwayes the other two Provinces, focalled were magnitudes a secure the Germans continually passing the Rhene inhabited the countrey, and so by little and little changed the Nemites, & At name, Cæfarlib. 2. com. Dio lib. 53. Tacit. lib. 1. Annal, and in his book de moribus Germanoum. Trong & Nervii crea affectionem Germanica erigmis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tanquan per hane gloriam sanguinis, à similitud ne & muu Germania feena- recrousenta apessonem Germanu. e organis auro anno no pan, sanguno per onae gantam jangunus, a puntutant O muu da Agrippina & Gallarim feparintur, ipfam Rhni ripim hud dubie Germana um populi colom Vangiones, Trebogi, Remetes, & Of da «Էրդիրոս» է Guardem լերուտութ, դիստ ուրուտ որա ասութ արանատութ բացանը ի ուրուց դպատել 90, ff Tugga musita these two Germanics, Jupiew faith Dio, w.S 182 ուս առացի (իսս) արջել I hat is storm the had of the Rhene, and stretched to Mentz, or Cobolentz rather: inferior, downeward wiges to desare surface. The is to the Britaine Ocean. Belide these provinces whatsoever afterward was conquered or became subject to the Roman Empire, as Englandin Claulius time, Pontus Polemoniacus, and A'pes Cettie in Nerces time, Datim Trajans, &c. a increased the Emperours portion. Now the governours that were sent into the Senatscomtreys, both Pratorian and confular, were called Proconfules, whether they had ever been Confuls or no. Those treys, noth tractian and commune, were enter trousquests within the Emperous sent into theirs were called Legat, or Legat Confidents or Propertiess, except perdenume they fent former intention the Emperous as infinial Provinces before we have noted Piolite, 43, 252 view expension and Statem intention of the Provinces of the Pro 1), while one moderness int, a plus Geropia Geria, & le re is cous in popuries contige niunere, were fire moder both the publick Princes and Provinces, Ægypt onely excepted, the Governours were taken out of the Senatours: for the publick Provinces annuall, and chosen by lot (except they were conferred on any upon some speciall priviledge, as of marriage or multitude of children) and sent out as it were from the body the Statung wearing fword, nor paludamentum, and indifferently called Proconfuls whether they ever had been Confulsorson having also as many Sergeants attending asufually they had in the City. And alloone as they were out of the Pomerium, afluming the Enfigues of their office which they alwayes retained untill their returne. Now for thegovernours of the Princes provinces, he referved them for his own choice, and appointed that they should bettened Legati and Propratores, though they had peradventure borne the office of Confulfhip before. Et paulo poll, at a our Mundion of the enterparient cot affects xindry, it in whele it cleaned Hour, it can laund diget and to the trainer, the n spanismuld எல்லி ஒருமதுமாக, அ திட்டு, ப்பு அத் spaniarus சிலகம்யை ஆண், igerrus. That is , The name of Proper teres he gave to those of his ownechoice, and continued their office more or lettle during pleasure, appointing likewife that they should weare the Paladamentum and fword, as having authority of life and death over the few diers, Tacitus in this book speaking of Gallia Narbonensis a publick province; Vivius, Lith he , procoglidate GalliamNarboutufem feutre rexit, who never had been Conful before: Annalium, 1. I finde Granius Marcellusallel Prætor of Buthynia, which was at the first devision a publick province, and so continued as appeareth on of Pl nies atenth book of Epifles. And in the fame place of Tacitus mention is made of a Queffor, an office now ald in the Princes countries; and in Claudius time damnatus leg: rep. tundarum Cadius Rofas accufantibus Bitiquis, wild action I think, lay not against the Princes legali, as executing their charge rather by way of commission, the by vertue of office. But of Proprietor the cafe is cleare, 12. Ann. in Britannia P. Octorum Propretorem, And of the fame man. Cafar cognita more legati, Go. Vitellius in this book is called legatus confularis inferioris Germane; and 4. Ann. L. Apronius inficiaris Germanic Propractor. Suctonius . Nerone. Duce Julio vindice, qui tumtos Provie ciam Propretor obtinebat, id eft, Galliam Lugdonensim belonging to the Prince. In Africke Caius besidethe Proconfull, the office and name due to the place, superinduced a reatus as from himselfe to take charge of the soil diers there. Tacit. Hift. 4. Legioin Africa auxiliaque tutandis imperis finibus, sub Divo Augusto Tiberisque pinipibu proconfuli parebant. Mox C. Cafar turbidas animi, ac v M. Sullanum obimmem Africam metuens, ablatam proconfuling nem, misso in eam vem legato tradidit, aquatus iriler duos benessiciorum numerus, & mixtus utriusque mandatis discerdia que perour fearing that upon haughtinefic of ftomach he might be induced to work innovation, especially having under his charge great forces both legionary and auxiliary, he divided the government into two parts, and gave another the charge both of the fouldiers and of the Numidians bordering thereabouts, which cuffome is retained eye this day. Only of Egypt the Governor was neither called L gatus, nor Propretor, but Prefettus Ateypti, or Prefettis A guffalls Other names as Prefis, Reller, &. I take to be common to both forts. Again is previnciu publici were Que flores befide Procurators; in the Princes, Procurators onely.

Diolib. 53 ավատարայ 30 eis բանի որ անանկաւ արն որ նաևան հարգերան ներ ու ապատարա, ոն որ առաջը հարդեկը. That is, into Diolio 53 - " or the senatand people there are sen Questiors chosen by lot, and be Provinces which appertain to the Senatand people there are sen Questiors chosen by lot, and be Impieus etc. That is, The Emperour sendent Procurators to all Prosinces alike, both his own and those which belong to the people.

9 Of Spaine, &c. Hispanie praerat (luvius Rusus) Id est, Hispanie Tarreconeus, for not onely the three Provinces mowhich Spaine is divided, was furnified with fouldiers, and of fuch especially in this place Tacitus intendeth not entending his speech to the naked and peaceable, which afterward he calleth intermets. Cluvius Rusus was a famous Octour, and wrote a flory of that time alledged by Tacitus 13. and 14. Ann. who, notwithstanding his preferment University Galba, (q) (ware with the first to Otho, and in the beginning of Vitellius time returned to Rome, non adem- q Tees 1. Hift. with gain a warn rexit absens. Tacit 2. Hist, in the ninth book and nineteenth epistle, Plinie maketh mention of a ech that passed between Virginius and Cluvius: his words be these; ita secum aliquando Cluvium locutum: Scia Pirprem mi que historia fides debeatur ; proinde si quid in historiu meis legis aliter ac velles, rogo ignoscas. Ad hoc sic illum, Cluvie tu

num, ideo me feciffe quod feci, ut effet liberum vobis scribere, quæ libniffet >

10 Reypt and the garrifons there the Gentlemen of Rome] எம். அரசிமா (aith Dio, lib. 51, 100 எம் வி கார் ridu imanisiminator (à Augus () ni tra galicia tra no nopracia instructa, mode to gib to mociander ni afil mocian, ni tra capac, ni mode tra uma. Him. v n súper thi return autil, tiu 'n στοπομασείαν. Li và χρίμονα, άθνι βελιντή έχδουε έχχημείου αυτίω δτέλμαση, dig Hamiluñ auti (Koushar isbaes, år μά της αυτό ένειμοτί συχορου. That is, atter the victory at Actium Augustus made Egypt tributary, and committed the government thereof to Cornelius Gallus. For confidering the great store spenje both in the Towns and the Country, moreover their levity and inconstancy, that it was the Roman storebulk of corne, and very rich of money, not onely he durlt not trust it into the hands of the Senatours, but also exwilly forbad any of them to sojourne there, except by permission namely from him. Tacitus 2. Ann. writeth that not only Senatours, but also equites Romani illustres (that is, as I think, those whom 16. Ann he termeth equites Ronondymiate finatoria) were forbidden to go thither, but upon permillion ; Ne fame urgeret Italiam quifquis eam preinium, claustraque terre ac maris quamvis levi presidio ad versus ingentes exercitus insedifet. Arrianus lib. is of opinion. ารและ และการการแรก a man a quanta a prepara a man a prepara a man a dathe Romansin ordering Egyptfollowed the example of Alexander the great , who , (aith he, หลายค่นเด มังคุณ เพล่มสี สัญนั้น กละ สมุลัสม. ตัว ก่า ต่อการ วูญ่คน วิสมกุณ์การ หู ที่ รับอยู่การแล้ว ละ สมุลัสมา ถึงสุดใหญ่ สัญนา กละ สมุลัสม बर्बी, में विपादीय प्रवार तीयरेंग नवारे तेपूर्वियोजीकृत प्रवासिकार , के कार्यस्थान स्वापनीक में प्रवासिकार की केली किसी है की है किसी प्रवासिकार के कार्य migrat, ama The et a ir imitat opin gwanteren. That is, Is reported to have divided the government of Egypt month many, having in admiration the naturall fite and ftrength of the countrey: wherefore he thought it not heocommit the enure regiment thereof to any one man, and the Romans, in my opinion, learned this point of Algunder strictly to guard Egypt, and for the same cause to make none of the Senarours governour there, but only of the ordo Equeftris.

IIII. The adoption of Pifo.

Ome few dayes after the beginning of January, letters came out of Belgica from Pompeius Propinquus Procurator there, that the Legions of upper Germany without respect of oath and duty demanded another Emperor; and that this their revolt might be the leffe hainoufly taken, had referred the choice thereof to the Senate and People of Rome. These news hastened the purpose of Galba, who had already a good while before devised with himselfe, and with some neere bouthim, concerning the adoption. No speech was for the time more common and currant in the whole City, partly upon a license and lust to talk of such matters, and partly because Galba was spent and feeble for age: upon judgement or love wthe Common wealth very few, the most part upon secret hopes, as they favoured or followed this man or that, offered occasion to bring them in speech for the sucaffion. And now Vinius was grown into great hatred; who, as he waxed daily more mighty, so daily more odious: for Galba with his too much facility encreased and nourished the greedy and gaping defires of his friends never satisfied in so great meanes, and offending, as under a Prince weak of body, and light of beliefe, with leffefeare and greater advantage. The whole power of the prince was divided between Titus Vinius the Confull, and Cornelius Laco captaine of the guard. Neitherwas Icelius the freed man inferiour in favour with his mafter, who being priviledged to weare gold rings, and made a Gentleman, was commonly called by the name of Martianus. These three, otherwise disagreeing, and in points of lesse imporsucedrawing every one a fundrie way, in this confultation of choosing a successour were divided into two fides. Vinius was for Marcus Otho: Laco and Icelius agreed Not so much upon any one, as upon any other. Neither did Galba much like of the

party,

* Crispina.

turba apprehen-dit, filiumgs ap-

partie, suspecting the counfell of Vinius as partiall and grounded upon a marriage pretended between * his daughter being a widow, and Otho an unmarried man. a matter wherewith the eares of the Prince, by reason of tale-carriers in court, were not unacquainted. I think also that Galba was touched in part with care of the common-wealth, which might feem in vaine transferred from Nero, if it were to be men of house. Left upon Otho. For Otho had fpent his tender yeares without a regard of his ho. Invend. Satur. Invenal. Sat. 11.
b. Per libertinam nour, his youth afterward in all dissolute disorder, 2 in grace with Nero b through attican infimulation of vice: and therefore Nero had left in his cuftody, as with one that was the Neron's facile emulation of vice: and therefore Nero had left in his cuftody, as with one that was famous inter a c privy to hs lufts, 3 Poppæa Sabina his principall minion, till he had dispatched micro learn true. his hands of Octavia his wife: foon after upon an apprehension of jealousie, he sent him away into Lustrania, colourably to be Lieutenant there. Otho having governe Didays Nerse ed the Province with all curresse, and being the first that came into Galba, and therewith a man of action, and of those which were present during the war of greatoc. Asp 13. eft account, readily conceived hope of adoption, and dayly took himselfe better d At Senecies intreating: This affured, being well favoured of most of the fouldiers, and greatly beloved of Neroes Class, 13. Defici-court, as one like to their late master. But Galba after the news of the Germanie-tur familiaritate. tur familiaritate bellion, although of Vitellius as yet he understood no certainty, being doubtfullto person person defined a strength of the Armies would grow, and reposing notion of the Armies would grow, and reposing notions proceeding of the Armies would grow, and reposing notions of the Armies would grow. mount in whether truft in the City-fouldier, proceedeth to declare a fucceffour, the onely flay, as he posting Lipposed, of his eftate. And calling to him beside Vinius and Laco, Marius Celmia preferring the control of the control ma praprime 1000 fus Confull elect, and Ducenius Geminus *Provost of the City, after some speech arian none eprime used of his age, che commandeth Piso Licinianus to be sent for, either upon his infamis, is in used of his age, che commandeth Piso Licinianus to be sent for, either upon his tages for the infrance of Laco: who cunningly pre-gris press seil, own choice, or as some have reported, at the infrance of Laco: who cunningly pre-gris press seil, own the control of the the contro perantition. Plautus house, had long acquaintance together, and the good opinion which went e Surjon. Cap. 7. generally of Pifo, gave credit to his counfell. Pifo was sonne to Marcus Crassis, somewhat diffe. ring from Taci-ring from Taci rus writteth, P1/9-nem reporte e me-the ancient fort, rightly to judge) fevere, but to them which interpreted all to the worst, seeming too sowre. That quality of his, the more it was by some men, careful in that behalfe, misdoubted and feared, the better it pleased the man, who was to adopt him. So Galba taking Pifo by the hand, is faid to have spoken in this manner.

If I should as a private man only, by an act of the Curix and assent of the Priests, as the manner is, adopt you, it would be both an honour for me, to take intomylamily the progenie of Marcus Crassus and Pompey, and a glory for you, to adjoin the honourable encrease of the 4 Sulpitian and Lutatian houses to your ownnobility. But now being by the consent of gods and men called to the Empire, Iammoved by your rare towardnes, and the love I beare to my countrey, to offer unto you, without your trouble, the princes place, that, for which our ancestours have conalluded as it may tended in armes, which by armes my felfe have obtained: following herein the feeme, Dagalai example of Augustus, who placed in estate next to himselfe, first Marcellushis pour mainter of the fifteers fonne, afterward Agrippa his sonne in law, then his daughters sonnes, and tentian the fifteers fonne, afterward Agrippa his sonne in law, then his daughters sonnes, and tentian the fifteen sonnes for perour, who be-lastly his wives sonne Tiberius Nero. But Augustus, as it seemeth, sought a succession person; who be lattly his wives ionne I iderius Nero. But Augustas, as the little in long demanded in our in his family, and I in the common wealth. Not that I lack fome 9 neare me maker, what attent he were in bloud, or companious in armes, whom I could respect: but neither did I by ambet to affirm of bittion attaine to the Empire, and of my judgement herein may be proofe, not only the Empire, and of my judgement herein may be proofe, not only the Empire, and of my judgement herein may be proofe, not only increase the proofe of the Empire, and of the Empire, and of the proofe of the Empire, and of the Empire, and of the proofe of the Empire, and of the Empire, a yeares before you, well worthy of this honour, were not you the more worth Your yeares are such, as are settled from the affections of youth, and so spent;

"nothing past needeth excuse. Hitherto you have tasted onely of adverse fortune: " prosperity searcheth more deeply the mind; for miseries are borne with patience. "felicity corrupteth. Integrity, friendship, round and free dealing, the principall "gift of the mind, you for your part, no doubt will retaine as heretofore; but in o-"thers towards you, in respect of your degree, you shall finde it to be otherwise: "flattery will break in, and pleafing speeches, and the most pestilent poison of all "true meaning, private respects for private advantage. We two this day common "plainly together, others rather talk with our estate, then our persons: for indeed to "nerswade a Prince that which is meet, is a point of some pain; to flatter any Prince "whatfoever, needeth small endeyour. If this vast body of the Empire could stand "without governor balanced in due proportion & order, the free Common-wealth "might worthily have taken beginning from me: but now it is come long agoe to "that passe, that neither mine age can benefit the people of Rome any way more. "then in finding them a good fucceffor, nor your youth, then in yeelding them a "good Prince. Under Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius, we have been as it were the in-"heritance of one only 6 family: it will be in stead of liberty, that we begin to suc-'ceed by election: and now the Julian and Claudian lines be spent: adoption will "fillfinde out of the best: for to be descended of Princes, is a matter of meere for-"tune, and so is esteemed: in adoptions our judgement is most incorrupt, and sel-"domest abused, and if we will choose of the fittest, the voice of the most will point usour man, Set Nero before your eyes, whom, being descended of so many Cæ-"fars, his own infamous life and untolerable cruelty cast out of state, nor Vindex with an unarmed Province, nor I with some Legion: neither was there before a growit, ferta "precedent of any Prince by publick sentence deposed. We that came in, not by principes Gal-"descent, but called in by war and opinion of desert, how honorably soever we carry autoritate fattum. "our selves, yet shall we be sure to have our enviours. And yet be not dismaied, if in "this troubled and shaken estate of the world, one Legion or two be not yet setled. "Imy selfe found not all so sure at the first: and when this adoption shall be heard of "abroad, I? shall cease to seem an old man, the only exception they take now against "me. Nero shall doubtlesse be missed, and wished alwaies among the lewd fort: vou "and I must provide, left good men also do wish him again. To admonish you long-"erisnot for this time, and all my intent is fully performed, if I have, as I hope, "chosen aright. The furest and shortest rule to fort our good men from evill, is to "waigh what your felfe would under another Prince have allowed or blamed: for "you have not here, as in kingdomes, a certain race borne to foveraignty, and the "reft to be flaves, but you are to govern a people, which cannot bear, neither bon-"dage, nor liberty meere without mixture. These and the like words Galbaused as h creating a Prince, but the rest that were h That is, Galba

of Cornelius Tacitus.

present, spake as to a Prince already created. Pisois soid to have uttered no moti- fruction: the on, as of a minde either troubled or exceffive in joy, neither then nor afterward and fawming when every mans eyes were fixed upon him. His speech to his father, and soveraigne was respective, and reverent; concerning himselse very modest: in countenance and gestures not changed, shewing himselse rather able to furnish the place, then i Tara, Hist. 44 desirous. Then consultation was had, where the adoption should be pronounced; line repenting has *before the people, in the Senate, or in the camp, the camp was preferred, to ho-principatus appe nour the fouldier thereby, whose good will and favour, as it was by mony and crow-tem, ut parum nour the fouldier thereby, whose good will and favour, as it was by mony and crowoffigers, quision, ching not to be bought, so got by good meanes would not be contemned. In the digital criteria, that meane season Publike expectation, which suffereth not any great secret long to be is, unto the peokcret, had as it were, beset the Palaceabout: and the same finding an issue, was at ple attembled in terward

terward by suppressing encreased. The tenth of January fell out to be stormy, with great thunder, lightnings, and extraordinary weather . 8 That being of ancient time observed as cause to break up assemblies, stayed not Galba from going to the camp, contemning such things as casuall, or because that which is by fate allotted though fometime foreshewed, is never avoided. There in full affembly of the fouldiers with brevity princelike he pronounceth, that he adopteth Piso, following the ex. ample of Augustus of facred memory, and according to that military fashion, where g each man maketh choice of his fellow. And left the German rebellion should if it were concealed, be deemed the greater, he sheweth them purposely, that the fourthand eighteenth Legion misse-led by a few mutinous persons had erred in words onely, and termes, and shortly would be reclaimed: and so concluded his fpeech, bestowing upon them neither eloquence nor money. The Tribunes notwithftanding, and Centurions, and fouldiers which ftood neare about him, returned a plaufible answer: the rest of the company were filent and sad, as having lost now their donative in warre, which they had used 10 of duty in peace to receive. It is ve. ry certaine, their hearts might well have been wonne with never so little liberality of the sparing old man: his too much precisenesse did harme, and that ancientigour, which we in our time are not able to beare. From thence Galba went to the Senate and there made a speech neither fuller, nor finer, then before to the souldiers. Pifoes oration was curteous, and the Senatours shewed themselves forward. many which liked him indeed, very farre, others that wished him not, in a good me. diocrity: but most, very ready humbly to proffer all duty and service upon private respects, without care of the common. Neither did Pifo say or doe publikely any thing else the other foure dayes, that were between his adoption, and flaughter,

1 Who being priviledged to weare gold rings.: Quem annulis donatum] In Spaine when he brought the newsof 1 vino being privileogen to weare gold rings: Luem annus uonalum 1 in opinite when he orought the lens in Neroes death. Annuls dinne is all one with equestri dignitate donare. Tac.s. Hilt, possulante exercitu ut liberium saw assaucum equestri dignitate donaret, inhonessam adulationem compessul, (Vitellius) Dein nobilitate ingenii quod pilam abuse. rat, inter secreta convivia lirgitur, honoravitque Assaticum annulis sadum mancipium, & malis artibus ambutosam, suum. · Vicellio. primo imperi: die aureis donavit annulis super canam, quum mane roganiibus pro co cunttis detellatus esse super me talem equestion ordinis maculum; speaking of the same man which Tacitus Dio lib. 48. duamo, int ra person, wies at of learner since clongate (Aryesse tie Merer) That is, Augustus honoured Menas with golden rings, anden pion, sums is must ulpes, se & βαλτίκου & κατ' απιλιεθερίαι invester το manffelles diderres. That is, Among the ancient Romans it was not lawfull for any (I meane not of those onely which had been some time slaves, but of all others free born and liberally brought up) to weare gold rings, except he were either Senator or Eques, and therefore the Princes bellowed this upon the freed men whom they favour as a great honour though otherwife they weaterings of gold, as being thereby made better then common freed men and equall in degree with the Equites. This pinledge the Prince conferred not onely upon his own, but also upon other mens liberty, (although invitis or innatibus patronic it was not lightly granted, or if it were, it was recalled) and it drew with it jus ingensitatis, but not to exclude the parone abharditate librit, lib. 40. Digett.

2. In grace with Nero, &c.] sha 3 rd Sam, 15 outland the double the parone is madistated in modes at

2. In grace with incress occ. I am I are comes a grouper of monthly Kroather as the contract of analogous from the contract of numeraliformer. That is, Nero used Otho, as his inward friend and companion because of his riot, and being often noted by him of sparing and niggard linesse he took it in very good part, and it is reported that on a time New, a he was anointing with a very coilly ointment, having beforinkled Otho with a little thereof, the day following O the entertaining him again let in divers corners filver and golden pipes spouting out the ointment like water and washing the place. Platarehus Galba, in 3 ne upper control film, is true a not to constitute the girtum, it, was annoted washing the place. Platarehus Galba, in 3 ne upper control film, is true a no the constitute of spectrum, it, was annoted to allegrange mu, rid riemsi annam, ast ni einus nort weit abres, nu ja neinuen lobie, ulft obe um nente innere and main wins drokurs, in, withours or square. That is, there was one M. Salvius Otho fo familiar with Nero bothfer likenesse of their conditions, and fellowship in vices, that when once in speech with Nero he let fall a word: \$0 you may fee me Emperour as this, and this is a truth, he did him no harme, but onely replied, No I will not for

much as fee thee a Conful. Xiphilinus Nerone. Poppæa Sabina] Concerning the matter how it passed betweene Nero , Poppæa and Otho, reade Suttomius Othone cap. 3. and Plutarch Galba differing from Tacitus in some little circumitances. But to this place of

Tacitus most contrary, and without question irreconciliable is Tacitus himselse in another 13. Annal. lacius more contrary, and with the question in reconcurrante is a actius thin tier in another 13, annai. Sulpician and Lutatian houses] Plutarch peaking of Galbaes pedegree சிற நீன்ற faith he, அற்றார்க் ஆங்கு மீர். ஆயில் நீன்ற, That is, he was descended of the moit honourable of the Servii. And Tacitus lib. 2. Hift, Past Ju-The law, That is, he was detecnded of the most nonourant of the agreement and lactus in 2, 1111. Post Juliana, Service; both formewhat firangely using the 6 forename progentities, to note the house which was b This forename in flanding service; both formewhat firangely using the 6 forename progentities, to note the house which was b This forename in flanding service; both formewhat firangely using the forename progentities and the service of the servic guera by the mother. That he was of kin to Livia Augulla, as Plutarch writeth, I have not elfe read, although it is Sulpitis, minafisher by the mother. I had no was on all the level angular as Francisch without a have not cited read, authority in supplier, unfaired and that object with a comest livium angular mangular per a mount of the mount of the diams med Rep failumed and that object with a supplier of the su

umpus imperii, if Suctonius in Galba doe not deceive us. ungua imperis, it Suctorius in Valoa due aut accesseus.

1 Neare me in bloud: Propiaqua aut fotios telli; Augustus adopted Agrippa and Tiberius as fotios telli, the rest as tillizinis, where1 Neare me in bloud: Propiaqua aut fotios telli; and Dolabella, who as Plutarch assured was also in speech about of Articus, we apopula position propinquas. Tac. Cornelius Dolabella propiaquitate Galbe monstraus, if it be, as I think, the same man, of read, M. Servisus we adoption, propinquas. Tac. Cornelius Dolabella propiaquitate Galbe monstraus, if it be, as I think, the same man, of read, M. Servisus we adoption, propinquas.

whom Plutarch speaketh.
6 Of one family] C. Julius adopted Augustus; Augustus Livia and Tiberius, who adopted Germanicus, whose Julius obsequen s
6 Of one family] C. Julius adopted Augustus; Augustus Livia and Tiberius, who adopted Germanicus, whose Julius obsequen s
7. Servine Sul-6 Of one raminy C. Julius adopted Negative of Sante Caius was, and Claudius his brother, and laftly Claudius adopted Nero in whom failed the Julian line, Au-

Aeneadum generis qui sextus & ultimus hæres

rount, er cause juna jura vern.

7 Istall cease &c. Desnam viders senex) idest, Desnam contemns quast senex. Non legiones, non classes prinde sermo mainmento, quam numerum libermum. Tac. 4. Hist, in the person of Titus. Licerally to construe, it may seem Polluit, & clausit Julia sacra Nero. inguishmanum mo, young man thould cease to seeme aged, because he had adopted one that was one and thirty yeers for what strange, that a man should cease to seeme aged, because he had adopted one that was one and thirty yeers of the specific was, to whom in common intendment he might have been father, and so was reputed to all constru-d Tags. Hift.] 00,35 rito - was, or manufactured to all controls. And purposes in law. But Adoption, as Generation, doeth in a sorteternize, and eternitic knoweth no

Runtine. 8 That being of ancient time observed as cause to breake up assemblies] (ic. in Valinium. August omnes uss that verify to affected that the populo age in fise effe. Philippica, s. fove tomatte sum to populo age with fife fix quis much found to the transfer and to populo age with fife fix quis found? 2. de divinatione. In rolfris commentaries friphum habemus: Jove tomanie fulgarante constitu sophishabere in fise, found? 2. de divinatione. In rolfris commentaries friphum habemus yeous aufhitum optimum habemus, fi fiaifrum fina after. Comitionum folium vitium est fulnera, quod idem omnibus rebus aushitum optimum habemus, fi siashum

where each man maketh choice of his fellow] This manner of mustering was, that the first man should chuse on the fecond, who in the battel should stand fast beside him, the second, the third, and so forth, each his mate till oning records, who in the observed was in the opinion of those ancient times thought in a manner invincible, and meiat man, Amany and Mary Mangular commodities. Livi, L.9. Ad Vadimonis lacum Herufis, hege factate coaste exer-gedhoalfeet tham legfist, quantis muquam alias ante simul copiis, simul animis dimicarum. Much after the same manner in, um vir virum legfist, quantis muquam alias ante simul copiis, simul animis dimicarum. Much after the same manner ma, num on was signed and the Persian muster, either because it was so indeed, or because in his judgement, being accellent commander, so had beene the best. Cyrus the Generall maketh choice of 200, trained Gentlemanuch as he knew most fit for the service. Each of those 200, choose foure more Gentlemen; and so rising upto manusar as the anti-men, every Gentleman maketh choife of thirty common fouldiers namely 10. targets. 10. flings, e कारे कहन्ये

10 Their donative which they had used of duety to receive] The Princes liberalities to the souldiers were called Datains, to the people, or otherwise to his friends, Congiaria, doubtlesse because at the first certaine measures called comin of wine or oyle were bestowed, and afterward other things were given, yet the ancient name remained. Tac. 11. Annal, Addition nomine Nevenisdonativum militi, congiarum plebi. And Sueton, Nevente, of the felfe fame thing : \$ 109.7. 11. Amin 1. Addition months of the state of que lio secundum mare superum sacium, quas sperat suas esse. En conzintium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt. Or rather, as I think, the word donativum, came in with the Empire not known in the free state. Donatives the Princes usually beflowedupon formegreat victory, or other extraordinary occasion. Claudius was the first which at his creation promiled to the fouldiers Donative, fifteene thousand felterces a man, that is, about fix core pound fterling. Primus Lesun fidem milits ctiam pramio pignoratus, saith & Suctonius: and when Nero his adopted sonne did take togam g cap. 20. billm, he gave them another Nero at his entry promifit donatioum ad exemplar paterna largitionis, Tac. 12. Annal. and when, negave them anomer recte at his their prompt amount whitin manipularihus divifu, that is, about fixteene altrihe conspiracy of Psio was detected, bina nummum millia vinitim manipularihus divifu, that is, about fixteene pound, and divers times in the Græcian journey, inducing as it were by fo many precedents a kinde of necessity to usfaccours. Nymphidius promifed them in Galbaes name thirty thousand sefterces, that is about twelvescore pound, but Galba at his coming paid nothing at all. And here in the adoption of Pifo: nullum oratione aut lenociuimaddium, aut pretium. Adrian following a more greeable courfe to that time, in the adoption of Verus bestowed three hundred millions of festerces upon the fouldiers: and Antonius at the marriage of his daughter Faustina exceeded ufque ad donativum militum, Spartian.

V. An Embassage to the armies in Germany.

He newes growing dayly fresher of the German revolt, and the city being ready to admit and believe all news when they are evill, the Senat ordered, that Embaffadors should be sent to the armies. It was besides secretly deba-

defperate

ted, whether Pifo also should goe; they to carry the credit of the Senat, and hethe countenance of the Prince, with more shew and greater authority. It seemed convenient, that Laco captain of the Guard, should be sent withall, but his unwillingnesse brake the determination. The Embassadours likewise, the election of whom the Senate had given to Galba, were with shamefull inconstancy named, put out, others named in their place by labour and fuite, to flay or to goe, as feare or hope moved them to doe.

VI. The donations of Nero revoked by Galba. Certain Tribunes put from their charge.

He next care was for money: and casting about for supply it seemed most reasonable to fetch it thence, from whence the lack had proceeded. 1 Two and twenty hundred millions of fefterces Nero had wasted in prodigall gifts. and twenty hundred millions of fetterces Nero had watted in prodigall gifts.

a and twenty hundred millions of fetterces Nero had watted in prodigall gifts.

Galba commanded them all to be called, and left onely to each the tenth part of the commanded them all to be called, and left onely to each the tenth part of the commanded them all fearce bone tenth part remaining, having spent with their gift: but they had in all searce bone tenth part remaining, having spent with on, 1564.
b. And in that like riot what came from others, as they had before confumed their own. Those ease, faith Suctors greedy and wastefull companions had neither lands to extend, nor goods to be sea-nius, order waz greedy and wastefull companions had neither lands to extend, nor goods to be sea-taken, us f guid zed, save onely some furniture of vices. Thirty gentlemen of Rome were deputed raken, we pure zeth, lave onerly to the turn the company aftrange kind of office, and burdensome, both for adjective appearance, collectours to gather the money, a strange kind of office, and burdensome, both for a fine purple and the peare was planted, and the peare was planted. and it is a great com-interior fales proclaimed, the city disquieted with prizers and buyers: yet was it a great com-interior distinct fort to see that they should be as poore, to whom Nero had given, as they were, from whom he had taken. About the same time certain Tribunes were cassed . An-Sunquerina tonius Taurus, and Antonius Naso of the guard, Aemilius Pancensis of the citybands and Julius Fronto of the watch: neither was it any remedy to amend the refle but rather an occasion of new seare in their mindes, as though by cunning, and for Softer, estimator, seare certain were singled, whereas all were indeed mistrusted alike.

Two and twenty hundred millions: Bis & vicus mille sestentium] Mille by errour for millies, Tacit. 2.Hill.No. vies milles sesterium; not novies mille; for so is the use of the tongue, Now in these speeches pronounced advertilly is underflood of courfecentena millia, so that bis & vicies millies is as much as if he had said, bis & vicies milliature na millia selection. Platarchus Ausono interpreteth Decres by with it is an populate (Conquer) That is, decinent na sound penerium. Ludareous amonto interpretent DICLES by and a factorial, qualifemit traits two and a na militus effections; counting as he doth four fefferii to a drachma, Sellerium, qualifemit traits two and a halfe, and a coording to the fame Analogic, in Greek might by an and more talents and an halfe, and in Dutch delt halb batty, two baty and an halfe. Now fefterium fignifying two and an halfe, as the vulgar notatio importeth II. So repyaed H.S. that is due to finis, is meant alwayes of formany affisis, and therefore four fifthmat is meant alwayes of formany affisis, and therefore four fifthmat precifely equivalent to a dramins, for called of dram ear. Now all the Greek flories without exception writings the Roman affaires, in stead of quature softenis fee down exputionally to not onely in small summes, but in large great, where the difference must of force appeare, if in their opinion there were any betweene them. Seeing the deviation and machine, according to the content of the most old writers against a few are of equall value, bottomcanning four Celesces, eight duathmate, making an ounce, and the ounce in our time elected of at five filling ster-ling, our prefent summe of bis & viciles miller centum milling felterium, reduced to English money now curant, amounted to seventeene millions an hundredth eighty seven thousand and five hundreth pound. Neither can his lumme seeme strange for Nero in fourteen yeares, when "Vitellius paucissimis mensious novies millus H. S. introvisse crediter. About seven thousand thousand pound.

VII. The conspiracy of Otho: the death of Galba, Piso, Vinius, Lace, and Icelus.

N the meane feafon fundry causes concurring incited Otho, whose hope and devices depended upon the common diffurbance, to trouble the flate, riotand excelle too coffly even for the purse of a Prince; barenes and beggery scarce for a meane man to beare; anger against Galba; envy toward Piso; and that his aspi-

mmsentudine felfe: how that in respect of his greatnesse he had been a burden to Nero: that he was ain alient. Neque not againe to look for a new Lulitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but n.difimilable not againe to look for a new Lulitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but n.difimilable not again to look for a new Lulitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but n.difimilable not again to look for a new Lulitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but n.difimilable not again to look for a new Lulitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but n.difimilable not again to look for a new Lulitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but n.difimilable not again to look for a new Lulitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but n.difimilable not again to look for a new Lulitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but n.difimilable not not necessarily nece tobe murthered, or made away by some means, that course might Otho more state una posse, niinfly expect, the rule being almost without instance, That alwayes he shall be hofte in acte, an in fipected and hated of the Prince in possession, whom men do account worthy, or fore fine reditorilike to the Prince in succession, that point alone did him harme with old Galba, he was as Plat. and would doe him more with young Pifo, a man by nature not of the mildest, and fixeene hundred made by long exile favage and rough : and therefore he must of force doe and dare, indebted. Pound now or else never, whilest Galbaes authoritie was waining, and Pisoes as yet not *Transfire rerect that is, the fully well waxen; fith * changes were times most apt for greatest attempts, and very time and delayes were dangerous, where foft quiet dealing draweth more evill, then hazard-the flate parieth ingrashly, that death happens by nature to all menalike, with only this difference from one to anoftame, or oblivion with posteritie: and if he must die either guiltles or guilty, then eth etherwise any notable were it more valiant neffe to die for desert. Othowas not effeminate in minde as in alteration. body, and his freedmen and fervants, the neerest about him, being brought up in more licence then usually in a private mans house, layed before him, who greedily gaped after such baites, the court of Nero, and riotous living, wives at will of his owne, and of other mens, with fuch like pleasures of Princes, as his owne proper good, if he durst seaze upon them, if not upbraiding them to him, as left unto others, 1 The Astrologers also urged him forward, assuring by their star learning great changes at hand, and a yeere of advancement for Otho: a kinde of people to Princes unfaithfull, to hopers deceitfull, that in our commonwealth shall be alwaies sobidden, and alwaies retained. Many of that profession were employed by Popngain her secret affaires, the baddest instruments a b Princes wife can use: of which to Principale manumber Ptolomæus, who followed Otho into Spain, promised he should overlive trimonium, i uvor Nero: and so by the event having won credit, perswaded him further; by conjecture speaks also alone, and speech of people comparing the yeeres of Galba and Otho, that he claude, marrimehould be assumed to the Empire: but Otho embraced it as foretold by art, and by sissing popular theforewarning of fate; as the humour is of most men to believe that soonest, severil editioning the soonest severil edition in the soon severi which they leaft understand, or know what it meaneth. Neither was Ptolomæus ignorant of his behind for his part, perswading him now to the points in that kinde of fact, which in at home. aminde so desirous is soone apprehended. But whether it came in his minde on the sudden or no, to commit this foule act, that is not certainly known: certaine it is thatlong before that, he had by all meanes possible practised the favour and good willofthe fouldier, either upon the hope of fuccession, or as preparing the way to histreason: in journeying, in marching, in warding, calling by name such as were of greatest continuance, and tearming them mates, upon the remembrance of living together in Neroes traine; with some renewing acquaintance; some calling for, and relieving their needs with his purse, and his countenance; inserting withall now and then complaints, and glauncing at Galba with speeches of doubtfull confruction, or what other way he could be thinke him, to stir up, and alter the vulgar fort. The travells in journeying, the straitnesse of provision, the hard hand held overthem were much mislikt of the fouldiers: for whereas before they were wont to visit the lakes of Campania, and towns of Achaia at their ease upon shipbord, now it seemed fore to trotalla foot over the Pyrenees and Alpes, and huge long voyages at smallease in their armor. The souldiers minds being thus already incen-

led, Mevius Pudens an acquaintance of Tigellinus, ministred matter to inflame them

further; who alluring some unstaied heads, or such as were needy of money, and

a Not only at Rome, but elfe-where alfo. X iph Toic Eleanedi-

a Suet. Othene.

this cohest of

desperate upon new desires, by little and little proceeded so far, that so oft as Galba was feasted at Othoes, under pretence of a banquet benevolence, he distributed to each man of the cohort which waited, can hundred festerces. Which, as being a * publike largenesse, Otho strengthened with secret rewards to particular persons: Swerthar is, 15. Publike largeneric, Othor Reorgeneric Proculus a "billman of the Guard s. 7.d ob. Now fo confident a corrupter, that whereas Coccius Proculus a "billman of the Guard had a fuite with his neighbour about a small parcell of ground, which lay doubtman a full with ms forgation about a some money bought the neighbours whole footness other full between them, Otho with his owne money bought the neighbours whole footness other full between them, Otho with his owne money bought the neighbours whole footness of the sound of the profit of the sound of Captain, groffely to overfee not onely close practises, but even those dealings * Publicant to a contribute of the spiculator. * Problem to the spiculator. * Problem to the spiculator. * Problem to the spiculator. * Spicul rions Lieutenant anon to his mafter, after that Otho by fundry speeches, and much private conference, perceived them to be craftie, and bold, fit for his purpose. he lades them with rewards in hand, but much more with promises to come; gi ving them money to affay the mindes of moe of their fellows: and fo two com. mon fouldiers tooke upon them to transferre the Empire of the people of Rome. and accordingly performed it indeed. Fewwere by them made privy to the principall purpose, and they by divers devises incited the hovering mindes of therest, drawing into the affociation the chiefe of the fouldiers preferred by Nymphidius. as being suspect to the present estate; the meaner fort, and the rest, by meanes of the anger and displeasure conceived upon despaire of their donative so often differ. red: fome also there were, whom the memory of Nero, and defire of former licence did move: in generall, all were afraid they should finde a change in the service. This contagion infected also the Legions and Aides, whose faith was weakened already, when as they heard their fellows of Germany had left their allegeance. And so ready were the bad to rebell, yea the good to dissemble, that upon the sourteenth of January, they had determined, as Otho returned from supper tohave d Say Other 6. taken him up by the way, thad they not feared fuch cafuall chances, as night might yeldeth another have bred; and by reason the souldiers were lodged scatteringly throughout the whole towne; and that drunken men would a great deale more hardly agree; not gua tune excuba-but, we overnoteter for any care of Commonwealth, which they purposed, when they were sober, to pollute with the bloud of their Prince; but left in the darke by errour it might chance, that in ftead of Otho, fome other man should be offered to the Pannonian and German fouldiers, & fobe accepted for Emperor, the most part of them not know-Medium queque ing Otho by fight. Many fignes of treason even now as it were discovering itselfe, Materialistics were suppressed by the conspiratours: some other in Galbaes hearing Laco the cape For Defore he taine put away with a jest, a man little seene in souldiers affections, and of any adnad taid, that maline Gomania vise, were it never so excellent, whereof himselfe was no actour, an enemy, and against the skilfull obstinately contentious. The fifteenth of January as Galbawas facrificing before Apolloes temple, Umbricius the Priest, by view of unprosperous entrailes, foresheweth dangers at hand, and a home enemy in Othoes audience (for he was the next man) who contrarily construed it as good lucke on his side, and happy fuccesse in his affaires. Anonafter, Onomastus bringeth in word, that the master carpenter, and those which had undertaken the worke at a price, stayed for his coming: for that was the watch-word agreed between them, to fignific, that now the fouldiers were drawing together, and the conspiracy ripe. Otho saining an answere to such as demanded the cause of his departure, that he had certaine old tenements to buy, which he suspected were ruinous, and therefore would have

them viewed before, * following his fervants direction, went through Tiberius * Impixed liberius * Impixed l house into the Velabrum, and thence to the 3 golden Milliarium under the Temple of Saturnus. There three and twenty "Bilmen attending his coming falute him Em- " spiculatores. nerour: and as he stood amazed, trembling for feare at their fewnesse, they snatch him up hastily into a chaire, and with their swords drawn carry him away. As they went forward to ward the Camp, about so many moe souldiers joyned themselves. fome acquainted indeed with the cause, but most for the wonder and strangenesse: part with showts, and drawn swords, part holding their peace, meaning so to proceed, as the event should direct them. Julius Martialis warded as Tribune that day in the Campe: who being either terrified with the greatnesse of so sudden a treason. orelle fearing the Camp was further corrupted, and death, if he should make shew of refiftance, gave most men to misdeem by his dealing, that he was somewhat of counsell with the case. The rest likewise of the Tribunes and Centurions preferred present security before duty with danger; and generally after that manner were their mindes and affections inclined, that into so horrible a treason few only durft enter, more wished it so, and all were contented to suffer it to passe. Galbain the meane while ignorant of all which had paffed, was bufily occupied about his devotion, importuning now the Gods of another mans Empire, when as fuddenly word was brought, that a Senatour, they wift not well who, was carried to the Camp, and fraightwaies that it was Otho. Anon flocked thither out of all quarters, * as they * Ve quifque obhappened to meet him, some making the feare more then it was, some lesse, not other others, or other figetting even then to fall to their flattering biace. The matter being confulted hink, as I mon, it was thought convenient, to found the minde of the Cohort, which warded in the Palace, not by Galba himfelf, whose authority was to be reserved intire for greater exploits, but by Pifo: who calling them before the staires of the house, used this speech. It is now, fellow fouldiers, fix daies, fince that I was, not knowing "what after might befall, and whether this name were to be wished, or feared, "adopted Cæfar: with what fuccesse to our house, or to the Common-wealth, that "lies in your hands: not that I am for mine own particular, afraid of any heavy "chance that can happen: froward fortune I have proved with the most, and the "good I do take to bring no leffe danger: but my fathers case, the Senats, and the "whole Empires I lament, if this day of force we must either kill or be killed; a hard "choice for any good man. In the last troubles these comforts we had: the City was "kept clean without any bloud-shed; the Star passed over without any discord; or-"der was taken as it feemed, fufficient, by declaring a fucceffour, that hereafter al-"fothere should be no new occasion of war. I will not excoll and magnisse here mine "ancient house, or modest behaviour; neither in the comparison with Otho, need "we to reckon up vertues: his vices wherein he alone triumphs, have ruined the "State even then, when he was but a friend of the Emperours. By his gefture and "gate should he deferve to be Prince, or by that womanish attire he weareth? they 'are fouly deceived, whom riot deceives with thew of liberality: to cast away and 'confume well may he be learned; to give in good order he hath not the skill: bodily pleafures & banquetting, wanton dalliance with women, thefe be the points which now he proposeth himself, these he accounteth the prerogatives of Prin-"ces, whereof the lust and pleasure shall be only his own, the shame and ignominy "redoundeth to all: for never any man yet used the Empire well, which he got by "ill means. The confent of the world made Galba Emperor, & Galba by your confent made me. If the weal publick, the Senat, the people, be frivolous names, and 'no substance, yet for your own interest provide, fellow souldiers, that the rascallest

invidia quel .-~ Cains fuerat occisus ir de-

remained in Rome.

The first Book of the History "fort be no Emperour makers. The Legions abroad have some time mutined a-"gainst their Generals; that had been heard of: your truth and good name hath re-"mained as yetto this day untouched : and Nero alfo forfook you, not you Nero. "Shall leffethen thirty renegates and traitors, whom none would permit to choose "their Centurion, or Tribune dispose of the Empire? do you allow the example do "you wink at their crime, and so make it your own? the provinces will usurp the like "licence, & the end of these treasons will fall to our share, the end of those wars un-"to yours. Neither is there more gotten by murdering your Prince, then by keep. "ing your hands innocent and clean: as well shall you receive of us a donative for truth, as of others for treason. The "bilmen being slipped away, the rest of the cohorts feeming to be moved with his words, more of fear, as it happeneth in tumults and yet with some reason, make ready their ensignes, we afterward men supposed was done for a colour and fraud. Marius Celfus alfowas fent to the felected fouldiers of the Illyrian army encamped in Vipfanius cloifter: and commandment was given to Amulius Serenus, and Domitius Sabinus, which had been *leaders of the princi. pall enfigne, to fetch forth the fouldiers * out of the court of Liberty. The Legion of Miriners Galba distrusted, as being incensed against him for the slaughter of their fellows at his first entry. Cerius Severus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus Tribunes were fent to the Pratorian camp, to try whether the fedition might now at the beginning, and before it were grown to a ripenes, by better advise be affwaged. Subrius and Cerius with threats, and menacing were put by the fouldiers to filence: upon Longinus they lay violent hands, and difarm him, because he had come to that place not by order of service, but by extraordinary favour of Galba; amm faithfull to his prince, and therefore of rebels worse liked. The Legion of mariners without any stay joyned themselves to them of the guard: the selected of the lllyn. f Surgestion Come- an army, with darts bentupon him, drive Celfus away: the German enfignes fwere long in suspence, being as yet feeble in body but in minde well affected, for that begatacofferents, inglent by Nero before to Alexandria, at their return tired and fick with fo longa present suscessor, except dismaris-cut, they were by Galba carefully cherifhed. Now was all the common people and bondmen withall affembled into the palace, requiring with tumultuous cries, asif they were to demand in the stage or Race a pastime, that Otho might be pulled in eneritum and fo pieces, and those other traitors exiled not upon * judgement or any true meaning; agres & invalifor the felf fame day with as vehement instance they would be as ready to demand dos magnosere fowifer, in auxilithe other way: but onely upon a received custome to flatter the Prince whatsover um advolavere: Gi forius, itinere hebe, framing 5 acclamations at pleafure, and vainly indevouring to flicw their good devis per ignowills. In the mean feafon Galba was diffracted with two divers opinions. Titus Vioirantiam lico um us thought best to stay within doores, to oppose the bondmen against them to some fiethe passinges, and not to go forth to men in their fury: that he should give a space for the bad to repent, for the good to confent: that treasons prevaile on the sudden, good counfels gather forces by leifure: and lastly if he would, or reason requiredit, then might he welgo, as now, to anon: but to come in again, if he chanced to repent him, were likely to lie in the will of another. The rest were all of a contrary minde: that it was the much better way, to cut off delaies with all possible speed, before the conspiracy of sew, as yet without force, took further increase: that even Otho himfelf would tremble for fear, who being conveied privily away, and brought in among those which knew not the matter, through slothfull delaying, and triffing the time, learns now at his leifure to counterfait the Prince. What? would they expect till 0tho having composed the camp, and set all in order, should invade the place of publick affembly, and as Galba peeped out of a hole, under his nose enter the Capitoll,

while he like a goodly trim Captain, with his couragious friends, fothey may be in covert, kept close within doores and shut up the gates, meaning belike to attend the siege there? much help might one hope for at bondmens hands, if the agreement of fo great a multitude, and their first indignation which is alwayes the hotreft, were fuffered to cool: that therefore the party dishonorable was also more dangerous: or if needs they must die, then better to meet and encounter the danger: that would at left breed Otho more envy, & were withall most for their honour. As Vinius replied against the opinion, Laco, at the instigation of Icelus, persisting in orivat displeasures to the overthrow of the publick estate, beginneth to charge him with menacing and threats: and Galba without any longer delay gave himself wholbyto follow their counfell, which had the fairer shew in appearance. Yet first was Pilo fent to the Campe, as being a young man of great name and gracious, fresh in mens favour, and enemy to Vinius, either because he was so, or that Vinius ill-willers bidwishit to be so; and it is thought rather he was so indeed. Piso was scant gone amoud, when first a flying rumour without Author was spread, that Otho was slain wthe Camp: anon, as in great lies it falls out, some offirmed they were present, and wit: a report which men partly rejoycing and partly not curious, eafily beleeved. Many supposed this rumour was framed, and increased by some of Othoes men, beimnow thuffled in with the rest, and giving out untruly good newes of purpose to sure Galba out of his hold. But upon the report howfoever, not onely the people and simpler fort clap hands, and declare immoderately their affections, but most of the Gentlemen, and Senators without temporizing, as being now freed of feare, break open the gates, rush into the Palace, presse forward to Galba, protesting how for they were, the revenge of his quarel was thus prevented by others; the greatefcowards, and fuch as in danger dared the least, as triall made proofe, being most steeffive in words, and hardy of tongue. Thus whileft all affirmed, and no body bew, Galba yeelding to an untruth to generally foothed, sputs on * a brest plate, by, as Plutarch adbeing not able for body norage to fustaine the presse which came in upon him, seportesh to milifted up in a Chaire. In the palace Julius Atticus met him, one of the "Bilmen, prople and do bolding out a bloudy fword in his hand, with which he cried aloud he had flain O- his facifice to tho. My friend, quoth Galba, who bade thee? a man of rare vertue to keep in awe deliverances a discontious fouldier, whom neither threats could terrifie, nor flattering speeches making no doubt corrupt and abuse.

Bythis time the fouldiers were wholly agreed, with fo great fervencie favouring Otho, that not content to affift him in companies with their bodies, they cast a ring but in the end bouthin with banners, as he ftood * in the middeft of the enfignes in the Tribu- he found himfelf bidden to ano. mall, in which a little before the image of Galba was planted in gold, not suffering ther banques. the Tribunes or Centurions to approch, yea and further the common fouldier bid-ton. Loricana ding beware of Officers. All the whole Camp refounding with clamours, with tu- interam. mult, with mutual encouragement: none of those different chantings of dull flat- coat. try practifed among the popular: but as they espied any souldier coming, they * Medium inter would take him by the hand, embrace him in their armour, fet him faft by them, beguhim the oath, recommending fometime their Emperour to the fouldiers, and tes, fubfignament Cometimes the fouldiers to their Emperour. Neither was Otho slack for his part to shipmen 3 is the state of t abroad, and what fervile crowching else not fit for an Empire! When the whole xiphilinia. Legion of Mariners had fworn allegeance, trufting now to his strength, and suppoingit requilite to incense them in Common, whom as yet he had only incited in severall, standing upon the Rampier of the Camp, he begins in this manner. "I am

come

corum vexillarione. Hi ob recens

retardatt.

* E. Libertatis

acrio.

faith a little be fore: diffente clamor plebie & Gruitionum.ca-

i Elius was left

by Nero, at his pilgrimage into

and with him

which two as

noffeth, Boy, 1-

A'zero. Of Varinius Ta-

mention 15. An

Vatinius inter fædifsima ejus aula oftenta fuit.

alumnus, corpora

detorto . facetiu feurrilious primo

in contumelias affumptus deinde

optimi cujufque

criminatione co-

ufque valuit, ut

gratia, pecuria, nocendi etiam ma

lu negemineret. k Or have my watchword gi-

erlsandos pollici-tarionibus mili-

tum animos nihil

and and in the Mary, gent et-

eirus maketh

"come here, as you see, to your presence, my loving companions: but what I am "that cannot I tell. A private man I will not be termed, being named Prince by "you; nor Prince well I cannot, whileft yet another possesset the place: your name "also, whether traitors or true subjects, shall be likewise in doubt, till it be decided "what manner of man you have in your camp, an Emperour of the people of Rome h For to Tacinus " or an enemy. Do you not heare how my death, and your punishment are both here. "quired at once? fo evident it is, that we can neither perish, nor be safe, but joyntly "together: and perhaps Galba, according to the measure of his discretion, hath "promifed it already, as one that could finde in his heart, unaskt, unrequired, to time possessions. 6 murder so many thousands of most innocent citizens. A horror pierceth my heart "as oft as I call to remembrance the difmall entry, and that only conquest of his "when he did in fight of the City command to be flain the tenth person of those "which upon their humble request he had received into his protection. Such was "his unprosperous entry: and what glorious fact brought he beside to commend "him withall to the Princes place, faving the flaughter of Obultronius Sabinus and "Cornelius Marcellus in Spain, of Betuus Chilo in France, of Fronteius Capito in "Germany, of Clodius Macer in Africk, of Cingonius in the way, Turpilianusin "the City, Nymphidius in the camp? Nay, what Province is there, what campany "where, that he hath not, as he pretends, amended and corrected, but in truth with "cruelty milused and stained with bloud? Those things which other men account "hainous faults, he termes them gentle remedies: cruelty he clokes with the name "of feverity, and wretched covetouines he termeth provident sparing; your stripes "and indignities ancient discipline. Since the death of Nero it is scarce seven moneths, and yet hath one Icelus already raked more together, then all that rable, Polycletus, Vatinius, Elius, and their fellows have done in fo many yeares. And Rome, with ab-folute authority: certainly with leffe covetousnessee, and more respect would Titus Vinius have raged if himself had been Emperor: now he oppresseth us as vasfals, and holdeth us vile as strangers: the only wealth of that man were enough for the donative, which daily is cast in your teeth, but never paied to your purses. And lest we might hope to be ter our estate, at the least when Galba were gone, he hath fetched out of exileon, that in cruelty and covetousnes he judged likest himself. You saw, fellow-souldiers, by that notable ftorm, that even the gods much abhorred that untoward adoption. The Senat, the people are of the same minde: your part now only remaineth your valour and vertue is looked for: you are the men who adde strength to good causes: without you, be the attempt never fo worthy, it shall never take any worthy effect. I defire you not to a war, I call you not to any dangerous exploit: the fouldiers be all of our fide, and that one unarmed cohort, which waits upon Galba, endevors not now to defend him against us, but rather detaines him from scaping out from us: when you shall come in their view, when they shall see my ensigne kthis will be their only contention, who shall in my behalfe do greatest service. No delay in that enterprise is to be used, which never is commended, before it be ended. Then he commanded the Armory to be opened: armes by and by were taken contrary to custome, and order of service, where the Prætorian and Legionary man is severed by his difadden : deon-ferent cognisance: with Helmets and Targets they mingle themselves, among the Aid fouldiers: no Centurion nor Tribune encouraging them, they become Captaine and encourager, each man to himselfe; and that which chiefely encouraged the bad, the good were discouraged, and quite out of heart. Now Piso being scared away with the noise, as the fedition grew fuller and hotter, with showts resounding even into the City, by this time had joyned himselfe to Galba again, who

was in the meane feafon issued out of the Palace, and come neare to the place of nublick affembly. Marius Celfus likewife had brought an heavy answer againe: whereupon some thought it expedient to retire into the Palace againe, some rather to posses fethemselves of the Capitoll, some other to take the Rostra: but the most did only impugne the opinions of others, and as often it chanceth in Counfels croffed with evill fuccesse, that way was commonly judged the best, whereof the time was forepassed. It is reported that Laco, unwitting to Galba, had a meaning to have flaine Titus Vinius, hoping belike by his death to mitigate the fouldiers, or mistrusting he was confederate with Otho, or els upon private displeasure: the time and the place bred scruple in the matter: for when men are set in a killing, it is not so essie to stop when you list, and many other accidents staied the purpose: searefull messiges, the slippings away of his friends, their courage being all quailed, and of those which cheerefully at first made most oftentation of loyalty and stoutnesse. Galbawas driven to and fro with the croud of the company, as it waved up and down. " The standing in * Temples and Churches on every side were taken to mor, the standview this * forrowfull fight: the people all mute, with countenances amazed, and common halls iftening eares, no tumult, no quietuesse: such a silence as argued great feare, and and trongles, great anger: notwithstanding it was carried to Otho, that the common people 14 and 27 state and 25 sta were 2 putting in armes: whereupon he " commanded his men to march in all # dyness. fpeed and prevent the danger. So the Roman fouldiers, 7 as if they had gone to pull Plus Sence lib. 3. Vologefes or Pacorus out of the throne anciently possessed by Arfaces line, and not divious basilies. mmurder their own Emperour unarmed, and aged, dispersing the people, tramp- the profes lingthe Senate under foot, " fet spurres to their horses, and siercely in armes rush this. Tacining. mothe Place of affembly: neither did the fight of the Capitoll, nor reverence of 1019-93. Lists of the Temples about, nor the Princes palt and to come, terrifie them from committent Plus terrifies about, nor the Princes palt and to come, terrifie them from committent Plus terrifies the about nor the Princes palt and to come, terrifie them from committent Plus terrifies the Temples about 1 the terrifies the revenue of the plus terrifies the plus terrifies the revenue of the plus terrifies the revenue of the plus terrifies the plus ing that adolfmatic act; whereof the heart to by report, aftoon as he faw afarre managed in for he himselfe of the armed men, marching in array, pluckt down the image of Galbi, and remained filling the dashed it against the pavement, by that it did plainly appeare, that all the fouldi-Galled it against the pavelies, by that turn parmy aparts, that a the found in trapelying the start of the people unbidden make away in all hatte, leaving the a playing a circulated form of the people with the part of the part of the property of the playing a circulated which is received as a playing a circulated with the property of the part of the property of the part of the property of the part of the part of the property of the part of the pa through the fearfulnesse of them which bare it. His last words are diversly by dialight, ressreported, as they admired or hated the man: some say, he humbly demanded, press gate, press gate, wife what ill he had ever deferved, requesting onely a few dayes respite to pay their paramper restite. donative. The most do agree; that he offered stoutly his neck, to doe their plea- from incitation of to the murderers what he did fay. The very man that flew him is not certainly known: fome fay Terentius Evocatus; others Lecanius: the more received opi-Dion is, that Camurius, a fouldier of the fifteenth Legion, pierced his throat with afword: his armes and legges (1 for his breast was armed) others did miserably p Thorace, of mangle and hew: many stabbes, upon a favage and beastly cruelty, were bestowedupon the headlesse carcasse. Next after Galba, they assayled Vinius, of whom likewise there is question, whether the present seare waited his speech, or else that he cried aloud. They had no commandment from Otho to kill him: which, whether he fained for feare, or confessed as associate of the conspiracy, the same of his a Tac. Suprz. lewd life doth make it more probable he was guilty of the treason, whereof he was Calbam, Tirus cause. At the first wound in his hamme he tumbled down before the Temple of mus mortalium, Divus Julius, and after by Julius Carus, a Legionary fouldier, was thrust through out flaquitives.

mazu pro concio-ne testatus est , quam id demum le habiturum

Xiphili : write that not Pilo, but Galba was protected by Dentus. ed them with the vine rod. GROWING WA. gary disquires.

Of what Legi-I finde none in this action; and they received

The first Book of the History r Both Ples, and the fides. A worthy man that day our age did affoord, r Sempronius Denfus a Centurion of the Cohort wth guarded Galba, and by him appointed to wait upon Pifo, who with his rapier drawn encountering the armed men, and upbraiding to them their difloyalty, partly by deeds, and partly by words turning the blowes upon his that he first fur- own head, gave Piso, although he were wounded, time and space to escape away, et them with Pifo recovering the Temple of Vesta, and being received by the Sextons compassi. 6 100, 3 cm to 20. on, and hid in his Cabin, not by the reverence of fanctuary, or facred ceremonies of the holy goddesse, but onely by hiding himselfe, deferred eminent death, when as ftraight there comes thither, by Othoes expresse commandement, horly benthy name for his bloud, Sulpitius Florus, one of the British cohorts, lately by Galba made Citizen of Rome, and Statius Marcus "Bilman: of these two was Pifo drawn out and flain in the gates of the Temple. No mans death did Otho to joyfully take; no head did he view and review fo infatiably: whether it was that then first of all his mind was at ease, and free to rejoyce, lightened of all manner burdens and care; or that the remembrance of majefty in Galba, of acquaintance in Vinius, had strook a kinde of horrour into his unmercifull minde: marry for Piso, his enemy and concurrent, he thought he might juftly wth all reason rejoice at his ruine. Their heads were planted upon speares, and carried among the enfignes of the Cohorts, neare the Standard of the Legion, striving to shew their bloudy hands, they which one or the Made thanks had flaine them, they which were prefent, fome truly, fome falfly, all making their vaunt, as of a goodly and memorable act. Morethen a hundred and twenty supplications, put up for fome good fervice that day, were afterward found by Vitellius, who caused the men to be all sought out, and staine, not in honour of Galba, but as tomors hand, and in our feet upon a tradition received among Princes as an affurance of their prefent estate, and by Tark who of a meane of revenge afterward. Now the Senat and people were no more the same manded it in in-ment: they runne all by heapes to the Campe, contending and shouldring who should get formost, defacing Galba, extolling the fouldiers judgement, kissing were pated with other money for Othoes hand, and leffe they meant it in heart, doing so much the more in outward other money for their paines unit as a supparence. Neither did Otho reject any one though coming fingle, moderating Sand of the foulding with speeches and countenance the greedy, and menacing disposition of the soulding with speeches and countenance the greety, and including disposition of the last speech stands ers; who demanded to the flaughter Marius Celfus Confull elect, and to the last speech stands ers; who demanded to the flaughter Marius Celfus Confull elect, and to the last speech stands ers. and innocency as capitall crimes. A quirell was fought apparently to fack, and maffacre, and to overthrow personages of honour: but "Othoes authority was not sufficiently grounded as yet toprohibit a milhiefe, well might he command one : fo making femblance of anger, he wills them to put him in prison; that he would shew at leisure exemplary julice upon him, and so delivered him from present destruction. All things beside were ordered according as the fouldiers appointed. The elected Captaines of the Guard Plotius Firmus in time patt a common fouldier, and then Captaine of the Watch, and in Galbaes life a favourer of Otho: to him they adjoyne Licinius Proculus, a neare and inward acquaintance of Otho, and therefore suspected to have beenea furtherer of his proceedings. Flavius Sabinus they ordained Provost of the City, following therein the judgement of Nero, under whom he had obtained before the faid charge, most men in fo doing respecting Vespasian his brother. With great instance was it demanded that the fees 8 of vacations usually given to the Centurions might be remitted: for the common-fouldier paied them as an annual pension, whereby some in companies, part wandring by licence abroad, or in the Campe made no dainty to bear a burden, nor took any care how they gained, till they had wherewith to pay the Centurion, by robbing and spoiling, or ser-

vile ministers redeeming their ease. Further the fouldier which had any wealth was fureto be tired with travell and stripes till he bought out his immunity; and when the poore wretch had confumed his fubstance, and wasted his body with sloth, he returned to his band unlusty, and beggerly, whereas he was active and wealthy before: and so likewise another and another corrupted with like licence, and brought folike beggery, were carried to mutinies, diffentions, and civil warres in the end. But Otholest by gratifying the souldier he should alien the Centurions mindes, nomifed to pay out of his own the Cofers yearly vacations; a thing no doubt very profitable, and by good Princes succeeding established for a perpetuall order. Laco confined in shew into an Hand, was murdered by Evocatus, whom Otho had sent before for the purpose. Upon Martianus Icelus, as 10 being a freedman, open recution was done. The day being thus confumed in mischiefes, the last of all ills wasthe rejoycing. "The City-Pretor calleth the Senat to counsell: the rest of the Magistrates contend to exceed in flattery: the Lords of the Senate run thither inhalte: "to Otho is awarded Tribunitial authority, and the name of Augustus, x By Sister. c. 9. minuth all other princely prerogatives, and titles, each man devouring to abolifh other was pre-the opprobrious speeches, and reviling tearmes which they had indifferently used for in some the opprobrious speeches, and reviling tearmes which they had indifferently used for the same than the opprobries as the opposite as t against him, which neverthelesse he seemed not much to remember; whether he ingresses seems applied for the contract of the co nimoled to pardon the offences, or differre the punishment, by reason of the short que brevi ratipurposed to partion the observation of the place of the affembly being yet imbrued, are publics, or with bloud, was carried through the dead bodies, as they lay flain, first to the Ca- Inferiore imperimoll, and thence to the Palace, giving permission to bury, and burn the carcasses. settling com-Pilowas by his wife Verania, and Scribonianus his brother; Titus Vinius by his bitio, Palatinon daughter Crifpina, composed and layed in grave; having first fought our yandre. y Crifpina paid deemed their heads, which the murderers had kept to be fold. Pifo was when he for her fathers dedone and thirty yeares old, of better fame then fortune: his brother Magnus flerces, that is, was flaine by Claudius, and Craffus by Nero: himfelfe lived a great while in exile, Planton was flaine by Claudius, and Craffus by Nero: himfelfe lived a great while in exile, Planton was flaine by Claudius, and Craffus by Nero: and foure dayes a Prince, adopted in halte before his eldest brother, with this only * e proscription and foure dayes a Prince, adopted in halte before his eldest brother, with this only * e proscription and foure dayes a Prince, adopted in halte before his eldest brother, with this only * e proscription and foure dayes a Prince, adopted in halte before his eldest brother, with this only * e proscription and foure dayes a Prince, adopted in halte before his eldest brother, with this only * e proscription and foure dayes a Prince, adopted in halte before his eldest brother, with this only * e proscription and foure dayes a Prince, adopted in halte before his eldest brother, with this only * e proscription and foure dayes a Prince and the proscription and foure dayes a Prince and the proscription a advantage, that he was thereby first made away. Titus Vinius lived forty seven total of the was thereby first made away. vestes, not all after one fort: his father was of a Pratorian house; his mothers fa-jer lenda. therone of the * proscriptors. At his first service in war he became infamous: his Seneral apill. Lieutenant generall Calutius "Sabinus wife, carried with a womanly defire to 27. view the fite of the Campe; and having in fouldiers attire wantonly perused the place in the watch, and other campe offices, in the very * Principia forfeited her honour; and the standard theman accused of the fact was Titus Vinius: whereupon by commandement of are pitched. Causthe Emperour he was imprisoned, and anon through change of times being Fitting that ged he passed through offices of honour without touch; first Practor, then range need the passed that the passed he pass Lieutenant of a Legion with good commendation: afterward he stained himselfe of observe the with a fervile crime, conveighing away a golden cup from Claudius boord; where - with a fervile crime, conveighing away a golden cup from Claudius boord; where - where the point would be a provided by the convergence of th in * earthen: notwithstanding being Proconfull of Gallia Narbonensis he govern - Liva qui evers ed the countrey with great feverity and fincerenesse: and anon by reason of credit ordinan sine are with Galba being drawn to the place of dangerous downe-fall, he was bold, quantum qualitus crafty, active, and as he lifted to bend his minde, mischievous or industrious in Felin additional in Feli equall degree. The testament of Titus Vinius his wealth made void; Pisoes, his militum servi; equall degree. Poverty ratified. Galbaes body long neglected, and in the dark despitefull intrea-they carried clubs after their ted, Argius his Steward, one 15 of his principall bondmen, 2 buried with small cere-masters, which mony in his private Gardens. His head, by the * followers and * rafcalls of the call solar Ser. Campe, mangled and stabbed, was found the day after before Patrobius tombe, vim. Espais

2 Dialib. 60. ישור שולי מיני which was the first yeare of Claudius Empire) : Is ABre Σελπίκιος Χάυτε śzoń met. b Aufonius. Spem frustra:e fenex, privatus

Sceptra meteri v

a Freed man of Nero, whom Galba had executed, and fo was put with his body burned before. This end had Servilius Galba, having lived 14 feventy three yeares. and out-lived five Princes in great prosperity, happier under the Empire of others then in his own: his house of ancient nobility, and great wealth: himselfe a man of a middle disposition, rather vicelesse, then greatly vertuous, neither neglecting his fame, nor yet ambitiously carefull of it: of other mens money not greedy, sparing of his own, of the common a niggard: bearing with his favourites and freed men, with out reprehension, when they were good, if they were bad, to his own shame ignorant of their ill doings: but his honorable birth, and the dangerous times covered the matter, entituling that wisdome, which in truth was but sloth: in his flourish. ing age greatly renowned for fervice in Germany: Africk he ruled as Proconful Franchis motion:

Franchis motion: with great moderation: and growing in yeares, the nearer Spaine uprightly and immediately with great moderation. well: feeming more then a private man, whilest he was private, and by ball mens inveni: fed justsplanuff, deline, planuff, deline, deline, applications capable of the Empire, had he never been Emperour.

The first Book of the History

a Gellius lib.1.c. 9. Geometriam, Gnomonicam. Mulicam caterafasitem difei-Menus altiores MASHMATA veteres dans dicere opertet mathematicos

h Tac 12. Amb qui objeceret Chaldaos, mazos interrogatos fuper nupris imperato

C Tac. Ann. 12. d 2. Hiftor. c A. V. C. 770. but Tacitus 2. Ann. placeth it in the yeare f A. V. C. 615.

1. The Altrologers also: Mathematicis This use of the word Mathematicus pro Apateles matico is utterly unknown to the ancient Gracians, and to the Romans alio, for ought I remember, till the Emperours time. Before they were called thatles nonex aris, fed ex gentis vo: abulo, faith Tully : then Mathematici (a name undue to their orapation) or Plantarii and Chaldes also in our time Sirologi, a word of the ancientest both Greek and Latine ap. plied to that part of the Mithematical Liences, both now, and then also known by the name of Altronomy, in Angulus time, Apinnus de diposépos si del pienas és me melese Téssen. That is, Agrippa banithe l'Afrologen (for fo in Dioestine they begin to call them) and Magicians out of the City. Dio lib. 49. In Tiberius time, Fall to bans, vuleu au. 10 in Dioestinicine, degin to an men) and a agreement of the transit of Authorization and the first state of the Authorization magique Italia pellenda senaty/confilia, quorum'e num on L. Pituanius saxo descetus clin. P. Manuar itis vaedulo Coll. (off. extra portam Elquilunam, cum classicum caere insistent more pristo advertere. Tac. 2. An. In Claudiu time, De Mathematics Italia pellendas facthum (entusion falum atox & uritum. And in Vitellius time 'pulf. Italia Mathematics ci, Vipianus lib. 7. de officio Pruconfuls. Preterea interdicta est Malbematica um callida imposiura: nec bode primum re. todici cis placuit, sed vetus bac probibitio est, demique extat Senatusconsulum Pomponio e C. Reso Cost. field um, que cercu, ut Maib.maticis, Chaldeis, arabis & ceteris, qui similem antem fectints, aque & igni incedicat et, amniaque bona com pelicentur, and anon after, sepiffine desique i terdictium eft fire ab omnibus principibut, ne quis omnino hajafmedi muta fe imm ferst , yea before the Princes campe in M. Fopilio Lenate , C. 1 Coff Calpurnio Coff. C. Corne in Hilpsilin pen chillo chaldeos intra decimum diem abire ex sobe atque Italia justi : levibus atque ineptis ingeniis, fallaci sidenum interprasima questussam mendaciis suis caliginem is juicentes : suith Valerius lis. 1. Tertullian in his book de babitu musichi, and again in lib. de Idololatia, is of opinion, that the Angels which fell from the fiell creation were authours of Alloso gy, and therefore exiled out of Heaven, as their creatures out of Italy. Expelluetur, faith he, Mathematic, find any eriem, urbs & Italia interdicitus Muhematicis, ficut culum angelis corum, cadem puna est existi discipalis & magsha, all thele laws notwithlanding they remained at Rome, faith Tacitus, and that in as good credit as before, the bank beleeved, the oftner they had peruled the Gayles Juvenalis Saipa 6. Inde fides arti fonuit fi de xtera f vio,

Levaque si lorga custrorum in careere mansit. Nemo Mathematicus genium ind maatus habebit.

And of Ptolemæns the same Juvenal.

Precipuus tamen est horum, qui fepius exul, fujus amicitia conducendaque tabella

h Tacitus.

Magnus civis obi: & formidatus Othoni. Suetonius - Othoge nameth him Sciencus, by errour asit may feem, for Sciencus was Vespasians man. Name intactus tals sopossatione (Vespasanus) ut qui mox resum dominus Seleucum quendam Atalbematicum rectinem & possum

λαεσκτης.

3 Thelakes of Campania, and townes of Achaia] The Ancientest and best Historiographers, taking their leaves fure maxplications confilmnum, and faining Orations, have left us formerimes rather on image of their own wisshen of the times where of they have written. The nature of which, in mine opinion, were better learned ex all sales after the control of the times where of they have written. aumis, alln Gaatus, and fuch like, if any were extant, then by any flory we have. Not that I think a fimple colle. ction of memories of the like use mother respects, as a flory well written, neither do 1 condenne that liberty faining speeches, which I see granted them by i Dronysius Halicarnalleus, and other good writers, so it bedone with judgement and pro decoro per foruman, including no evident abfurdity or contradiction. Thursdides the first, and as many think the belt Author of fuch fer speeches in Hories, challengethes prefilely that right. [22] this 1349 cm k Xiphilde Suer, king his pleasure athirmes, that his Authour Garadiae congarifem the Spran was ground are change company, yet allowing that for good, which hath lo great examples, and where the truth cannot be had, approachth to the truth, and most commonly enformeth the judgement more then the truth would it felf Let us see how Tacitus hatheanied himfelf in this point : who though otherwife thatp fighted enough , hath in this place, in my opinion, fearely avoided an inconvenience. Those which were wont famparie laus & Ac aie urbes claffic madire were the s Pretoran

fouldiers: those whom Otho had here to talk with were the Legionaries of Spaineas they passed the mountaines, who furely could not in possibility accompany Nero into Achara. Hill. 4.in the oration of Vocula: Non ageo turunotuto, comit rem Romanam, ut Treenrictiam & Lingonibus despettui sit. Melius Divo Julio, Divoque Augusto nous cerum animos Galbam, & infracta tributa boslides spiritus induisse. Nunc bostes, quia molle servicium, cum spoliati, exutique fatint, amicos fore, and yet it is plain by Tacitus himselfe, and all other histories of that time, Treveri and Lingones, were of all the French the onely men with Galba atrocibus ediclis, aut damno fiaium perculerat, relieving the the of their tribute, and making them Citizens. Vulgatius Gallicanus in the life of Avidius Cassius bringeth in M. Antonius the Philosopher profoundly disputing the causes of the fall of certain Emperours, among other of Pertiass. Enumeravit deinde omnes principes qui occifi essent habuisse causas quibas mererentur occidi, nec quenquam facile bonum 1 M. Antonius. tel victum a tyranno, vel occifum; dicens meruisse Neronem, debuisse Caligulam, Othonem & Vitellium nec imperare voluisse. Nande Pertinace & Galba patria sentiebat, cum diseret, in Imperatore avaritiam esse acerbissimum malum, whereas Pertinax was living thirteene yeares after Antoninus was dead, succeeding in state to Commodus his sonne. Appianus oust placing in the Roman battell Domitius in dextro cornu, Lucius Scipio in the middle battel, and Eumenes in how and of the enemies Autiochus in dextro, Philippus in the middle, and Seleucus in levo, in joyning like a good and skilfull Captaine matching the middles, opposeth the left to the left (a thing not possible in nature) Eumenes 10 Seleucus and his people, which indeed was true, as it appeareth by " Livy, but Appians ordering of the battell m Lib. 37. மையை and no people, which made a state, as it appeared of the appeared of the appeared of the state of the state of the appeared of the appea 15st. That is, charged with his horfemen against the Galatians and Cappadocians which were over against them, and left we might doubt where these Cappadoces stood, he concludeth with these words, κ) το β μίν διν αξεί το λιμόν inal of Mandirar That is, and the fe things were done on the left hand of the Micedonian battel. The like mouris in Dionyfius lib.6. The refeutefan spanie, foith he, To the meerey nieus expro in help et ein alben darines A That is of the Romane army the left wing was commanded by T. Ebutius Generall of the horse orragainit Sext, Tarquinius whom before he had placed the war of the wing of the total of the horse the Latins, in the battel ad lacum Regillum. And in Callithenes story of Alexander, Polybius lib. 12, noteth many

minum wanted, Thatis, Errours in marthalling the men in battel. The golden Milliarium] Milliarium auteum was a golden pillar fet up by Augustus, as Dio witnesseth lib. 54.in tout for Romans, faith Pliny, eis in at vermenting this tradies of it redoug traders. That is, At which all the high waies of haly do end. Plutarchus Galba, so called because from thence began the account of miles. Beside Milliarium mum there were Milliaria lapidea, that is, little pillars of flone, erected by order from C. Gracchus, at the end of muymile. Plutarchus Gracchis, 29ε 3 τάτας διαμιτρέσας εξι μέλιος όδις πάσαιο (τό 3 μέλιος όκτιο seedlar όλίρος διαδεί) una nestrue on meta के महिला रक्षा is not. That is, Moreover having measured out the whole way by miles (a mile beinglittle lesse then eight stadia) he erected pillars of stone as marks of the measure, whereupon grew the usuall phrasead tertium, quartum, quintum, ab urbe lapidem, for three, foure, or five miles from the City.

4 Notupon judgement, or any] Tacit 3 hift. Populi molilem animum, & fi fe ducem = prebuiffet , eafdem illas adu- n Flavius Sabilumuspro Velpafiano fore, which now they used to Vitellius. And in the same book, Vulgus cadem pravitate insettaba- um.

minufettum (Vitellium) qua foverat viventem. Juvenalis Satyra 10. Sed quid

Turba Remi ? sequitur firtunam, ut semper, & odit Damnatos: idem populus, fi . Nortia Tufco Faviffet, (i oppreffa foret fecura fenetius Principis, bac ipfa Sejanum diceret hora Augustum.

o Vulfiniis unde Sejanus erat autore Tac. Ann za dea Liv.lib.7.

5 Framing acclamations at pleasure] The formula of acclamations in Senate is to be seen in the latter Roman Mones, in favour, as in Lampridius, to Alexander Severus, Auguste innocens die te fervent, &c. In Vulcatius Gallicamusto Antonius, Antonine pie dis te servent, Antonine c'emens dit te servent, Sc. to Divus Claudius, in Trebellius Pollio, Auguste Claudi dii tenobis prestent (dittum/exagies) (laudi Auguste, &c. In Flavius Vopiscus, Tacitus the Empror, Tacile Auguste dit te servent, te diligimus, te principem facimus, &c. In disfavor, as in Lampridius after Commodusdeath, Hossi patrie honores detrahantur, parricide honores detrahantur, parricida trahatur, &v. Of popular acclamation we may guesse they were much after this forme.

6 Eafily beleeved: credula fama | Dionylius noteth in Thucydides among many other innovations in speech, that he commonly changed actives into pallives, and pallives into actives: மிம்ல எவ்போல் நிமுகாக கொக்கும் கான், மிற்கே rea monano. In Tacitus here we have credula to fignifie cui facile credatur, passively, whereas credulus in common Laine, and so it is used in this book, fignifieth only qui ficile tredit, likewile, Ne vu gi largitione centurionum animos soutenet,i. largitione que siat vulgo, sive gregario militi. Again 15. Annal. Injurie minorum, i. que minoribus inferuntur. But to give a taile once for all of Tacitus Grammar, I will note here three or foure places worthy the noting. Hift. Altomnes Atuliano volenita feripfere volenita, pleating, again, Turbe facrito arum immixtus, ignarufque eliuiui, ignotus: in another place, guarum id Cefari, for notum, and que gnara Vittlianis, incomperte hollibus 1. Annal, Fama dediti Segefir vulgata, ut quibusque bellum invitis. aut cupientibus erat, a's fir ingiro ii gunouiro ii anoru monsu@. 15. Annal. Hac atque tala plebi volenti fuere, d'imo funquiro ir. In vita Agricol z: Vt quibus bellum volentibus erat, 5. Hift. Cafar Titus ut supeim fui jam cred:retur. xectitor imita. Ann. 2. Appelluque Colophona, ut Clarii Apollinis oraculo uteretur. Homer isbar. u. 40-28 American make ruperian. Annal.3. Adulteres earum morte aut fuga punivit, i. exilio, 1078. To be short, who so lift ftek and look more nearely into Tacitus phrases shall doubtlesse finde as many strange points in his Grammar, as Dionysius hath done in Thucydides.

Asif they had gone to pull Vologeles or Pacorus out] Dio lib. 40, sixur 3 (of maples) their rigidie, no pit mond,

Gith Marcellinus lib. 23. quod

ring i ogieta. The di is what i does, i amordine, a di is earnele incom. To it they come the set was not a discourse and it is a set of the set of del entrans 1941 (State That is, the Parthians inhabit beyond the river of Tigris in callles and holds. Now of late they have some Cities also, among others Cresiphon where the kings place of residencesis. They were a several Nation among the ancient Berbarians, and this name had they even under the Perfan Empire, notwithfianding rus fai conferent aviation among the ancient in the conference of finant) permiss diffolved by the Macedonian power, and Alexanders fuccessours waging war one against another, beganto wither anddecay, then attempted the Parthians firlt of all to come forward under the conduct of one Arfaces, of whomall and decay, then attempted the Faturans fitted and to sold was their fortune that they conquered all the country adjoining kings afterward were called Arfaide, and fo good was their fortune that they conquered all the country adjoining. together with the Province of McCoporamia. In fine, they grew to fuch height both of glory and ilrength that they opposed themselves in open war against the Romans, and ull this day are accounted the only men to make and make head against them. Herodianuslib. 6. 78 3 Audianoga Station age: abalian day sequence, make head against them. Herodianuslib. 6. 78 3 Audianoga Station age: abalian day sequence, makens it musican Mereliyan dungletan ikadivárne, comilo Aportáne hiparun ri Mor II. II. oparelory cad coincera Carfolden bergina bare. Sign. applicate on of Address inform Hapdurlay, is the applican backdeen, wind it basineon, is will carrie applicate BAciger mapitator is appi. That is, Alexanders successions being divided one against another, and the Macedonian power greatly weakened with continual wars, Arfaces by birth a Parthian is faid first of all to have perswadel the Barbarians of those quarters to revolt from the Macedonians, and assuming the diadem by consent both of the Pathians and other barbarians thereabout himfelf was King, and after him the crown continued for a long time in his polleritie. The very precife time of the Parthian revolt was under Antiochus, Tacitus 5. Hilt. Antiochus Pathann portitite. In every presidential of the Latinan levolt was under annoenny, a stress years a canonic ca p Armians life furnamed Deus, Grandschilde to r Selencus founder of the Syrian kingdome 2 methods of Newtons of high, & าเกราะเลย Deus, Grande and Arte. That is , At that time began the Parthians the revolt by reason the kingdome of the Seleucida was in great diforder. From this Arfaces the Parthian kingdome continued to Arrabanus, who the Selendar was in great another. From the Artices the Farman Angelonic continued to Articiana 3 who reigning in Alexander Severus time, was then deflroyed by Artaxerxes a Perlian, and fo the Empire of those Eiflen Countries united again to the crown of Perlia. Herodianus lib. 6, Vologifes or Vologifes (for a both ways we finde it written, the Grecians call him Owkeysor) was at this time king of Parthia, fon to Vonones that died in a 4. Hift.eratie Claudius time, Anno unb. cond. 801. and brother to Pocorus king of Media, and Tiridates by Mero crowned king

a z. affirmeth it was Seleucus

Veloge, o net ..

r t. Annal. flib. 2. cap. 19.

8 The fees of vacations: Vacationes Ideil, pretia vacationum, for fohe termeththem 1. Annal. Max indifensive. cibus pretia vacationum incufant. Now vacationum, of what? munerum, for fo Tacitus speaketh in another place, Hig. vacationes munerum redimi. So that vacationes in this place, and in another, is as much as fretite vacationum muraus, for the common fouldier by the first nesses in this practical discipline was tied and bound to many service ministers in the camp, by Tacitus called man ra, as is a forefaid, and by Vegetius minia, as to bring in wood, fraw, by, water, &c being negligent, or failing in execution thereof, they were cudgelled and whipped by the Centurions, Tac. 1. Annal, Fracta vite in torgo militis, alteram clara vote, at rinfits aliam pofechat centurio Latifitus, whereuponin all mutinies the Centurions were the men principally that at by the common fouldier. In the German (edition atthe entting of Tiberius, they muttered among themselves, venife tempus quo cuntis modum misciarum exposerat, seinamque contaionum ulciferentur: and straight after put in execution against them. Revente lymphati destruit is gladus meateriones invadant, ea vetassissima militaribus odiis materies, & sevi nde principium, prostratos verberibus multat sagua forgulos, se numerum centurionum adequarent. Tum convulfos lanistofque & partir exanimos, antevallum, aut is amutu hinum projetient. Now the wealthy fouldier, and those which had means, redeemed and bought out for money as mari bine vestem, arma, textoria, bine sevitiam continium & vatationes munerum sedimi, and the German, more inspectis vocibus pretia vacationum, Anzollias Sipendii, duritiam operum ac propriis nominibus incafant vallum, fojjus pabsi, satrie I gaorum adgefus, & fiqua alia ex necessitate, aut adversus osisme afterum quetuntur. That then which here they de manded was, that for purchasing immunity from these munera, they should not be forced to pay any money to the Centurions

enturions. 9 Hisown cofers: Ex Fisto são se Fisti, spartea sum intensitia ad majoris summe pecunias capiendas; Asconius, and so Tully useth the word, in Vivem. Fiscos complutes cum pecunia Siciliensia quodam Senatore ad equitem Romanum este und Litos. And in the same sense we reade in Tacit.t. Annal. cum fifti de imperatore rapti inter sens, interque Aquita chirentur, in Suet. Claudio, positis ante se cum pecuaia sicis dec. Whereupon, quia major summa est pecunia publice quen private, nt pro censia privato, loculos & arcam & sacellos dicimus, sic pro publico inclauro erarii dicitur sifens, fairth Alconius, applying the names of ffew and exarium, both to one thing; as Tully doth, Vertina 1. Quaternos H. S. quos minitar tus decrevit & ex erario dedit, ego habebo, & in ciflam transferam ex fifco. But after the division of the Empire made by Augustus in publicus, es principio provincius, the words were no more indifferently used, fileus being appropriated to Augunus in pursuance or principle previous to, the motion were on more maintenance men, just using appropriate to figurifie the Princes treasure, and Arearium the publick, a difference notwithstanding more of mames then of subngnine the Frances nearner, and recommend the product, a sincreme movementation more or names then of the flance, hosp apply to have a hard a harden harden flance, hosp apply to have hard analysis. Dio lib. 53. That is, in name the publick treasure was severed from Augustus exchequer, but in truth that also was spent at

10 Being a freed man] Ingenui, were commonly murdered privily ; fervi, or liberini generis publickly executed. his disposition. Such alfowas Afiaticus end, that carried the credit with Vitellius, as foon as Vefpulian came in, Tac.4. Hill. Aft.

ticus, ut libertus, malim potentiam servili supplicio expiavit. 11 The City Prator calleth the Senate | For both the Confuls were flaine. In which case or otherwise in their absence jus vocandi Sensium belonged to the Pretor urbanus. Cic.lib. ad familiares v 10. Paulo post idem mits Mimatius literas begennas dedit , quas ipst miseras , & eas quas publice. Placut novis ut flatim ad (cressum pratonem in).

mas deferemus: qui qued Coff. abevant, confulere munus fassinebat mone majorum. Senatus est continue convocatus. nd agreeomen in the point of the princip from the principal titles usually annexed to the Princes place were thefe, is With all other princip principal titles usually annexed to the Princes place were thefe, 11 winnen, 3. Lefar, 4 dugustus, 5 Tribunute potestatis, 6 Pater patrie, 7 Ponisses Maximus. Tac. 1. Annal. remary). Cample defendite civilibus (if) monine i Principis (ab imperium accept, which title of Principi, as I think, was provedfrom princeps finates in the former flate. 3 I ape atm hath a double figurification both couched by Dio, lib. promiter ceine of the to entrugging Sheener intere (6 Angis ()) in 3 & the 3th ref. right of the deplete behat के मार्ग बोर्स पीर मिल्या पीर के स्वांत कि मार्थ महामा कारण . That is, In that yeare Augustus took to himselfe the name of Imprinor. I mean not that name which in ancient time was given to certain persons upon some notable victory, but main a figurifying foveraigne power and majesty. And not only this latter which began first in Julius Cariar, a n.c. 100 mporting foveraigne majefly, but also the other was usual under the Emperors, both in the Princes tyle, and roginared likewife upon private persons that had deserved it, Tac. 3. Annal. Tibrius id quoque Bluso irbiit, in impeconstitution in the control of the c ton a some final imperators, net soper exteriorum equalitation concessi quibostizm & Augustus id vocabulum, ac tune Thomas mayo population . In the Filmers was the county of the strong strong supplied in the first place figuritying supreme authority, in the scoond of the reason obtained either by himself, or by his dement police So Nero remaining at Rome ob rem bene geftam a Corbulone in Armenia confaltatus est Imperator. Tacit. 12. hands: Cæfar by kindred or adoption from D. Julius to Nero, in qua, faith Su. ton pregents Cefaum defects, Galoa mains and hered nullo gradu conting ales (efarum Domam were called Catars in respect of succession in office and place, mater then bloud: and not onely the Princes themselves, but also their sonnes and deligned successours, shift Einst town in the state of the state Mointhis book, ex quo (afar afcitus fam. 4 The name of Augustus peculiar to the Prince in post flion had his bemining from Otavius, whose original and eromologic Dio declareth lib 52. 8 zerome intrinsu phi 1929 i septimor gining from Octavirs, whole onguniti and erronologic Floreclarent III ६१.० एडपाका स्वान्नकार प्राप्त प्राप्त प्राप्त है। ब्रिकेटच, क्षेत्रियंत्रिक ने तम प्रेसकारपंत्रम के वर्षक के दिकारावंद्र किन्द्रियंत्र के प्रेस के उन्हरणावंद्रमान के अपने क्षाप्त के का अर्थात में हो के के ब्रह्म के किन्द्रियंत्रम के एक के कार्यक के प्राप्त के किन्द्रियंत्रम के किन्द्रियंत्रम के किन्द्रियंत्रम के किन्द्रियंत्रम के किन्द्रियंत्रम के किन्द्रियंत्रम करना के किन्द्रियंत्रम के किन्द्रियंत्रम के किन्द्रियंत्रम के किन्द्रियंत्रम के किन्द्रियंत्रम करना किन्द्रियंत्रम के किन्द्रियंत्रम करना किन्द्रमा किन्द्रियंत्रम करना किन्द्रमा क beforeciving that thereby he came into suspicion of affecting the kingdome, he desisted from that purpose, and ss sunanced Augustus, as being somewhat more then a man. For in Latine things nost pretions and facred atalled Augusta, and so the Greeks call him Schassos, which is derived of a word lignifying divine adoration. mented surgina, and to the extension of the surge of the property of the profitation. Did like 23 is the most descripted execution, distant open rate interpretable by trice most de tal. ு மானாக கூறிய இருக்கு tom with, is a cars & Smoudia. Beauppeir pass of a rais is car amortilus, anime midint, by Eores 10 million in 3 de 35- x According to

ten ain, is η ακή δικουμαι ενιστρού μου το , στο η το του οποιστού του του του του του του του Αργία το Ττί-μα επό δικούρχου πάπου, επό το μόλιτα έρέντο συγεθείται (εί αντουμότορε) τό di αύτε η ε εμθούστε το ένδι πεσέμουπίτα] privi-ஆய்து 6: 2 22 10@ வரிய் முரி சில் கியுகுழற்றார நகுடுகள்ளரு. ஒடுகியார். That is, Tribunitiall authority gives the ledges were first many or rain, as an extended the princes themselves beare not the office of tribunes, as being Patricii: and therefore by law not capable and it is trained. whethe Princes themselves beare not the office of triounes, as oring reations and interior by the most office of the princes of the princes themselves beare not the office of the princes of the princes of their government (writing for example Triumine porflats quartum Trib, pet, questum, the fourth ment by exercise of their government (writing for example Triumine porflats quartum Trib, pet, questum, the fourth ment of the princes of their government (writing for example Triumine porflats quartum Trib, pet, questum, the fourth ment of the princes of their government (writing for example Triumine porflats quartum Trib, pet, questum, the fourth ment of the princes of their government (writing for example Triumine). meng the hosaliffthyeare of their Empire (as though they allumed that authority from yeare to yeare with the yearly Tribune nours decreed Tac. Annal. Tiberius pot flatem tribunitiam Drufo (filio) petebat, id fummi fastigii wocabulum * Angustus neerit, ne ? Re- to Cafar by the is ad Dillimis nomen offiment, ac tamen appellimone aluna cate a impeno praminent. 1 Annal. Augustus pofito Trium in Senite A. V. C. рымиссионя потом одиненее, ас гата перевылога в применене на порего разможете, к лиция, Анденья роды телат тур мых, соядент в frees, & ad turndan perem tribunito jue contentum. Flavus Vopificus in the life of Tacitus the 710. Мат у т преток. Tribunita noutlists — we now marriant realistimential. Ах for the office of Tribunus olebis under the Fm. The Propose Tribunita noutlists — we now marriant realistimential. unus, togiacm to teren, o at the muon person to sold the properties. As for the office of Triunnus plebis, under the Em- John siz 2222. proms the ename rather then the authority, and jus mesced nd in some sortermained. In Tiberius time, cum day some some ptous the * name rather then the authority, and jus interest and in tome for termanical. In Therms time, time them, them, the property is represented by the property of the p and (π) Kuigera) η πατίσα της πατίσιως συσαργείους του φέρες ελί ηθ τοις ή, καίτορ εξαπλεξτη διούς απ' όρχες with great curthe mix diver interpretage, and our native which has a cornies britantees on cornela Assignmen. That is, When Cato cal- should go about ld Citero paser patrie all the people confented with a flowt. And fome think that this honourable acclamation in to induce them Tolly was precedent for the Senat afterward to confer the fame title upon their Princes, fuch as feemed worthy: for again, the one impwas precedent for the Senat atterward to conter the lame time upon their rainces jum as to men worthly after a p. Linuas, the mathey though being absolute Princes, yet have not this at first together with the self of their fully characters by Linuas, the mathey though being absolute Princes, yet have not this at first together with the self of their fully compared to the self-them the sel long time this title is decreed unto them for a full accomplishment of their honour and a finall reftimony of their fars deathgount this true routered and other for a rate accomplished Maximus was a feverall charge in the free common a As Tacinus gound and most vertuous actions, 7 The office of Pontifex Maximus was a feverall charge in the free common a As Tacinus gound in the performance of Carfar at what time he usurped the State, and so for the most part continued in his faith in anomalish, united in the person of Carfar at what time he usurped the State, and so for the most part continued in his faith in anomalish, united in the person of Carfar at what time he usurped the State, and so for the most part continued in his faith in anomalish. for flour, of which we shall have occasion to tpeak more hereafter. Besides these titles of honour usually expressed the remainder in the same pace, and the pace of the pace inthe Princes flyle, many other dignities conferred upon Augustus, and the first Emperours at teverall times estemmagistic and upon occasion were all in one ordinary decree granted to the Prince at the first assembly of the Senate room pecabolas and upon occasion were all in one ordinary decree granted to the ritine at the first antenny of the detail international and but not the same start his coming to State, as (8) Imperium prescribing, (9) just relations bimelife to him not Confoll, and but not the same start his coming to State, as (8) Imperium prescribing the confoll, and but not the same start his coming to State, as (8) Imperium prescribing the confoll and but not the same start his coming to State, as (8) Imperium prescribing the same start his coming to State, as (8) Imperium prescribing the same start his coming to State, as (8) Imperium prescribing the same start his coming to State, and same start hoosey San adone very pairs regional ciri છું કે મિરાં જે પ્રમુક્તામાં જાય કરે કુમાના 1 hat is , And here the Emperours obtain- poles some other a another precognive luch as was never absolutely granted to any of the ancient Romans, that is, legibus fol. were shall legi-ு another pretograve then as was never adiomicity germed to any or the ancient Romans, that is, regions has received in the better to no observation of any verten live. A vaine, கிக் மண்டிக் அருக்கி ஆவுகளிலோ வணி (அ. இவுக்கும்) இது kee annalization of the second of th

u epi. 12.

c 247. 18.

एकेन के वर्ष लंकिक की लेखा की कामावर्ध प्रमायनितिया बानीयों एकन बारिया की वा वामाविया, हुने के नाम विकास के किलाई की के बार्न हुनी है। that of the control of the control of the control of the Senate granted Augustus power to propose any one thing which humfelf litted every Senat, though he were not as then Conful Likewite that he should have Proconfulary authors once for all. So that he thould not need to depose it when he entred the Pomerium, nor again to resume it. Beside that in all other places subject to the Empire his power and authority should be above and superior to all the pani. that in all other places there. The Confull and Vopifeum in Probo, having made relation to the Senat of Probusieum clected Emperour by the Souldier, Deserno igitur, faith he, P. C. votis omnium concinentibus (Aurelio Probo) nomen a That is, beside Cesareum, nemen Augustum, addo Proconsulare imperium, Patris patrie reverentiam, Pontisseatum maximum, jus tetien. the two Confuls. lationis, Tribunitiam potestatem, Posthec acclamatum eft Omnes, Omnes. Vopiscus.

13 Ot his principall bondmen: E prioribus fervis] Primoribus fervis it would be, as I think. Serverum enimali pi mores, ali Mediaffini; of Primores l'actius maketh mention Annal. 4. Lygdus atate atque forma charus domino, mirque primares ministrus erat. Now that dispensatores were of the better fort, it appeareth by that of Suetonius b Nerone, cu. um dominis servotum numerum indexit (Nevo) nec nifex tota cujusque fumilia probatissim os, ne dispensatoribus quiden at

amanueafibus exciptus recepit.

14 Seventy three yeares] Galba was born, faith " Suetonius, Messalz & Lentulo Coff. 9. Calendas Jan. Anno ab whe condita 751, flain 821.18. Cal. Febr. So that Galba lived but 23. daies only above seventy yeares, and yet Suctomes in two or three places agreeth with Tacitus, onely Xiphilinus hath 72, which is the most,

> VIII. After the death of Galba, the newes growing hotter of Vitellius and the German revolt, how the City stood affected between him and Othe.

He City thus terrified, and having in horrour both the hainousnesse of the late fact, and the old conditions of Otho, was put in a further feare, by the newes of Vitellius revolt, which were in Galbaes time suppressed, that men yet reper not in all circumstances should believe no more had rebelled, fave the Army of upper Germany alone. But then feeing two of all mortall men the most detestable creatures, in slothfulnesse. incontinency, and wastefull life, fatally elect, as it were to ruine the Empire, not on-100 august cura, ly the Senators and Gentlemen, who had fome part and care of the State, but the Commons also openly began to waile and lament. Their talk was no more of the freshand bleeding examples of the late murdering peace: but of civill wars recorded in ancient Story, of the City fo oft surprized by her own Citizens, Italy walled. 736 at Philippi the Provinces spoiled, of Pharsalia, Philippi, Perusia, Mutina, b famous names of common calamities. The world was subverted almost, even when good men strove came Bruss and for the State: notwithstanding there remained when Caius Julius, there remained when Cæsar Augustus was conqueror, the forme of an Empire. 2 If Pompey had prevailed, if Brutus, the popular State would have stood: now whether for Otho, or for Vitellius should they go to the Temples! that both praiers were impious alike, both vowes alike deteffable, between two, in the war of whom this alone you 713, at Milina the Confulls Her- might know, that he which should win, would be worse then before. Some secretly wished Vespasian with the Eastern Armies, and as he was more liked then either of the other, so did they greatly mislike to multiply wars and calamities: and again eFor admitting Vespassan was not altogether without exception; the 3 onely Prince before his time, which changeth to the better.

> 1 Two of all mortall men the most] Otho and Vitellius are here compared as like, in opposition both to a good Prince: 2. Hill. as unlike, with notes of diffinction, opposed the one to the other. Vitelit ignave voluptates: Others. fl.grantissione libidim s. Vitellius vemire & gula sibiipsi bosiii: Otho luxu, sevitia, audacia reipub, exitiosior ducebatur; Of the one fide an ill minde in a man of nothing, of the other an ill minde joyned with courage and edge.

2 If Pompey had prevailed, if Brutus, the popular State would have flood Of Brutus I cannot call it in queltion carrying that honourable minde which no doubt he did to the libertie of his country; but farely for l'ompey I cannot affirme it, his doings affirme rather the contrarie, and Tacitus himselfe teacheth us otherwife 2. Hittor. Max è plebe infima C. Marius & nobilium favissimus L. Sulla, victam armis libertalimin cominui nem verterunt. Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior non melior. Salust. apud Sueton. lib. de claris grammaticis. Pomp in cris probs, an angue invercendo. Appianus 2. Erron. meketh a report of a word that eleaped Pomper, 2 man no used to disk mble that way, a little before the battell at Phassalia. Towned density with show, in such πότιθε ο δημεριτίσες, μεγάλον ε c ajet Paugless apper renar, παρίτσουν is & μέχλω, ο δί ε, μέχλισα αίνα & δίέτκαι αυ meets this is the east oppisone igares of Hemmer negationers mediting the managemen. That is , Pompey before

befethis men in array article battell of Charfalia, to them about him let fall unawares a word, whereby is was difbeter that he himself if the victory had gone on his side, would still have retained the monarchy. This day, quoth he whether locver of us two shall win, will be the beginning of great calamity for ever to the Roman estate. Of the fint opinion is Tully also in his letters ad Atticum, whose judgement, as of a man of affaires, and in represent we time opinion and an are preferred we may jully account above all exception, lib. 8 cpift 11. Neutri marks flille, ut no beati firms, action, regnare with De Pommers, and the control of the second section of the section of the section of the section of the second section of the section of th may journ lib. 9. epift. 6. Mirandum in modum Cneius noster Su'lani rezni similitud nem concupiont, et obs cot Nixa. That is, fell you this upon mine own knowledge Lib 7.5. Ex victoria tum mula mala, tum ceste tyrannis existet.

The only Prince which before his time changed] For after him Titus his fon changed also the same way. Suet-Tuo.cap.1. Titus amor ac delicie generis humani: tantum illi ad promerendam omnium columtatem vel ingenii, vel artis ett mone superfuit: & (quod desicillimum est) in imperio, quando privatus, atqueetiam sub patre principe, ne odio quidem, nedum sunperatione publica carnit.

> XI. The revolt of the Armies of both Germanies, and riling of Vitellius.

70w will I fet downe the beginning and causes of Vitellius commotion. After I that Julius Vindex with all his hoft was flaine, the Army growing infolent with spoile and glory, as having obtained, without paine and danger, a most nich conquest, loved much better exploits and fighting, * rewards and booties, * Premine: 33 minordinary pay, they had paffed before a long, fruitleffe, and hard fervice there, the fick or fooiled a Cinorth through the * qualitie of the foile, and climate, and partly through the ty, or Country fraitneffe of discipline, which in time of peace being rigorously observed, by civil donatives, or wisisutterly diffolved; corrupters being ready at hand on both fides, and fugitives traordinary faping as then without punishment. Men, Armour, Horses they had sufficient for liberalnie. the and ornament too; but before the awar they had no further acquaintance to- ingenio loci ether, but with the men of their owne Troupes, and Companies: the Armies lay Genevica a: breted in severall Provinces, then against Vindex the Legions being affembled in hiberna celo ac om, and having proved themselves and the forces of Gallia, sought now a fresh oc- laboribus dura. alon of warres, and new troubles, not terming them as they were wont friends, vindex. miallies, but enemies and conquered persons. The tract of Gallia, which lies up- b And sorewalnes, but electrices and conquered periods. The trace of Galax, which will be mained, for withhere, having followed before the fouldiers fide, advanced themselves then ought I know, with the formost to instigate the armies against the Galbians, for so now they called in the warre them, difdaining the name of Vindex as stale. Thus being incensed against the against Vindex, where one Sequani and Hedui, and so further, as the townes were in wealth, they conceived in ly the upper hopefacking of Cities, wasting of Countries, risling of houses; irritated next after army was preoverous nested and presumption, principall vices of them which be stronger, by the fair, by the tender of the stronger of the priversenesse of them of Galia foollishly bragging, that Galba had released a fourth writers, & Tac. partoftheir tribute, and * generally made them Citizens of Rome in despite of the himselfe in Army. Moreover it was given out craftily, and rashly beleeved, 2 that in the LegiTo wit, show onsevery tenth man was allotted to die, & the ablest men of the Centurions should of Gallia, with recassed: from every quarter hainous rumours, sinister reports from Rome, the whom they had fought. Colony of Lions discontented, and as it were a nurcery of tales by reason of their * public 1 manonflant affection to Nero: but greater matter to forge out alie, and win it credit to the state of the state the camp it felf did yeeld upon hatred, feare, fecurity also, when they had measured primares of Gallia had obtheir owne abilitie. Aulus Vitellius entering the yeare before about the first of De-tained the umber into lower Germany, with great care and diligence had visited and surveied priviledge bethe flanding camps of the Legions: many he restored to their roomes, to their same tore Claudius adhonor, most part to win favor, and some upon judgement, undoing that with in-primares Galleta tegrity, which Fonteins Capito upon bribery and lucre had done displacing or pla- siedera & civiingformony in degrees of fervice: neither were his doings accepted after the meapid-median ordinary Lieutenant general but in a far higher degree And accepted. breofan ordinary Lieutenant general, but in a far higher degree. And as among the Everer fort Vitellius was thought base and demisse, so his savorers termed it cour-

a Tac. Vulgue & mag italine nimia catatam expers populses : and as here may be feen, nor of all common cares: faith Tacicus eliewhere. b At Pharfalia

threw Pompey: Antonius over-712. in the !'ctulin war Octavius took arms against L. Antonius and Fulvia. A mo tius and Panta fought with M.
Antonius Anno

them before equall in vices, the victory it felf would corrupt the winner unciona ettam Selefcere, faith Tac. clicwhere.

* Aviditate imterandi.

d Valens in lower Germany where Vitellius and Cacina in higher where Hordeonius Flacius was Licatenant

* C. Perium Ca-Low Swood Vite c. 2. L. Vac'. Imperatore paters erordisterdistrice o falatus ег биштуш

> e vie biebuuise σφυναμεφτοντις οπιτέ () δερινίες

al Pratorianos and it is the first

tesse and goodnesse, because without measure or judgement he gave out his owne. lasht out other mens, construing vices for vertues * upon an extreame desire of the Empire. Many in both Armies there were, as modest and quiet men, so likewise bad and valiant; by name among other Alienus Cocina and Fabius Valens d Lieute. nants of Legions, in appetites immoderate, & fingularly rash. Valens offended with Galba, as being not recompensed according to his deserts for discovering Vergini. us doubtfull proceeding, and the oppressing Capitoes conspiracy, ceased not m urge and incite Vitellius; laying open before him the fouldiers fervent good will. the honourable report that went every where of his doings: as for Hordeonius Flac. cus that filly man could hinder but little, that Britanny would joyne, the Germane Aides follow him, that the Provinces were not affured; in fine that the old man was Emperour of courtefie and quickly would lofe it; let Vitellius only but open his bosome, make towards, and receive in good fortune, as she offered her self: that Verginius indeed had good cause to be doubtfull, being onely of a Gentlemans house his father having not borne office; the place was above his capacitie, if he had undertaken it, and then resusing it, he was out of danger: that contrariwise Vitellius father had been thrice Confull, Cenfor, * collegue with the Emperour: that these qualities in the father took long agoe from the fon the fecuritie of a private person, and put upon him the dignitie of a Prince. His dull spirits were moved with these specches rather to desire then to hope. But in upper Germany Cæcina a comely young man, of body big, and minde infatiable, quick of speech, of gate stately, had marvelloufly won the good will of the fouldier. This young man Galba promoted to governa Legion, for that being Quæstor in Batica, he came without stay to his fide: by and by being convicted to have dealt false with the common treasure, he was by Galbaes commandement endited of purloyning: Cacina taking heavily the disgrace, determined to trouble the state, and with the calamities of the common wealth to cover and close up his owne private wounds. Neither in the Army wanted there feedes of fedition: for they all had beene present in the field against Vindex, and could not be brought to sweare unto Galba, beforethey did know that Nero was flaine; and were also in taking the oath prevented by the ensignes of low Germany, againe the Treveri, Lingones, and those other cities, which Galba had pinched with heavie edicts, or with losse of Territory, lay neere to the standing Camps of the Legious: whereupon grew feditious conferences, and the fouldier by converfation with the 4 Countrey-man more corrupted, and by reason of the good will borne to Verginius to be employed for any other man. The Lingones according to their accostomed manner had fent gifts to the Legions & Right hands in token of Market Ma tion, f.s. 11/f. Countier Countenance in the Principia, in the fouldiers cabins, lament and bewaile, fometime oven information the wrong done to themselves, sometime the honor done to their neighbours, and 1600000, Spring perceiving their talke had so ready an audience, they passed on further, incensing their mindes, and bewayling the hard hap even of the Army it felfe, their dangers, and contumelies. The matter thus growing toward a fedition, Hordeonius Flaccus commandeth the meffengers to get them away; and that their departure might be the more secret, he commands them to avoide the Campe in the night season. Thereupona suspition and grievous rumour arose, the most part affirming they were made away : and that without doubt, unleffe they provide for themselves the more furely, it would come to paffe that those of the foldiers which were of most courage, and most missiked the present estate, should likewise by night, unawares to therest, be secretly murdered. Upon this the Legions privily conspire, and covenant toge

though with his cohorts and wings environing them he meant them a mischief. but anon he appeared more earnest then any, as the bad agree better to broach a new warre, then in peace to keepe concord one with another. Notwithstanding the Leoions of lower Germany, the first day of January, sware their solemne allegeance Galba, with much adoe, and flow coming forward, some few in the first rankes weelding a weake applause; the rest standing mute, each looking his neighbour hould dare, as the nature is of men, to follow with speede that, which they are otherwise of themselves loath to begin: but even the Legions were diversly minded the first and the fifth rebelliously affected, so that some cast stones at Galbaes . At Magentia. Images: the fifteenth and fixteenth murmuring and threatning, and daring no further, stood waiting for others to shew them the way. In the higher Army the Sucre. 16.) legation ther, stood waiting for others to shew them the way. In the higher Army the Sucre. 16.) legation. fourth Legion and the eighteenth, wintering both in one * place, 5 the very first day 100 interior cum manof linuary brake the Images of Galba in pieces; the fourth very refolutely, the eighteenth after some little stay, anon by common consent: and lest they might Inspania faction, teme to have shaken off the obedience of the Empire, they sware sto the Senate digerent is. adpeople of Rome, a style long ago over worne; no Lieutenant, no Tribune la
et common adpeople of Rome, a style long ago over worne; no Lieutenant, no Tribune la
et common adpendent of Rome, as in tumults it happeneth, troubling more: neverthe
lossings, six nay kle no man prefumed to make any folemn oration affembly-wife, or out of Tribu-feens upon the revolt to Vielliall: for asyet they had none to bestow their benefit upon. Hordeonius Flac(us in, was revoke here) here was heleft leutenant generall flood by h and lookt on, while this pageant was playing, not by wielliss during neither to restraine the rebellious, nor stay the doubtfull, nor encourage the holi formanies, ood; a timorous flugge, and innocent, as being a coward. Foure Centurions of high africand the eighteenth Legion, Nonius Receptus, Donatus Valens, Romilius Marcellus, & patient side, and heeighteenth Legion, Nonius Receptus, Donatus vaieus, Romanus Marcetus, & panans noe, and Calpurnius Repentinus, endevouring to fave and protect the Images of Galba, with high was faine the fouldiers violence were carried away, bound and laid up: neither did there reductively like they min any more in any of them all any sparke of faith, or allegeance, no memory of haddworne to the oath before given; but as in schiicions it hapneth, as the most part went, so did salts, pedid thereoby verthey all goe. The fame day at night the * Standard-bearer of the fourth Legion gimus after Nehings words to Vitellius, as he fate at banquet in Coleyn, that the fourth and eigh - Coparties tenth Legion had broken downe the Images of Galba, and sworne to the Senate and processing the company in the control of the Senate and processing the control of the Senate and the senate a adpeople of Rome. That oath seemed frivolous and voide: wherefore it was properly tocath thought good* to use the opportunitie, and profer them a Prince. Thereupon Vi-your stells in sure tellius dispatcheth in post to the Legions and Lieutenants of his own province, ad-postetion of forvertifing them that the higher army was revolted from Galb.1: wherefore either & now standing fight they must against the revolters, or if they liked better of peace, and concord, in doubt, where stupan Emperor: and with lesse dangers they might take a Prince, then seek one.

The first Legion lay neerest, and Fabius Valens Lieutenant, of all the rest the for-simewhat other-inner which is the seek of the seek wardest man: who the very day after, with the horse-men of his Legion, and of the mense translatio, Aides, entering Coleyn, & folemnely falute Vitellius Emperour. The reft of the Le-negi diei, negi itgions of the same province strove who should be formost to follow the example: ne, as jam vespere and higher army, laying affect hofe glorious titles, and goodly to shew, of the Se-coubinds and amilious nate and people of Rome, the third of January roundly come over to Vitellius fide: the domefica Imaman might easily perceive that the other two daies they meant nothing lesse, then perator of confaaftee Common wealth. They of Coleyn, the Treveri, and Lingones, were not infe- 10/19, per celebra-

Hourto the fouldiers in forwardnesse, offering aides, horses, armour, money, as they faith it was at were able in body, wealth, or wit, and not onely the 7 principall men of the Colonies mid-day. and camps, which had prefently wealth at will, and upon the victory hoped for great nipolares in opmatters, but also the * bands and common souldiers, upon an instinct and heate of position to pro-

affection,

be his owne

a 2. Hift.vila Agric.

of fourtie thousand far up by gelding the other Legions of that province, yet leaving unto them their standerd and

The first Book of the History affection, and covetous humour, gave up their money, and instead of money their belts, their trappings, the filver trimming of their harnesse. Vitellius having greatly commended their cheerful willingnes, committed the offices of court common. ly supplied by freedmen, to Gentlemen of Rome; and paies the vacations to the Centurions out of his cofers. The fouldiers cruelty demanding many to death he doth oft condescend unto: fometimes he deceives them with shew of imprisoning. Pompeius Propinquus, Procurator of Belgica, was straight put to death: Julius Burdo admirall of the German navy he faved by flight, the whole army was incen-Anna 10, 22- fem busininam fed against him, as first an entifer of Fonteius Capito to rebell, & then a great helper to make him away: wel beloved was Capito, & gladly remembred; and in that raging and bloud thirsty company a man might openly kill whom he list, marry pardon Hetha: wrote or fave but by policy he could not: fo Burdo was prefently had into prison, and after the victory, the fouldiers malice being appealed, enlarged againe. In the meane time Crispinus the Centurion was yeelded unto them as an * expiatory sacri. rebellion figura. fice, who had embrewed his hands with Capitoes bloud, and therefore more in the eye of the fouldier, and of leffe account " with Vitellius. Next after was 8 Julius Cim For it might vills, a man of great might, and credit among the Batavians, delivered from danger left by his death that fierce nation should become foes. Moreover in the state of the Lingones there lay 9 of Batavians eight cohorts, the aids of the fourteenth Legion. but then by meanes of the trouble some times they were departed away, of no small moment to fway the whole cause, as they hapned to favour the one or the other. The foure Centurions before mentioned, Nonius, Donatius, Romilius and Cal. purnius, Vitellius commanded to be executed, being attainted of truth, a most hainous crime among rebels. Then came to the fide Valerius Afiaticus Lieutenanrof Belgica, to whom anon after Vitellius married his daughter; and lunius Bloofus Governour of Gallia Lugdunensis with the Italian Legion, and Taurin wingencamped at Lions. The Rheetian fouldier without any stay joyned himselfe, InBritanny also the matter went cleere. "Trebellius Maximus was Lieutenant generall there, contemned and hated of the army for his niggardly sparing and polling: and Roscius Coelius Lieutenaut of the twentieth Legion inflamed them further against him his ancient enemy, but now by occasion of civill diffentions they were fallen out further, and brake into more hainous termes: Trebellius obiecting to Colius & charging him with factious behaviour, and diffolving of discipline: Coclius againe that Trebellius had spoiled and beggered the legions: but in the meane time, the This number Lieutenants thus jarring, the modesty of the army was marred; the discord at length growing so great, that Trebellius being railed away by the Aidesalso, in exceeding, the cohorts and wings forting themselves to Coelius side, was glad to give place being number of a Legion in any forfaken, and flee to Vitellius. The Province although the Lieutenant generall was age, was made absent, remained in quiet, the Lieutenants of the Legions supplying the charge, in right of equall authoritie; but Coclius indeed bare the most stroke, because he was of most boldnesse. 10 Now that the British hoste was adjoyned, Vitellius growing strong in men and money, ordaines for the warre two fundry generals, and two fundry waies for the generals to passe. Fabius Valens was willed to allure by faire meanes, or if they retuled, to walte and destroy the countries of Gallia, and so by Cottian Alpes to enter by force into Italy. Cæcina was commanded a shorterpasand by Auxilia fage, by the Penine Alpesto make his defcent. Valens had under his conduct the Germanes: as choise men of the lower army, and the fifth Legion with cohort and wings, of forty it appeareth by thousand armed men. Out of the higher Germany Cacina led thirty thousand, the flower and strength whereof consisted in the one and twentieth Legion. Moreover

they had both affigued unto them P Aydes of the Germans; out of whom Vitellius, P Not onely of the French fide, who was to follow with the maine weight of the warre, furnished up his Army alfo. but it ransfrom and link I Strange was the difference between the Army and their Emperor, the fouldier was think were prininstant, demanding Armes whilest they of Gallia stood in a feare, whilest Spaine in this place. adoubt: as for the winter, that was no let, nor such like excuses receiveable. only inidle and peaceable times: that Italy must out of hand be invaded, the City surprifed; that nought is more fafe then speed in civill diffension, where dispatch is more needfull then long confultation: on the other fide Vitellius, a man of nothing, playing the Prince before hand in rioting and prodigall banquets, drunkat noone quin perpetuan faith Suer. Virel. dy, and heavy with furfet; but the fouldiers forwardnesse and fervency fully sup. 68 but Tac.; bill teachethus olved the place of the leader, as if he were present in person, encouraging or terri-otherwise. wing the valiant or dastard. When all was in order ready to march, they call to found decide relations theremove, increasing Vitellius style with the "name of Germanicus: for Casar, pernatus antea. evenafter the victory, he refused to be called.

1. The Army growing infolent, &c. Cofo cum omnibus copiu Iulio Vindiceferox, preda, gioriaque exercitus I Exercimerrifa atque opere exercitii nomen accept. Vegetius lib.z. cap. 1. and fo it feemeth that Tacitus heere doch in fort fort appropriate the name to the Roman trained fouldier, tearming the raw and untrained of Vindex, copies, which word notwithstanding is common to both forts. 1. Hist. Aezypium, copiasque quibus coercerctur, meaning of herwo Legions remaining there. Belide this usesopie hath also in Tacitus another figuification for provision, or mailes, 3. Hilt. Vt fpecie parandarum copiarum civili præda miles imbueretur, and, Lixas calonefque Pebriacum mittit covias tavanue ufui allaturos, againe, & locus ipfe castrorum placebat, late prospectans, tuto copiarum aggestu storentissimis pone tergum marinin, 4. Hist. Wilni aque exercitus nostres, quamegestes copiarum fatigabat, and fo it is taken in this booke. Privatio o mmifenis copies juvere mil tem.

1. That in the Legions every tenth man was allotted to dye.] In ancient time if some great part of the Army had latheir enfignes, throwne away their weapons, and run cowardly out of the field, the manner was for the Geneallo put all the Standard-bearers, Centurions, &c. to death, and of the commonfort every tenth man. The exmoleisin Livy, lib. 2. of Appeus Claudius in the Volfcian war, in Dio, of Augustus and Antony, lib. 49. and in Tions of L. Apronius Proconfull of Africke when arcient descriptine was welny expired. Annal 3. The manner sin Polytins, lib. 6. ומו שבים שנובה אין שתושות מוחם באותופים שובלוסעה אותווף כשל מותצה, זו עוד מ מעריםה בעל בי கியாவுட்டா, გე 100 இரு இருந்தாடு பெறுக்களையு மையுக்கும் மாய் விழக முத் மகாகாக நாய்கள் மாயகிரும் வர் நின்ற ικίνετη μάλισα ή πάλα γιν ημαρτικέτων τε τες εκ πάντων κληρεται τη δοποδε θειλιακότων κή όδο μιν λαχόντας ξυλοκοπεί απαραθετως, ποξε ग्रेमार्गाह को धारहाम्ब मनुज्येद वे रह बंगा मण्डाक रहेन मामण्डा मध्ये प्रविद्यान , मुं गाँड वेजकामनेयद मणास्थिय गाँक मामण्डिनमंत्र. That is, if at any time it happen that whole enfignes prefled by the enemy doe for fake their standing and run away, the manner of the Romanes is not ftraightwayes to put them all to death without difference, but they follow a meane course both profitable and terrible. For the Tribune calling the Army together and producing those which failed in fervice, lift he checketh them tharpely, and in conclution out of the offenders he chufeth by lot fometime five, fometimes eight, fometimes twenty, (alwayes having an eye to the number, and ayming as neere as he can to take treventh man) and those on whom the lot falles are beaten to death with clubs without remission. To the reit hegiresthem their allowance in Barly in flead of Wheat, and so commands them to quarter without the trench moplaces of furcity. And not only upon the causes before rehearted of herrometic and inhoselfing. That is, for faking their flanding and casting away their armour, but upon occasion of a mutinie Scipio in Spaine in the second war a Applanta 3.

3. The Colony of Lyons discontented] The Senate fearing that Lepidus and Plancus, whom they had called emay (6 Arm')1into Italy, would be tray the fide, and goe to Antonius, willed them fill to flay in France, and found the Colony of Gandournet (b) Lions, at the confluent of the Rhone, and Saone, and thereto placethose which before had been driven out of if expany, if The Viennaby the Allobroges. Dio lib. 46. Now Lyons in Neroes time being burnt, hanc cladem, faith Tacitus 16. Fir in months Annal. e quadragies, H. S. foluters off princeps, and therefore they had caufe to love Nero, as of the other fide to hate Northyras is as Galba, qui reditus inforum occasione ira in fiscum verterat. Tac.

4. The Countrey man: Paganos] Paganus a Townes man, a Countrey man, in eppolition to miles. Veget.l. 2.0. ότως ωμώ δείσ Nam fi dollrina ceffet armorum, nibil paganus deflat à milite, and that with Suctonius a Galba uttereth in thefe words, muselan Dimia paganorum turba, the felfe fame circumstance Tacitus in this booke noteth with these Difect aplebe, concuento b hazad with the Tadu; and Tacitus himselfe 4. Hitt. Tria millia legionarium, & tumultuarie Belgarum cohontes, simul paganorum, sixa vogasti, mil ranqui ignava, sed procax ante periculum manus, and againe 2. Hilt. Atulta atroces inter se militum cades manente legionum, inform, Dio. axiborumque distordia; ubi adversus paganos certandum foret, consensu. Antonius Primus, 3. Hist. disgracing the Praz - 631250. pounce totians (who were before discharged of their service and disarmed by commission from Vitellius) names them English. Mons, For, inquis, wif pagani, quis alius imperator, que cafira alia excipient i likeas Carlar at Rome in a mutiny, and dean. 19. Atemard Alexander Severus at Antioch, difmissing his souldiers in displeasure, called them Quirites, Quirites difficults (Tac. 2, his. eque arma deponite. Sucton, Cafarcap. 70. Lampridius Severo.

5. The very first day of January] And before that day, as it may appeare by Plutarch, the Army of upper

per, autority, is diff. That is, for in a publicke play the Tribunes and Centurions withing good lucke to Gulbi the Emperour, according to the usuall manner of the Romanes, many of the souldiers at the first murmured, and the Emperour, according to the unan mannet, and when as the Captaines perfifted in their wifnes, they answered and cryed againe, He doth not deserve in Now to when as the Captaines perfifted in their wifnes, they answered and cryed againe, He doth not deserve in Now to breake downe the images of the Prince was the usual beginning in all rebellions. 3. Hill. Trienarbi magno tamely breake downe the images of the Prince was the usual beginning in all rebellions. Vielli imagines invadunt, & paucis resssitum obtruncatis, &c. In the same place. Simul Vielli imagines direpte

teun imagines invaanin, o paneis repressions of the Agrippina Claudius wife. Tacitus 12. Annal. Sed Agrippina nei D. Corya: Countain Agropouchicus of entaret, in oppidum V biorum in quo genita erat, veteranos, coloniamque deduci impera, cui

nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius.

7. The principall men of the Colonies Principes coloniarum, be the Decurion, Principes coftrorum, whom Vegetius 11. 1 ne principan men of the Colonial Tacitus 3, hilt. primores castrorum, are the Aquil f. ii, Signifer, Opinmi 110.2. cantetti ano mucesprincipales, and I action of the common fouldiers are called munifices, quod munita facere covania 8. Iulius Civilis The same man who afterward with the Batavians, and aid of the French and Germans, maintain

o. Indus Cooking a net anterman who are trace to 4. and 5. Hifl. Of the event here noted Tacitus makethmention ned war fo long with the Romans, as it appeareth 4. and 5. Hifl. Of the event here noted Tacitus makethmention againe, 4.Hift. Iulius Paulus, & Claudius Civilis, regia flirpe, multo cettros (Batavos nobiles) anteibant. Paulum Frantin Capito fallo rebellionis crimine interfect, injectie Croili catene, missusque ad Neronem, & a Galba absolutus sub Viciliorusle Lapto fayo rebetumus etimine interfects, impector crous carona, imporpor net retinating a 0 cases augustus y av Pittharaffer differimen adits, flagitante fupplicium e jus exercitu. Indecaule iranum, fluspue ex malis noffris. Where is to be marked, that he calleth him there Claudius Civilis, whom here he nameth Julius Civilis, forgetting himfelie in the one or the

other, or else the describers of bookes not forgetting their accultomed negligence. oner, or the incurrences or bookes not regularly and the fourteenth Legion Thegreat and notable rebellion of Britanny, 9. Or Datavians right Conorts, the Autor of the fourteenth Legion, not without great loffe of men being bythe vertue of Suctonius Paulinus, and valiant neffe of the fourteenth Legion, not without great loffe of men being Supprefled, Nerofent out of Germany thither a fresh supply of 2000, Legionaries, a thousand horse and eight Co. horts of Auxiliaries, which I take to be the very eight Cohorts of Batavians mentioned here. How foever, certain norts of Auxiliaries, which I take to be the very sign and the fourteenth Legion: That Nero, for what or it is that these Cohorts of Batavians were affigued as Auxiliaries to the fourteenth Legion: That Nero, for what or cation foever, upon special confidence of their valour sent for into I taly the same Legion, with her auxiliaries That in the troubles of Vindex the Auxiliaries upon some quarell departed from the Legion, in prejudice, as it may seeme, of Nerces cause: That Galbacoming to state the Legion was sent into Illyricum, the Batavians into Britanny aof Increes came: I nat Onto Comming to Nate the way thitherward, hearing the newes of Vitellius common containly a game, and in the meanternorm, settly with mation of the premises Tacitus alone may suffice. 14. Annal. Assignt joyned themselves to the side. For confirmation of the premises Tacitus alone may suffice. 14. Annal. Assignt copies (a far missis è Germania duobus legionariorum millibus, octo auxiliariorum esbortibus ac mille equitibus. 2. Hist. Mese ad imperium Othonis, è Dalmatia, Pannoniaque legiones, pracipui fama Quartadecimani rebellione Britannia compelfi. Addi. bello Neronis à Quartadecima legione degessa, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Puellii motu ia civitate Lingonum Fakio /aleni adjustta retulimus, superbe agebant, ut enjusque legionis tentoria accessissien, correitos à se questastecimanos, ablatan Remi Italiam, aque omnembels fortunam in issorm manu siam jackimtes.

10. Now that the British hoast was adjoyred.] If it be true that Trebellius descrites (amilitibus) ad Vittlium possible.

genit: if it betrue which Paullinus alleadgeth a hift. Britanzieum militem hofte ac mari diffineri, whith Tactus build writeth, In Britannico exercitu nibil irarum. Non fanc alle legiones per omnes civilium bellocum notus invocentius egrun hou can it be true that here is faid, Adjuntio Britannico exercitu, and in another place : Vitellius è Britannico delefiuefio me

11. With the name of Germanicus] The first of the Romans that bare the name of the place they conquered was Cn. Martius of Coriolinamed Coriolanus; then P. Scipio the elder of Africke fubdued, & Africanus; Lucius is brother likewise of Asia, Asiaticus Many of the Metelli, more for dillinction, then for any notable conquel obsined. The former Emperoursarpleasure sometime tooke some sew names to themselves, sometime bestowed them on others. In the latter times, vertue decaying, ambirion in tiles increased. Xiphilinus Commodo. Simesi and Color irrum'n το κότορμα, κή τη βιαδιούται irritainen. Αυτομέτως Κότοφ Λίω. Αίν. Αίν. Αυμάρια, Κόμμαδα, Αορεκι, Επίδι Europe, Zapoznate, Topoznate, Mérice, Bernamate, Eiglannute ve claupine, Annale, Paugies Hexane, Aponic, augunt Uhreine is barunggowards, Autungenes it boder, Toures it Conger, Parts murgide. That is, So exceeding great was the madnefic of that vile monfter Commodus, and with this flyle he fent a letter to the Senate; Imp. () fit L. Adia Auctius Commodas, Augustus Pins Felix, Sarmaticus Germanicus, Maximus, Britannicus, concordia orbis ten sum, secilia, Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitie potestat. xviij. Impirat. viij. Conful. vij. Pater patrie. And Juliniums. counted of as a lober Emperour hath his flyle notwithflanding not much florter. Imp. Cefar Flavius Juliments A. lemanicus, Gobicus, Francius, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, Pius Felix, Inchus vielus vielus vielus vientes phato sempor Angustus. Now what right Vitellius had to the name of Germanicus, where he had never seenengy in face, fith he was Emperour, the fountaine of julice, who can do no wrong, we will not dispute it.

X. How Fabius Valens guided his charge of forty thousand fighting men from Coleyn to the Cottian Alpes.

■He very day of removing there appeared a · lucky figne to Fabius Valens, and the Army which he led to the war, an Eagle fortly flying before, as the army marched, asit were to note out the way, & for a great space the fouldi-

reputed an undoubted token of great and prosperous successe. The state of Triers, asfriends, they passed thorow with all security. At Divodurum a towne of the Mediomatrici, although they were with all kinde of curtefie received, a fudden feare came upon them, and the alarme was given to facke the poore innocent Citie, not for the prey or defire of spoile, but upon a fury, and rage, and causes not known, and therefore the remedies harder to finde: till at length, being pacified by Valens enmeating, they held their hands from razing the City: notwithstanding about foure thousand men were slaine. This accident strooke such a terror into them of Gallia. that alwayes after, as the Campe was a coming, whole Cities with their Officers and humble supplications went out for to meet them, with women and children downe on their knees along the way fide; and generally all meanes by the which menaffwage their enemies anger; though war they had none, yet then were they forced to purchase their peace. Valens in the a City of the Leuci received the newes a Suer. Vitedlines. forced to purchate their peace. Valens in the a City of the Leuci received the newes a State Vietnam (but Galba was flaine, and Otho in place: the fouldier was neither gladder, nor fadetulin heard the der, having nothing but war in his minde: the French thereby were brefolved; Otho bases death beand Vitellius they hated alike, and Vitellius they feared beside. The next City, was fore Valens that of the Lingones, fure to the fide: being entertained there curteously, they re- b For as long as mited it with modest behaviour: but the joy lasted not long through the disorder of nesator lived, thole Cohorts, which being departed, as before I have faid, from the fourteenth they were loath any way, but Legion, Fabius Valens had joyned to his Army, hard words grew at the first, then emforced to ayde quarelling betweenethe Batavians, and Legionaries and as the rest of the souldi-now haringalike on time, by pu
Otho, and Vitelius, and Fearing

or had not Valens in time, by pu
Otho, and Vitelius, and fearing mbing a few, reclaimed the Batavians, who had now forgotten their duty. Againft but the one, it the Hedui was fought, but in vaine, fome occasion of war: being willed to bring in the make the safe. the Hedui was sought, but in Vaine, some occasion of war: being winter to bring in communication with money and Armour, they brought also victuals for nothing. That which the they whose Hedui did upon feare, the fame did the Lugdunenses for joy, neverthelesse they feared most representations. lin Legion and Taurin wing were taken away. The eighteenth Cohort it was hought convenient to leave there at Lions in the accustomed standing campe.

defaced him unwitting, in outward speech commending him, that he might be at moreunawares circumvented. The ancient heart-burning betweene them of Li- The discord as onsand them of Vienna, was by the late war freshly revived: much hurt was done founded upon onboth fides, "fo often and in fo cruell fort, that a man might eafily fee, they fought this ground. notalone for Nero and Galba: and Galba by occasion of displeasure had confiscaterefilms had been edited by teleproperation to the Lugdunenses; contrariwise much honoured them of Viforce and Viforce and Galba by the Lugdunenses; contrariwise much honoured them of Viforce and Viforce and Galba by the Lugdunenses; contrariwise much honoured them of Viforce and Viforce and Galba by the Lugdunenses; contrariwise much honoured them of Viforce and Galba by the Contrariwise much honoured them of Viforce and Galba by the Contrariwise much honoured them of Viforce and Galba by the Contrariwise much honoured them of Viforce and Galba by the Contrariwise much honoured them of Viforce and Galba by the Contrariwise much honoured them of Viforce and V una: whereupon grew emulation and envy, and inseparable hatred betweene forewere justly them, whom one Riverseparated. Upon these causes the Lugdunenses incited the to hate them, as buldiers severally to the subversion of the Viennenses; shewing unto them how of that which

Manlius Valens Lieutenant of the Italian Legion, although he had well deserved of

thefide, was not in any credit with Vitellius: Fabius by fecret finister reports had

they had befieged Lions, furthered Vindex attempts, mustered of late Legions for d Municipalem Galba: and having so placed in the first shew the causes why justly they were to similar incum belbehated; then they suggested to the souldiers minde, what a rich and wealthy prey content when they might get: and so from secret exhorting proceeding to publike requests, they of capacitate besought them to goe and revenge so many wrongs, to raze the seat-towne of the Putcoli.

French war: that there was 2 nothing else but strangers and enemies: contrariwise themselves a Roman colony, and part of the army, their companions in wealth and

in woe: and if fortune should chance to disfavour, they prayed not to leave, and abandon their friends, to the mercy of their mortall and mercileffe enemies. With

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these speeches and many such like they had wrought and incensed the souldier so that even the Lieutenants, and Captaines of the fide did fcantly thinke it a possible matter to quench their choler; when they of Vienna in very good feafon, forefeeino their danger, with 3 facred veles and infules afore them, as the army marched embracing their armour, their knees, their feet, mollified the fouldiers mindes: befide, Valens bestowed upon them a three hundred sesterces a man. Then was the antiquity and dignity of the Colony respected: then were the words of Fabius, com-10. d. ob. and to mending unto them the lives, and welfare of the Viennenses, patiently heard being for 40000. (for io many he had beside the eight cohorts of Batafined notwithstanding to forfeit their publicke munition, each man according to his ability with private provision helped the fouldier. But the report went constantly that Fabius favour was bought with a large summe of money: the man, a great while needy and poore, becoming now rich on the sudden, cloaked not well the change of his fortune; exercising excessively the lusts and desires which long poverty had kindled; and of a beggerly yong man a prodigallold. Afterward the army marched on flowly thorow the Territory of the Allobroges, and the Vocontii, the Generall fetting to fale the length of his journies, and places of lodging; bargaining shamelefly with the owners of the grounds, and magistrates of the Cities, and that in such threatning manner, that he offered to fet *Lucus a free towne of the Vocontii, on fire, till he was appealed with money: where matter of money was wanting, there payment was made with women and such like pleasures. And so at the last they came

The first Book of the History

to the Alpes.

for 40000. (for

1. A luckie figne] Many of the Latin flories (for to them and their disciples this vertue is peculiar) accounting thinke, a capitall crime to let downe any notable mutation in flate without many prodigious portenta, miraculous omina, oe. inducing the change, most of them being counterfeit, and coyned to drive the Reader into an extale, in the against many happening commonly, and remembred only when any notable evene did enfue. In the fecond booke, at O. thoes death, we have another cale much of this making, or fomewhat worfe, with a preface to give it forecredit, As for our Eagle here the was furely either a notorious confener, or elfe notoriously ignorant of what would beful, thus to give omen hand dubium of great prosperity, which in effect dured but a moment.

2. Nothing elfe but strangers and enemies: contrarywife themselves a Roman Colony] And so was Viennatoo, The Emperour Claudius in a speech in Senate which yet is extant at Lions graven in brasile: OR NAT 1881 NA ECCE COLONIA VALENTISSIMAQVE VIENNENSIYM QVAM LONGO IAMTEM-PORE HVIC CVRIAE SENATORES CONFERT? And Tacitus himselfe almost in the next (entence, Tum vetuflas dignitasque colonie valnit, speaking of Vienna, so that both being Colonies, and both extendil

a like, this Rhetoricke of his was here out of feafon. 3. Sacred veles, and infules: Velamenta & infulea] Velamenta & infule figures of fubmillion and humble denuming of mercy. 3. Hill. Antonius Primus vehemently affaulting Cremona, primurs vehementa & infulea pra mag oftentet. And Coriolanus watting the Roman Countrey, facerdotes sus insignibus velatos iffe suppliers ad castra bestian traditum eft, faith a Livy, and the fame Livy lib. 3. Hand procul abent. (Carthagines portu Scipio) cum vidanfals crimus ra in To-ramifque of a Cathaginenfium occurit navis. Now infulisfaith Varro and Fellins, were certain velaments laws quityb. lib. 16. Livy bus factedotes & hofte, templaque velabanter, to that by their description there should seeme to be no great difference

turneth inful.s

A cap. 13.

betweene velamenta and infulas. 4. Lucus a free towne: Municipium id Vocontiorum ell Municipium and Colonia though used indifferently in many good Authors, yet indeed, and in precisenesse of speech carry leverall senses, and so doth Tacitus 2. Hilt putthem as divers. Differst per municipia & colonias Vitelliani. The difference is that municipia in signific mexicing cut affamulu, and colonic è civitate educantur, Gellius & lib. 16. ex oratione D. Hadriani ad Italicerfes, diffinguillisch them in this manner. Atmie per fine ceves Romani ex municipiu, fio jure & fuis legibus utentes munera tantum cium P. A. posomipa-tic per, à qua munec caseffindo appellati videntur : multisaltis necefficustus, n.que ulla P. R. lege offeitis, quum ausquam t. A. corum fundus fuctus effet. Co'oniar.m alia necessitudo est; non enim veniunt extrinseius in evontatem, nec suis raducioni numba sedex civitate quass propagate sunt, & juea institutaque omnia P. R. non sui arbitris habent. Now that Lucus was indeed municipium, according to the exquinteute of the word, may appeare by Plinylib. 3, cap. 4. Vocantionum civitatifaderate duo capita, Valio & Lucus Augusti.

XI. The journey of Cacina from Coleyn with thirty thousand men thorow the Penine Alpes into Italy.

Aecina gained more spoile, and shed more bloud. The Helvetians (a epecple of Gallia anciently in name for warlike men, and after for the memory of their renowne) having not heard of Galbaes death; and refuting to

heat Vitellius devotion, and exasperated his forward and troublesome disposition. forunt itintra The warre was commenced through the ravenings and haftineffe of the one and semigrmanis, ruentieth Legion; who by force took away certaine money, which the Helvetians furrant. had fent to the pay of a garrison, in a Castle anciently kept by their owne men, and artheir owne costs. The Helvetians being highly displeased at the fact, intercepted letters fent from the army of Germany to the Legions of Pannonia, committing a Centurion, and certaine fouldiers to ward. Cacina defirous of warre, and ready to revenge faults as they fell, without giving time of repentance, removed his Campe haftily forward, wasteth the countrey, and facketh a place well peopled, by reason of thepleasant and wholesome bathes, and through long peace beautified with buildings in forme of a free towne: word also was fent to the Rhoetian Aides to affaile the Helvetians backs, as they made head to the Legions. The Helvetians fierce hefore danger, in danger feareful, thought at the first tumult they had chosen a capnine Claudius Severus, yet wift not at all how to handle their weapons, to keepe heir array: they had no common counfell among ft them to direct their doings all mone end: to venture the battell against the old experimented fouldier, would be heir ruine: to try the fiege feemed unfafe, their walles being decaied, and fallen brage: on the one fide was Cæcina with a puissant army; on the other the wings and Cohorts of Rhoctia, and the Rhoctian youth practifed in armes, and trained up fuldier-like, on every fide there was burning and killing: in the midft the Helvemans stragling, slinging weapons away, and for the most part wounded or wandring indifarray, fled to the mount Vocetius; and being straightway by a cohort of Thraconsteaten downe from their hold, and chaced by the Germanes and Rhoetians, * Sub corona they were in the woods and coverts put to the fword: many thousands of men were ronzeapitimlaine, * many fold to be flaves. And as the Army, having spoiled the countrey poins, sith marched toward Aventicum head-City of the Nation in battell array, messengers, cap. 4 followwere sent to yeeld up the City: which being accepted, Julius Alpinus a principall ing the opiniman was by Cæcinaes fentence adjudged to die, as one which had raifed the trouthe Lawyer, be: the rest he referred to Vitellius to pardon, or punish as pleased him best. Where- serving fait monthe Helvetians fend Embaffadours thither: it is hard to say whether of both cap worum vethey found Emperour or Army, harder to be appealed: the fouldiers require the nation. antitowne to be razed, they bend their weapons and fifts against the Embassadours faces; and Vitellius for his part spareth no threats, nor speeches, till Claudius Cossus maneipiajare one of the Embussage, a famous Oratour, but cunningly cloaking his Art with an nie induta vimtkinde of feare, and fo much the more of force to perswade, appealed the fouldi-niebant, & idensurious wrath: * as usually the common fort is suddenly changeable, and with- circo dicebanton mamoment as prone to pity, as it was before excessively cruell: with shedding of nine. Catolib. tures, and importunate begging a better answer, they obtained at length that deve militari, their City should be saved and pardoned. Cæcina having staied a few daies in Hel-alluding to were city mound be haved and pardoned. Ceeting having nated a few dates in 1101-this cullome, retiaof purpose to heare how Vitellius resolved, and withall preparing to passe the better it were, Alpes, received from Italy a joyfull meffage; that the Syllan wing which lay about faithhe, # po-Pohad sworne to Vitellius. They had served in Africk under Vitellius being Pro-pulus sia opera confull, and afterward being removed from thence by Neroes appointment to bene getam copasseinto Egypt, and stayed upon the troubles of Vindex, and so remaining in ronatus supplitaly, they went to the side, perswaded thereto by the Decurions, who being be-catimetal, bolding to Vitellius, and utterly unacquainted with Otho, extolled the strength gelta coronatus of the Legions coming, the fame and renowne of the Germane Army; and as a reseat. present for a new Prince, they brought over to his fide the strongest free townes vulso mulability beyond the Po, Milan, Novara, Eporedia and Vercelles. That advertife-fibile.

e Livy lib. 21. feemeth to call manos Qua ad

ment Cecina received by their meanes: and because the garrison of one onely wing feemed not sufficient to keep and defeud the largest countrey of Italie, he sent beforehand certaine cohorts of Frenchmen, Portugals and Britans with the Germane enfignes, and Petrin wing, himselfe pausing awhile, and standing in doubt, whether he should turne aside into Noricum by the Rhoetian mountains, against Petro. nius the Procuratour, who had raifed the countrey, and broken the bridges in O. thoes behalfe: but fearing to lose the Aides he had sent; and counting it more re. putation to retain Italie; and that Noricum, wherefoever the matter should chance to be tried, would follow, and increase the conquerours heape; he conducted over by the way of the Penine mountaines, thorow the winter fnowes, 2 his heavy Le. gionary fouldier.

1 Petrin wing] Our printed bookes have in Alpe Grain, corruptly no quellion, for Alpes Grain are the passage our of Savoy into Italy, as I thinke, by mount Senile, or S. Bernardo minor, the direct way from Lions to Milan. Ont or sayoy into Itanyas a times, or mount sount, or mount S. Bernardo Major The Cottiæ are out of Dauly incy into Italy by mount Geneura. In the Vatican copy of Tacitus it is cum alle larina, which with lefte mutation of ka nero Itany oy mount occuerant me varianteep of a random lead to have been, cam ala Tatama, then amate teers and more possibility of circumfance, we may rather imagine should have been, cam ala Tatama, then amate teers and more possibility of circumfance, we may rather imagine should have been, cam ala Tatama, then amate teers and Tacitus himselfe 4. Hift, maketh mention of one Claudius which passed the other way with Valens, and Tacitus himselfe 4. Hift, maketh mention of one Claudius Sagitta, which was e Vitellianis, and Prefettus ale Petrine.

2. His heavy Legionary :Sutsignanum militem & grave legionum agmen] Subsignanus niles & grave legionum equa (and yet there was heere but one whole Legion, the one and twentieth) may feeme to lignific both one thing, as be ing contra-divided both to Auxiliaric 2. Hift. Exupere legionarii in perniciem auxiliorum. 4. Hift. Id felium, mintemelia, monnit, substrucco milite media sumare. Auxilia passim circumsus fant: And yet in another place we have; Quiquid

Sub signis sociorum.

XII. Marius Celsus pardoned.

Ow Otho in the meane time, contrary to all expectation, did not give over himselfe to pleasure and idlenesse; but differred his delights, diffembledhis riot, and ordered all as was most fitting for the honour of the Empire. This glose of vertues, and vices which would return to their course, increased menssear. And first he a commandeth Marius Celfus Confull elect, whom before he had faved from the fouldiers rage by a colourable cafting in prison, to be sent for into the Capitoll: his meaning was, by pardoning so noble a man, so odious to the side, topurchase a name of mercifull dealing. Celsus being called, constantly consessed the whole accusation of faithfulnesse unto Galba, affirming that Princes were notto mislike such examples: and Otho, not as remitting a fault, but admitting thedefence as just and vertuous, straight way put him in place neerest about him, andanon in the warre appointed him one of his principal leaders; lest lying aloofe asa pardoned enemie, he might peradventure suspect the breach were but badly made up : and Celfus, fatally favouring the lofing fide, perfifted unfortunately faithfullfor Otho also. The faving of Celsus, an act which rejoyced the chiefe of the City, and was to the common fort plaulible, even of the foudier was not milliked, admiring that vertue, with which they were displeased ere-while.

I Were notto missike such example: Exemplum ultro imputare in Tacitus is a word of a middle fign fication , indifferent to the good part and bad : yet more usually standing for beneficia loca numerate, of Some such like thing. Examples, Hith. 1. Neque exim crat adduc, cui imputaretur, that is, for as yet there was none whom they might account benefitted by the revolt. In this place, Exemplum ultro imputable, heatcounted this fact of his standing fore to his old maller beneficial! to Otho alfo, and the example not to be diffiked of any Prince whatfoever. Plutarch J know in the beginning of Otho fremeth to take it otherwife, so, no our (1700). Milest Kison of 28114 costs of the sound of the s uginar, n vie opionus unquerier. vo 3 Kirou uir' o'furos Sonnerrauffie uur' aiuchtrus, aird pioner @ aute vo nine Silling me igangua mistr (igunanistug yd im l'alla filiano, iauren mugiger, a zierr instigiar igenter) indamonn ei mugigereig вытерь и то сращаний голина. That is , Otho commanded Marius Celiusto bee brought before him, whom he embraced and intreated very kindly, defining him rather to forget that ever he was infault, then to remember that

he was forgiven, to whom Cellus made antiwer both couragious and pertinent, laying that the accusation it selfe gare sufficient proofe of hishonesty, for what else was he charged with all but that he had been faithfull to Galba whom he was nothing beholden? whereupon they that were prefent much admired them both, and the fouldiers bidnot diffike it. But we may give him good leave to erre in confirming one hard place of Tacitus, that in fo many esse Cæfar millaketh. But to proceed in examples 2. Iiil. Proditionen ultro impatal at ; spatiam longiante prelium che Cataminanem. Du ce possibili campos 2. 11112 trouturem mon imputata a 3 patinos mogemes prices. inicis, fatigationem Othonismorum, permitat moto della aginar, a ple que festituita fradella cafignature, s. Hith. in the like (nele de utife tune opprimi Legiones, & voluiffe Germano fieddato à fe flexes imputati C. vilis in both places the meanhas tentised with the processing of the continuous and the processing of Tacture significant processing of Tacture significant properties of the continuous and the processing of Tacture significant properties of the continuous and processing of the continuous continuous and processing of the process gun wap Ambiguam fortunam bells Vifallius needeth excuse 4. Hist. Ambiguam fortunam bells Vifasfiano imwithout politica rat onem non reddi : that is, if the war fell out ill or hard of their fide, then for footh they took armes in Vefpatians behalfe: if well, they should never be brought to the reckoning, 3. Hill. Reipub band dubie interest Viin respiration. Selimput reperfulam new pofint, qui Vitellium Vespafano produce, cum a Gasta description sidel, qui Vitel-lium vinit. Selimput reperfulam new pofint, qui Vitellium Vespafano produce, cum a Gasta description sidel, qui Vitel-lium Vispifano produdere, pesfulam summeripulo bras feit luco munerare con possion, as though they had done it for the god of their Countrey, who before had revolted from Galba a good Emperour to cleave to Vitellius or Otho. In the booke de moribus Germanorum, Gaudent muneribus, se tree data imputani, nec acceptis obliganiur, that is, neither in billowing do they account as though they had done you a benefit, nor in receiving as though they were bounden mousing to the suc of the word implant, in that time was not itrange Sucronius Therio, cip. \$3, imputavit iti-a pedodon. This wie of the word implant, in that time was not itrange Sucronius Therio, cip. \$3, imputavit iti-anyond no lagues strangulation in Genonias at jestih, project fall elementia interposis detections of specific grade agreemnt Plinius lib 8, cpill. 21. Recitans biduo, toc affir fus anduntium exegu, & tamen ut alutra fruit quedam, impunantq ne rumanus (for go miril present), angue cina nou presente ne cellus, in boul places impetante for but feit des numerare, ne fundament (for go miril present), a dique cina nou presente ne cellus, in boul places impetante for but feit des numerare, ne fundament (la yi ti fundeth also for mat feit ternunceure, and visit ve tre. Tacit. 2. Hitt. Viellus i citiam bells nemo mutha that is, no body charged him with that fault . Hift . Cafum Crement bella imputandum. In vita Agric. Apprehando b minquam exercitus imputare potusife aut moras belli, aut carfus debellandi, and fo likewise in all the Authours with age, as Seneca, Lucan, St. tius, Martial, Sec. this word is fo used in both fenfes.

XIII. Tigellinus put to death. Crispinilla escapeth.

Ike joy was conceived upon causes unlike, when Tigillinus death was obtain
feed profition to feed partitis, ed. 'Sophonius Tigellinus was a man by birth obscure, a beastly boy, and a for all vices are ministered. Vicious old man: who having attained the Captaines place of the watch, and alloged the Guard, and other rewards due unto vertue by vices (because it was the more haunghing) espedit way) exercised in those places cruelty and avarice, and other lewed qualities Necroschiefe infirmment of all middent to * riper yeares, corrupting Nero to all kinde of mischiefe; some things wideleighte attempting unwitting to him, and at last a Traitor, and backslider from him: where one than had lest upon both the ill and well willers of Nero, upon odivers respects, cried out important and betraied his name. mately to make him away. In Galbaes time the credit, and might of Titus Vinius b Plata. Others didprotect him, who pretended that Tigellinus before had faved his daughter, as in Tryping Oder dedhe had done, not upon any mercifull minde, as having murdered fo many, but fired of the land done, not upon any mercifull minde, as having murdered fo many, but fired of the land of t onely projecting for time to come a plot to escape: for the lewdest men misdoubt- many mistor metals ingthe present, and fearing a change, prepare beforehand private friends to set and engine x-si. oppose against the publike harred: whereupon it groweth that no care is taken of the strategies with the publike harred is whereupon it groweth that no care is taken of the strategies innocent life, but onely a care to passe without punishment. But now for Vinius sake the summing the strategies where t joyned: infomuch that the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of gradients of the people running by heapes to the pe common affembly, and where the Commons are most in their kingdome, to the discretioners of Race and Theatres, cealed not feditioully to moleft, till fuch time as meffage of the same state and the same state and the same state are the same state and the same state are the same state and the same state are the sam ownethroat at length with a Razour, fouling his infamous life with a flow and differ pleafure and health. honest departing. About the same time Galvia Crispinilla was likewise required to Tac. 12. Ann. the flaughter; but the Prince, although with some obliquie, shifting it off, saved leavant herselfe: one which had been in her time Schoole-mistresse of Neroes lusts; and continuation after his death had failed into Africk to incite Clodius Macerto war, and evident-revenition in the melline case. lyendevoured to famish the City of Rome: afterward she married a Confull, and of dathrace had the good will, and good word of all the whole City, unhurt and untour few parts. Si wefe ched

. The very next day after that Galba was flaine, as it feemes by Plutarch.

ched whilest Galba, Otho, and Vitellius lived; and after their times; mighty in mo. ney, and because she was childlesse, good helps in all the worlds both good and bad.

Fulcinius Tige!linus, where alfohis fuda pueritia is deicribed. 14. Annal.

1 (a) Sophonius Tigellinus] Of Tigellinus all the stories are full. After the death of Burrhus, New, faith The Scholia (4) Sopnonus 1 gennus 1 (1) A gennus at the traction and the following forms of the scholia following followin calleth him C exceeding all the men of his time. Xiphil, for those were indeed the two vertues by which Tigillinus wanne credit calleth him C exceeding all the men of his time. Xiphil, for those were indeed the two vertues by which Tigillinus wanne credit with Nero Tacit 15. Annal. Fenium vita famaque laudatum, per sevitam impudicitian que Tigellinus in animo principi anteibat. Againe, Poppaa & Tigellino ceram, quoderat fevienti principi intimum constituum, interrogat, &c. 14. Annal. he is described as the onely Author of all the miseries of that time. Validior indies Tigelliaus, on malas artes, quibus folia pollebat, gratiores ratus, fi principem socielate secleris obstringeret, metus ejus rimatur &c. Tacitus bestoweth as favours up onhim the se friendly termes : stagrantissima stagitia, adulteria, vetus impudicitia, infamia, in another place. Tigillim sta licet comitante cum pellicibus, againe, he notes him as Author, or rrivy at least to the burning of Rome. Plusque in famie id incendium habuit ; quia pradiis Tigellini Aenylianis proruperat. A fit man in all respects for such a bad master. and unfit to have beene by Galba protected.

2 To famish the city of Rome Tacitus 3. Hist. Africam cod m latere fitam, terra, marique invadere parabat, claus; 2. To familit the city of Rome | I active 3. Fills. Aplean von. in later plans, 3. The commentary authors for the first find the City of Rome number fluidilities in plan as differed and mobility actions, if for come Every for four moneths in the years, and Africke for cipy? Josephus and 2. cap. 28. 2005 3 il inches, if for come Every for four moneths in the years, and Africke for cipy? Josephus and 2. cap. 28. 2005 3 il inches, if the later is a first for come Every for four moneths in the years, and Africke for cipy? Josephus and 2. cap. 28. 2005 3 il inches, and it is a first for come Every for four moneths in the years, and Africke for cipy? I have a first for come Every for four moneths in the years, and for come and the years of the first for come and the years of the y eiste for. That is, They of Africa belide eight moneths provition of corne yearely for the people of Rome, pay all eispeger. That is, They of Africa beliede eight moments provinion of corne yetters port on the pool in Acone, port manner of tributes, and willingly support all other charges of the Empire. Et paulo pool : จะ วิจันเลยเหลือ (แต่น่อก ตั้งนู เพลิ่ยก เลยใน เลยใ more tribute in one moneth then the Jewes doe in a whole yeare, and beside this great tumme of money they weld

provision of corne for Rome for the space of foure moneths.

Mighty in money and because she was childlesse] Rich and childlesse, two good helpes to get many friends, very man contending to please them, of whose wealth he may hope to be heire. Silvanus being in Neroes time atcufed repetundarum valuit, faith (c) Pacitus, pecuniofa orbitate & fancia: and yet in the end he deceived them all overliving those quorum ambitu eviderat, in civitate nostra (taith Seneca Confolad Martian.cap 19) plus gratie orbitu cusfin quameripit. Contrarily in Germany, nulla orlitatis pretia, sed quanto plus propinquorum, quomajor afficium numerus, tatte gratio fier fencelus. De moribus Germanorum.

XIIII. Of the letters, messages, and practises that passed betweene the sides.

Suet Othon.c. 8. Otho per inliteras confortem lio obtulit. b The like conditions offered by Flavius Sabinus in Vespalians name were accepted by Vitellius as much as in disturbed the bargaine. з. *Ній*.

Legions.

4 For Vitelli-

us was greet-

cd Emperour

the second of

January, and

teenth.

TN the meane time Otho fent to Vitellius many a letters spiced with womanish perswasions, and boffering him money and countenance, and what place of rest he would chuse to passe therein his prodigall life: Vitellius quit him againe with umpai gent the like; at the first in milde termes, with fond and uncomely dissembling on both sides: afterward in scolding manner, objecting each to other vicious life, and villanous acts: neither amisse. Otho revoking the Embassage which Galba had sent, fendeth a new in the name of the Senate to both the Germane Armies, the Italian Legion, and Companies which remained at Lions. The Embaffadours that went stayed with Vitellius, being as it seemed quickly intreated, and willingly with holden. These of the Guard, which Otho had affigned in shew to attend upon the Embaffadours, were turned home againe, not suffered to have conference with the Legions: Fabius Valens fendeth withall a packet in the name of the German army nothis friends to the Prætorian, and Vibian cohorts, extolling the strength of the side, and offering amity, blaming them befide in that they did convert upon Otho the title of the Empire, whereof Vitellius had so dlong before the rightfull possession. So were they with threats and promifes doubly affayed, as being in war not able to fland, in peace they were fent not likely to loofe: notwithstanding the Prætorians persisted for Otho. Plotsallo to prætist the were layed for privy attempts: Otho fent some into Germany, to practise against Vitellius person, and Vitellius to Rome against Othoes, both missed of their purpose: the Vitellianists, missed the punishment, scaping unspied, as in so great a multitude of men, where no body knoweth nor marketh another: but Othoes men among fuch as knew each other, were quickly bewrayed as strangers. Moreover Vitellius wrote letters to Titianus Othoes brother, threatning the death of him and his fon,

if his mother and children took any harme: and so oboth the houses continued en- o To wit, of tire: for feare peradventure in Othoes times, but Vitellius being conquerour, and Vitellius and without fuch a bridle, carried away the undoubted commendation of clemency.

> XV. How the Provinces declared them selves in favour or disfavour of the lides.

He first advertisement which put Otho in courage was out of Illyricum, that the Legions of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moefia had fworne unto him: the like was reported of Spaine, and Cluvius Rufus by publike edict folemnly praifed, and by and by it was certified that Spaine had revolted to Vitellius. Aquiunia likewise, though having received the oath to Otho tendered by Julius Cordus, remained not long in obedience: fidelity or love bare no where fway: by feare and force they changed to and fro. The fame feare brought to Vitellius the Province of Narbon, a gentle paffage, and eafily made, unto the neerer and ftronger. The Provinces which were far off, and all the armies fevered by fea, remained at Othoes devotion, not for love to the fide, but the name of the City, and flew of the Senat did greatly countenance, and credit the cause: and he had first possessed their minds, as being the former in speech. In Jury Vespasian sware his army to Otho, and Mutianus the Legions in Syria: Egypt likewise and Eastward the Provinces were all possessed inhisname: Africk alfoin his obedience, they of Carthage being most forward; mtexpecting the Proconful Vipfanius Apronianus authority, Crefcens a Freedman of Nero (for he was in those bad times become a part of publike affaires) had feasted the people for joy of the new Emperour, and the people haftened many things diforderly. The rest of the Cities followed the example of Carthage.

XVI. Othobestoweth effices: restoreth the banished: relieveth the Provinces: and erecteth the images of Poppaa his old love.

He Armies and Provinces being thus diftracted, for Vitellius it was needfull, if he would be Prince, to win it in field. Otho as in time of great peace difpofed the affairs of the Empire, some according to the dignity of the State, and moft otherwise hasting and shifting up as present necessity forced. And first he declareth ! himselfe and Titianus his brother, Consuls till the Kalends of March: the aextwo Moneths were affigued to Verginius, to pleafe in some part the German Army: with Verginius he joyneth Poppæus Vopiscus, under the colour of old acquaintance, most thought it was done to honour the Viennenses, the rest of the Consuls, as they were by Nero or Galba appointed, remained unchanged; Colus Sabinus and Flavius Sabinus till July; Arius Antonius, and Marius Celfus till September: whose offices also Vitellius after the victory confirmed unto them. The Pontificall dignities and Augurs roomes Otho bestowed upon ancient men, ach as had borne already greatly Office, compleatly to perfect all points of their honour; and young noble men, lately returned from exile, he friendly remembred with their Fathers, and Grandfathers places among the Priefts. Cadius Ruhis, Pedius Bloefus and Sevinus Promptinus, in Claudius and Neroes time condemned for 2 polling the provinces, were reftored against to their places in Senate. tpleafed them which granted the pardon to change the true name, and tearm that, which indeed was extortion and bribery,, crime of 3 Majesty and treason, an eculation so hatefull, that in respect of it even good Lawes were not observed. By

did.

11 is indeed the same way of bounty he sought to win the Cities and Provinces; granting (4) to the Hispalienses and Emeritenses a new supply of families; making all the Lingo. to believe that to believe that nes Citizens of Rome; upon the Province of Batica bestowing in pure gift the Townes of the Moores; new liberties upon Cappadocia, and new upon Africk more for a shew then for to continue. Among these things which the necessity of a benefit upon the Lingones the Lingones in France (for the present affaires and cares at hand made passable good, Otho even then notum. mindfull of his old loves, by an order of Senate, caused the Images of Popparatobe other I know nor) the chief erected againe. It was also supposed he had a purpose to celebrate the memory of eft favourers Nero, in hope to allure the hearts of the Commons: and fome there were which fer of Vitellius out the Images of Nero; yea and certaine dayes the people and fouldier, in their accause his only concurrant in clamations to Otho, as though they meant to enable and honour him more, cried the matter of To NERO OTHO: henotwithstanding held it in suspense, ashamed to acknow. the Empire. ledge, or afraid to forbidit.

rare occasions religne. Afterward cum elli esvelis pramia fistinaricaperunt, as Tacitus speaketh, when many mo for their good service to the side had deserved to be pleasured then there were places to pleasure them in, a shift was found to abridge the time, and to to freed many in one yeare. The author of this diforder was C. Carir, Anno white condite 709 when as being Conful frecoll ga he religned to Fabius and Trebonius. Dio libr. 4 2, வற்றா மீழ் வி maga to zadesnua (histo, to were innotopulare ele matra ter ronter not etwa town that defail cuella (branto) tor built igh, and במירות שום מנידור, אן עומ שים, אבשיליידם, שוודר כע שובוקמשי עופדר ול בחווף פנוב דווים כעוקדים, או בדופני מיף הינוע בדו הרובו כעול בעוב לב מווים באר. vu ruter unie de derei de kaueres tu irus, (2) mair enigue ma'ruge, ena ruorus, a'an' as nu e i truger, ai pai anteus, ai Bainains, ces oftenum:s of the places, of subsect. That is, Then fift of all contray to the ancient custome a precedent was given, that a man findabent the office of Confulho neither for the terms of a robote years, nor for the remainder of the years, if happily upon another man death or refignation he was chosen to the place, but that one during his life time, not compelled by law, in whole creation no troop was committed in matter of Auspicia, should resigne the place and cause another man to be chosen in his roome, and from the time forward very few enjoyed the Confuship a compleate yeare, but is it chanced some more some fewer either moneton date. In the yeare ab urbe conditions, it altered from a voluntary relignation to a marter of necessity, and order. Dis lib. 48. tardrus 3 set suo innius, amp eines, alad madus ren meginor bodes à mis depapentais en corre. 2) met mer pe (towit from the 709. yeare) µ19' in es mis, wit 'andaroras, wir in sinula, win a mas mus mus mustirus higu. am' casis uharas Stix Saous. That is They chife not two Confuls for the whole yeare according to the ancient cuffone, but even at that time of the

Elion they nominated more, for fix years before this fome had succeeded others in the fame yeare, though the former neither is dialo,

nor misdemeanour, nor other casses were deprived. Howbeit then they were made as it pleased them who were chasen for the work

1. Himselfe and Titianus his brother Consulstill the Kalends of March] In the free state the two Consuls er-

tring the first of January remained in office the whole years out, unleste they chanced to die, or upon speciali and

y are: but now even at the field creation no man was nominated for the whole years, but some for one part of the years, and some for another. In Augustustime, specially toward the latter end, as it may appeare by the Capitolin tables, some Confuls were yearely created, two to beare office from the Kalends of January to the Kalends of July, and two more, ex halend. Julia to the end of the yeare. After his dayes, although I cannot precifely define when it began, the atdinary time was no more but two months, and the ordinary number of Confuls twelve. In our present year, Serrvius Galba. 2.7 which two being flain in their office M. Otho, and L. Titiams

b Tac. 1. Hift. fupplied their roomes in Kai. Mar. Ex Kalend. Fanuar. (b) 7 Titus Vinius. Verginius Rufus. Ex Kalend, Martii. (c) Tac. I. Hift.

Poppæus Vobilcus. Calius Sabinus. Ex Kalend, Maii, 5 Flavius Sabinus.

CArius Antonius. Ex Kalend, Julii. Marius Celfus.

(Fabius Valens. Alienus Cæcina, adjudged enemy of the state, in his place for one day that remained Ex Kalend. Septembris. (d) 4 Tac. 2. Hift. Rofcius Regulus, Tac. 3. Hift.

Ex Katend. Novembris. (c) SCn. Cacilius Simplex. · Taca.Hift. Xiphil.

This number and this time continued even to Dioes age : inet 100 p (layeth he) soils se continued even to Dioes age : inet 100 p (layeth he) soils se continued even to Dioes age : inet 100 p Syptimite Rever de mitid and iripo un Barrion. That is , For in our time no man beareth the Office for a whole yeare , nor mit commonly for more then two months, lib. 43. Now of these Consuls the two which entred the first of January were increment, named the yeare, and were called ordinarii: the rest minores, as being obscure and not heard of

abroad, to that with great reason a man might demand in whose Confulthing they were Confuls: otherwise in auanous, cont differing any thing the one from the other. Dialib. 43, த் ட்டி ஊரை நம் வது சீ மாளர்கள் thorus actions and the physical states of the states with the order in the states and the states of which were first to enter had the name of Consuls (as even yet it is used) during the whole yeare, as for the rest they which lived in Rome and other parts of Italy called them fo during the time of their Office, But all that lived abroad ether knew none or but few of them, whereupon they were called Confules minores, And again lib. 2. 12 16 and 21; amen and seconfules, left we might have been ignorant of his preferment) lighter. + 3 15419unn + ith of the feet for hubbar is and the contract of the contra enter first enjoy the prerogative of giving the name to the yeare. Notwithstanding this minor Consulship served well enough to make a number. Example in Velpalian who bearing the office of Conful in Claudius time (g) per 8 Sun Velpa-A

of Cornelius Tacitus.

den mouffimes anni menfes, of ordinary never before. Ann. 8 23. is flyled Veftafianas iterum. Tac. 4. Hift

For polling the Provinces : Repetund. aum cremimbus] The action of Repetunde lay against the governours of Provinces for money unduly extorted, or cruelly exercised in their jurisdiction, so called of the more principall part, province by that action, pecunias injuste ablatas, vel fi quid alied ablaium, capium, conciliatum, aversanve siet. Provinciahos refetire jus fafque effet: and not only the fumme extorted, but an arbitrary mulet was imposed beside, double, cr neble nomine poene. This law was induced by L. Calparnius Pifo, anno primo tertii belli Panici: and afterward revived by other with many new claufes and straight sanctions. Tac. 15. Ann. Magistratuum avaritia Ca'purnia scita peperit. And pernotwithflanding all the good Liws in that case enacted the Proconfuls and Propræt ors, both before and under he Emperous sceafed not to rack and poll the poore Countries. Nay the more lawes there were and greater penalis effablished, the more they robbed and spoiled the Provinces to make good great extortion abroad with great bibery at home, according to the Greek senarie, a mona nativas, on the or considered. That is He that hath stolen much with giving a small matter finall escape well enough. And therefore Tully telleth us (in jest, or in earnest) that the Provinces would furely preferre supplication to the Senate, that the Law de repetundis made in their behalfe, at horrequest might be repealed. His words be these, proamio prioris actionis in Veriem. Plenum facere multis testibus Man, C. Versem in Sicilia multis audicatibus sepe dixisse, se habere hominem potentem, cujus fiducia Provinciam spilaret: nequestifoli pecuniam querere, sed ita trien num illud præturæ Siciliensis distributum habere, ut secum pulchre agi diceret, si uniwomit aueflum in rem fuam converteret: alterum patroms & difinforibus fuis traderet; tertium illum uberrimum, questuofifbumque annum totum judicibus reservaret. Ex quo mihi venit in mentem illud dicere, quod apud 31. Glabrionem nuper cum pullicadis judicibus commemorassem, intellexi vehementer populum Romanum commoveri, me arbitrari sore, uti nationes exteukeatos ad populum Romanum mitterent, ut lex de pecunits repetundis judiciumque tolleretur, si enim judicia nulla sint, tantum mmontemque ablaturum putant, quantum fibi, as liberis suis suis effe arbitrentur, nuns quod ejusmodi judicia sint, taxtum wanquemque auferre, quantum fibi, patronis, advocatis, pretoribus, judicibus fatis futurum fit. Hoc profecto infinitum effe. Se confirm how in scubiditati fatisfacere poffe, nocemissime victorie non poffe. Vnder the Empire the law was understood, airmay feem by Plinie lib. 2. ep. 11. against extortion only.

¿ Crime of Majesty and treason] Lex Majeslatis in the ancient free common-wealth comprehended only points of greatest importance in State: h squis produtione extractum, ant plebem seditonibus denique male gesta Republica ma- h Tae. 1. Anns séatus populi Romani minuisse. Augustus put in ure against libellers, whereas before satta anguebanur, ditta impunz tiss, or at least not punished with the penalties lefe Majellatis, In Tiberius, Caius, Claudius and Neroes time it was major to Timen covium, qui crimine vacabant, as Pliny speaketh. One was accused to Tiberius, and all was majorly, i Falavius x. qua wenditis hortis slatuam Augusti simul mancipasset: k attother quod violasset perjurio nomen Augusti. A third be- Annal. span winduts botts Haluam August fund manapaper. Another quan visuality perform nomen Singips. A fitted Sommes followed in the following the following follo therimage he had cut off the head of Augustus, and clapped in place one of Tiberius, for faving of colt. TAno-legistics, ibid. thefor making an Epitaph for the Princes Sonne, before he was dead, arraigned and condemned. Another, quod m Luterius Minim principis promifeuum ad usum argenti vertisset. Another, for that he had done greater service for the Prince, Priseus 3. Ann. then that he was able any other way to requite it. P Another, for that in his ftory he had commended Cashius and n Emilia Ann. 5. from that he was able any other way to require her. "Mounter, for that in his tropy he had commended Camba and o c. Silius 4.

Bromsenemies of the Monarchy, and dead above threeleore yeares before. 9 Others because they were descended Ann. of those which in their time had been of neare acquaintance with Pompey. Another because he had been a fol- p Commities lower of Germanicus, of whom Tiberius without just cause had ever been jealous. Another for making a Tra_ cordus Ann.4. nower of Germanicus, of whom I noterius without flut caute has ever over leanous. Another for making I Tal. Grant Anni, a gety wherein certain verfes were of doubtfull understanding. In Claudius time one was arraigned, and con- Perm is make memd of majethy for dreaming a dream, another for being dreamed of. In Neroes time one Cassing quod etite, quod etite, forer, parationagines majorum etiame, cassii essigism coluissii essigism Duci Partium. And infinite moe for such tres, as parte. tiffes as thefe. Seeing therefore that lex maj flatis had been to late to odioully executed, it pleased the pardoners to 6. Aun. warmthat which indeed was extortion, crime of majefty, the memory whereof was fo hatefull, that in respect of it " Titus Sabinus

tren other good laws were neglected. 4 To the Hifpalienfes and Emeritenfes a new Supply of familie. In deducing of Colonies a certain number of ment 6. Ans bmilies were affigned, which if tract of time, or any mischance had diminished, or adulterated, to have them sup- t Petra 11. plied afresh, or increased, was esteemed of the rest, as a speciall great benefit. Livius lib. 32. C. Acillus tibunus plebis Ann. padament, or increased, was encented of theren, as repector geoas benefits Little to a substantial metal, codem libro. "C. Silanus familia in fingulas colonias jubebantur mitti, codem libro." Dia Namicussiam localis queremibus ad numerum sibi colonos non esse, & immissos questam non sui generis pio colonis se gerere, e.a. × 16. Annals um reium caufa trium vivos creare L. Coraclius confut juffus, creati P. & Sex. Aclii (Petis fiut ambobus cognomen) & C. Cormius Lentulus. Quod Namensions datum erat ut colonorum numerus augeretur, id Cossun petentes non impetrantrunt. And another place : poflulantibus a fenatu Aquileien fium legatis, ut numerum colonnum augeret , M. & D. familie ex S. C. ferifie. Tacit. 1 3. Ann. Celerum colonie Capua alque Nuccria, additis veteranis fumate funt. Now that Hispalis was a colomy of the Romans, Pliny affirmeth lib. 2.cap 2. Aleva Hispales colonia, cognomine Romalensis: That Emerica Dio இத்தை நகுதை நக்கையின் நின்ன. That is, This war being ended, Augustus difinissed the souldiers which were past yeares of service, and gave them licence to build a city in Portugall called Augusta Emerica. Thereason of the name is apparent Emerita, quad emeriti milites dentutives so deduccrentur. For militar Colonies (to leave the other kinde which

of Cornelius Tacitus.

T.tc.lib. 15 a Tacita

ville L.

in the free flate were derived abroad by the Senates appointment, for fo (y) Velleius feems to divide them) they were devised for a recompense of old souldiers, who having spent the floure of their age in the service of their comwere devited for a recompense of our founders, who having spense are house of their age in the trivite of their con-try, small reason is were to turn them a begging when they were aged. Wherefore Sylla, Casar and the Emperor following, at the end of their service rewarded the old souldiers with an honourable maintenance of land of inheritollowing, at the end of their terractice and the old tollows that an indicator than the maintaine of fand of inheritance. In this kinde of Colonies at the beginning (2) universe legiones ductorante cum tibanis, centurionibus, & since inspectation in the since in t pupper manner maneres, ne conjume or maranto, Sexearonim Arciale, Septimanorum Blitera, Decumanorum colonia char-where they were placed. Secundarorum Aranto, Sexearonim Arciale, Septimanorum Blitera, Decumanorum colonia Charcius Narbo. In processe of time this good order decaying, (a) non ut olim universe legiones, sed ignoi interse deschaua diverlis manipalis, inservetione, fine affections mutuis, quaffex also genere mortalium repente in unum collecti, numerus much quam colonia; and the proof thereof was according, the fouldiers flipping away in provincias, in quibus flippind a menquamerouna; and the proof the defolate. Whether upon this or whatfoever occasion, apparent it is, that Hispalis and Emerita were hoth decayed, and therefore with new families here by grace from Otho flocked again.

XVII. The Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia vanquished, and staine by the souldiers of Masia.

Ens mindes being fet upon civil warres, externall matters were lightly regarded: by reason whereof the Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia, having the garded: by teach white two cohorts, ventured more boldly to invade Mofia. Their former exploit, & conceit of themselves had assembled nine thousand horse, more minding the spoil, then provided to fight: whereupon the * third Legion with the Aides affailed them fuddenly as they were ftraggled and careleffe. The Romans had all things fitted for fight: the Sarmatians being scattered, or through greedinesse of spoil heavily charged, their horses being tired by reason of their burdens and flippery wayes, as if their hands had been tied behinde them, were hewed in pieces. It is wonder to fee how all the Sarmatians valour is as it were out of themselves: to fight a foot no nation so cowardly, on horseback by troupes they are hardly refifted: but then the weather being wet, and the frost fomewhat thawed, neither their flaves, nor long two-handed fwords served in stead, through the siding of their horses, and great weight of their cataphracts; a kinde of harnesse, that mall likelyhood with the Legious Princes and Noble-men use, composed of iron plates or stiffe bend-leather, which as against blows is sure and of proofe, so if one be borne down by the force of the enemy it maketh him unable to rife up again: befide they funk into the fnow being deepe, and notable to beare: contrarily the Roman fouldier in his easie * corfelet nimble and light, a farre off with a * dart, or with launce charging upon them, and with a light fword neare at hand, the case so requiring, gored so long the unarmed Sarmatian (for it is not their manner to ward with their buckler) till at lengthalew which remained fled to the marishes: in the one place the mortalnesse, in the other the miserie of their wounds wasted them all. When this was by certain adviseuderstood at Rome, Marcus Aponius Lieutenant generall of Moesia was honoured with a triumphall image, Fulvius Aurelius, "Titus Julianus, and Numifius Lupus Lieutenants of the Legions with Confular ornaments; Othorejoycing, and drawing the glory to himselfe, as if he also were fortunate in war, and had by his Leaders and armies enlarged the Empire.

* !oric.te * mifili pila

under their

charge.

* sertla logias

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gions were at this prefent in

Motha, and the

Lieuzenants of all the three le-

gions were ho-

Confular orna-

ments and there

fore pretent in

nouted with

4. books he is

1 Honoured with a triumphall image: Triumphall flatte] Tacit. 4. Annal. Jamque tres erant langue in unbe fiature, See. And the femence before of the fame matter. Priores duces impercando fibe triumphaba infigur J. fficter or first excidences. Agains 15. Annal. Trinophale deers, and Trinophales in foro imagers of the fame. So that we may reasonably gather Trumph.lem flattam, to be either the fame with Trumph.lat infiguit, or elleptically of them, and yet indusing the whole. This title of honour, may be him, unknown in the free Common. wealth, was conferred, as f. me do suppose, by Augustus upon Tiberius Annourb, conduc 742. Sucton. (a) Tr weatin, was conterted, astaine no reppose, of international antiferior and the state of the stat

muiteur bas Al neux direct ette. do et 3 x oi pt rusta autal quair roma un cuelru resta zonas divisi est autat en contra eum gar or its σίμιξα το runmelar ligaro, and μόναις ταιε βατικόιε παράς ivangioro. That is, Sacrifices were made to the gods in the name of Agrippa, yet was there no triumph decreed unto him. For he did not at the first cruste the Senate concerning the successe of his actions. Whereupon in succeeding ages men of his place following his example neither wrote to the Senat, neither accepted the grant of triumph, but contented themselves with triumphal ornaments alone, and so consequently to Tiberius. The cause as I judge of the invocation was, that to Augustus whoof the old state left nothing standing but names, and hardly that, the pomp triumphall seemed athing too full of mijelly for any subject, and therefore seeking every yvay to cut the snevvs of liberty, and yet to retain a shadov ormaping to any the cunningly converted the foleunity of a triumph into Triumphalia infiguia. Only the Princes themor ancient, as Germanicus in Tiberius time, solemnly triumphed Next to Triumphalia in lovverdegree ofhonour vere Consularia Insignia, or ornamenta wush wantest, and Pretoria likevvile, west sparmuss, ander them. obtrined by thole, I suppose, whom Dio in fundry places termeth, The Decorner to a norther, i spannature, and lastly Quelloria ornamenta, To make them as Confuls, Prætors, Quæftors fellovvs. Tacit. 4. Hift. Mutto cum honore verhuun Autiano triumphalia de bello civili data sed in Sarmatas expeditio singebatur, adduntur Antonio Primo consultra, Cormbe Fulo, & Airio Varo pratoria infignia. Annal. 1 1. Decreta Narciffo quaftoria infignia, &c.

XVIII. A mutinie of the Guard souldiers.

Bout the same time upon a small sparkle a flame of sedition arose, from Awhence no danger was feared, to the destruction almost of the City. Otho had commanded the seventeenth Cohort to be called from Ostia to Rome, and charge was committed to Varius Crispinus, one of the Prætorian Tribunes, to furnish it with Armour. Which that he might do at more ease, and without interruption, the camp being quiet, at the shutting of the evening he opened the Armom, and commanded the Carts of the Cohorts to be laden. The time wrought sufpition, the cause bred a crime; the affecting of quietnesse proved to a tumult; a and a obstra Missus weapons feene among drunken persons stirred up a desire in them to be doing. The simulation weapons feene fouldiers mutin and charge the Centurions and Tribunes with treason, affirming Andrew Bolding affirming of Polym adductions and Company of the Centurions an they purposed to put in Armes the Senate, and Senatours men against Otho, some ray, Kai ungsy uponignorance, and overcome with drink, the worst seeking occasion to spoile the angular of the common fort (as it is commonly feen) defirous of novelty howfoever: and as for b Example 244 the better and founder part, the darkneffe did not permit them to shew their obedic state of the cone, And first they murder Crispinus the Tribune, and the b severest of the Cene of the darkness of the cone of tutions repugning to their feditious attempts: then taking arms, and drawing their discounting in the promoter of the control fwords, on horse-back they make 'toward the town, and the Palace. Otho that fricai tumultum, as night had the aprincipall men and women of the City at banquet: who standing reporte commes amazed and missoubting what it might be, a casuall rage of the souldiers: or a pra-in palarium cudile of the emperour, whether were more danger to stay and be taken or to slee and contents stations stated the content of the content stations of the disperse; sometime make shew of stoutnesse, sometime bewraied their seare, still tes, repulsing vicalling an eye upon Othoes countenance, who, as it falls out where minds yeeld to hibere tontabant, fuspicion, did feare, and was feared. And fearing no lesse for the Senatours sakes cips, seek crant then for his own person, he both sent by and by the Captaines of the Guard to ap-timent will among the control of the Guard to ap-timent will be control of pease in some sort the souldiers anger, and willed his Guests to get them away requirentes persu inall possible speed. Then might one have seen magistrates, every where cast down um usque neems the marks of their office, eschewing the multitude of followers & servants, old men viso destinations and women in dark without torch creep this way and that, few to their own houles, most to their friends, and meanest Clients where they least would be lookt for. pacouse Plus. The fouldiers furiously break open the gates of the Palace, and thrust into the ban- pratique I gi quetting place, rudely requiring a fight of Otho, having wounded a Tribune Julius speech which I do not remember Martialis, and Vitellius Saturnius *Lieutenant of a Legion, as they endevoured to in Taccellewhere. withstand their violence. On every side armes and threats, sometime against the Centurions, and Tribunes, sometime against the whole Senate, frantick upon a

f That is, 39.

lib. 1.5.2.d.

blinde fear, and because they could not name any one to the flaughter, demanding licence indifferently against all the Senat; till such time as Otho standing upon his dining bed, contrary to the majefty of an Emperor, with tears and humble requests. at last, though hardly, refrained their rage: and so they returned to the Campeunwilling, though after fo much harme done. The next day, as if the Town had been taken, the houses were shur, small stirring in streets, the people all sad, the souldiers hanging their heads, with many heavy looks and little repentance. Licinius Procu. lus and Plotius Firmus the Captains dealt with the fouldiers by bands, in gentle or rough fort, each after his nature: the conclusion was this, that they should receive ffive thousand sesterces a man. Then Otho boldly entered the camp: the Centurions and Tribunes come round about him, and a casting away the marks of their degrees, desire dimission from so unsafe a service. The souldiers perceived the mean. ing and framing themselves to obedience, require unbidden the authours of the se. dirion to death. Otho, although things were in fuch a confusion, and the fouldier so diverfly minded (the best requiring a remedy for the present disorder; the common fort, and more part, who liked feditions, and corrupt government being more eafily brought by troubles and spoiling to make civill war) and withall remembring thata state gotten by lewd means cannot be retained at first with sudden modelty, and ancient gravity; nevertheleffe carefully confidering the danger of the City and Se-"nat, at last he spake in this wife. My fellow souldiers, I am not come hithertoin. "cite you to love me, and lesse to exhort you to vertue and valour, for of both you "have great store & too much: but I come to request a moderation of your valour. "and a mean in your love toward me. No hatred it was, no defire to have (web things "have fet many Armies at discord) no danger you feared and meant to avoid, but "a tender care, and excessive affection it was toward me, more zealous then confi. "derate, which bred and excited the yeasternights trouble: for oft the causes of "things being good, yet where judgement is wanting, pernicious ends do oftenen-"fue. We are going to war, what? Is it expedient that all messengers have open audi-"ence, that all matters be handled in presence of all? The nature of warring willnot "endure it, the swift sliding away of occasions permitteth it not. I tell you it is as be-"hooveful that the foldiers should be ignorant of some things, as know other some "The authority of Captains, the rigour of discipline is of that nature, that many "things must be only commanded and simply bidden by the Centurions and Tri-"bunes. If when things are bidden every one may demand, & question the matter, "obedience failing, governmet withall will fall to the ground or shall there at mid-"night likewife the alarm be given? shall a lost and drunken companion or two for "I cannot believe they were mo which madded in the last uprore) shall they dareto "embrue their hands in a Tribunes and Centurions bloud? rush into their Empe-"rours pavillion? you did indeed the fame for my fake: but yet in the dark, in such a "confusion, occasion might also have ferved against me. If Vitellius and his adhe-"rents had choice to dispose our minds as they listed, what else would they wishbut "fedition and difcord? that the fouldier should not obey his Centurion, the Centu-"rion his Tribune, foot-men and horse confusedly should run to their ruine. Surely "fellow-fouldiers by duly obeying, not curioufly feanning the Captains comman-"dements, is all good fouldiery and militarie matters maintained: and that army in "danger is alwaies most valiant, which before the danger is most quiet of all. Be "you only well armed, and valiant minded, to advise and direct your valour leave "that to me. The fault was of few: the punishment shall be only of two: contend you "the rest, to abolish and raze out of memory that dismall nights work: such bloudy

words against the Senate, * let never any army once dare for to speak. The head * audeat. of the Empire, the ornament of all Provinces, no not the very Germans themselves whom Vitellius specially raiseth against us, durst ever have demanded to death: and hall the children of Italy then, and the true Roman race require to murder that honourable order, through whose glorious brightnesse we dim and disgrace the obfourebasenesse of Vitellius faction? Vitellius hath indeed some Countries at commandment, he hath a certain counterfaite of an Army: but the Senate is of our fide; and therefore the State is of our fide, Traitours of theirs. What? do you think this goodly faire City consisteth in houses and stones put together? these are dimbe and dead things, they may decay, they may be repaired again, as it chanceth; the eternity of the State, the peace of the world, your well doing and mine, is founded upon the fafety of the Senate. The father and builder of our City did*first * auspicato. by: the gods appropriation ordaine and institute this worthy assembly; from the Kings to the Princes never discontinued: then as we have taken it from our progenitours, fo let us deliver it to our fuccessours. The Senat is the seminarie of Princes. and you of the Senat. The Oration thus framed to bite and to please the souldiers mindes, and the moderate feverity used withall (for only on two justice was done) were gratefully accepted; and they for the present composed, which hardly could have been duely corrected. Yet was not the City throughly quiet: weapons clashed, and to shew it seemed a season of war; the souldiers in common ceasing to trouble, but dispersed in houses in disguised apparell, maligning all those whom nobiliworwealth, or some other speciall excellencie had made the matter of talk.

The cause beel a crime: (Lassain eximen exalain) If these times have in them any reason, the meaning may leght which the Tribune did to the end to execute the Princes commandment; that the soludiest serves to a sinister time, and not not for the service of the Prince, but rather servicinum in imperation amondment grain. Plutarch, of Adment with: [sea, is it sight of the Recommon stress that the shown in minimum and mentions, it is distributed in the service of the Prince of the service of the ser

"Galting away them tiks: Abj Clis militie infiguious] Tribunatus infigue, the badge or mark of his office was """>
"may dagger Miratials lib. 14, of a Centarion Vitu, a vinc-rod to correct the ticwanting fouldier. Juvenal of Minis Savra octava.

Atpinus alius Voscorum in monte folebat Posture murcedes alicnostassius antio. Nodosam post bee françobat vertice vitim Si lentus progra muniret eastra dolabra. His lamin &c.—

The. Ann. fenturio Lucillus interficitus em militarius factifit vacabula, Cedo alteram, indidorus; quia fradla vite im municità, alteram clara vues, ac riafiss altam poferbat, of the Capatin-flip of the Bretorum Eigo. a food of the Capatin of the Gretorum Eigo. a food of the Capatin of the guard by Trajan. En eastern of the trained in the control of the control of the guard by Trajan. En eastern of the superior in division in the control of the control of the guard by Trajan. En eastern of the superior in the control of the c

a Liv. lib. 1. b in his verses reported by Tully 1.de div.

e Dion. Halicarn, lib. 2. d lib. 1.

By the Gods approbation, Austicato] That is, addicentibus avibus. For although neither Livy nor Dionyfius make any mention of any luch ceremony observed in the choice of the Senat, yet seeing we finde that equitum cominmake any mention of any menterenion, observed in the City was founded and named captis ad inaugurandum templis, the Aventin by Remus, the Palatin by Romulus (Livius lib. 1. although & Ennius placeth them otherwife) feeing that Romulus & δελ επτήματο τοῦς και αὐτοῦ άποπο, μότο βαπικότας, μότο τρεχεί καμβάξειτο, ἐκαιμάτος το δικυμάτου αὐτοῦς (δε τίμ. ton) Station. That is, Brought up this cultome for all posterity that they should not take upon them neither the king. dome, nor any other office, except first the gods, per anhiera, gave their approbation: "we may probably conjecture that it was not omitted in a case of fo great importance, 2s was the choice of a councell of State. Surely after that Attius Navius had cut with a razor a whetflone in Tarquinius Prifcus time, 4 Livy writeth that the Augural discipline grew daily in reputation.

XIX. Rome full of jealousies: the difficulty that was to carry a mans selfe evenly in the City and Senate.

T was also supposed by many, that some of Vitellius men were come to the cirv to spie out and learn how the sides were affected: whereupon all grew full of jealoulies, and scarce were the secret Closets free from feare: and abroad worst of all, where according to the occurrents which came, they turned, and shaped courage and countenance, tearing to feeme, when matters went doubtfull, distrussfull, or when they went well, not enough to rejoice: specially in Senate, there was the hardnesse indeed to beare a mans selse evenly in so nice and ticklish a case: silence would be construed for contumacy; free speech had quickly in jealousie; and flattering Otho would soone smell out, having passed from private estate, and used the trade fo lately himselfe. Wherefore they were forced to tosse and turn in and our their fentences, to wrest them this way and that, calling Vitellius parricide and traitour; the wifer fort spending upon him some few ordinary railing termes, some touching him nearer with viler matters, and matters of truth; but then above all times, when for the great noise they least could be heard, or when otherwise the most spake at once, or else by tumultuous heaping of words confounding their own disorderly tale.

XX. Certain prodigious things which happened in Italy and Rome before the warre.

Oreover divers miracles vowched by fundry persons terrified the mindes of men. In the entrie of the Capitoll the reines of the Coach whercouthe image of Victorie stood were let slip: out of Junoes cell started up a ghost taller then any man: the image of Julius of facred memory in the Iland of Tiber turned it selfe from the West to the East in a day which was cleare and without any earth-quake: in Tuscanie an Oxe spake: ugly monsters were born of beasts, and many other like prodigious things were reported by the old world observed even in peace, but now not talkt on, but in times of danger. But the principall terror for the time to come joyned with present damage was "the sudden swelling of Tiber, which waxing hugely, brake down the Sublician bridge, and by the ruines of it being dammed, reculing again, overflowed not onely the low and plaine places of grew by the res-Rome, but those also which seemed safe from such casualties. Many were carried away as they walkt in the streets, moe intercepted in shops and lodgings: b dearth of victualls, and no wayes of winning, bred a famine among the poore people, the foundations of the iles, which the water by washing against them had weakned, after the River returned, became ruinous: and affoon as that perill was overpall, the stopping by casuall, or naturall causes, of Campus Martius and the

Flaminian way, by which the Army should passe, at that time when Otho prepared march, was construed for an ominous sigue of calamities to ensue.

XXI. The provision of Otho for the warre.

The having a hallowed the City, confulting how to manage the warre, and a linfi at a robe. lieeing the Penine and Cottian Alpes, and the other passages of France stopt mothecause the by Vitellius armies, determined to invade Gallia Narbonensis with a strong ginaries were Navy and b fure to his fide: for he had enrolled for Legionary fouldiers the rem- (for firely the Navy of those which were slaine at the Milvian bridge, whom Galba had cruelly most remained patt of those which were slaine at the Milvian bridge, whom Galba had cruelly with Ottoo) but pant of the prison; and the dreft of their fellows conceived thereby good hope of rather or that the other chairs honourable fervice hereafter. Which the Navy he shipped City-cohorts, and aris which were many Guard fouldiers, for a strength and support to the army, and for a councell key till in the galleys, contended guard to the Generals. The generall charge of this voiage was committed to velgoal hope and guard to the Generals. (* which had been chiefe Centurions) by the Lavor which make the contended to the and Emilius Pacensis, to whom Otho had restored his Tribune-ship, which Galba which one beand Emilius Pacensis, to whom Otho had restored his Tribune-ship, which Galba which one beand the same and the same ship which one beand the same ship which sam hadraken away: Ofcus his freed-man was admirall of the voiage, being willed to extended to retweether watch how loyally honester men behaved themselves. Of the Foot-men and Horse loose at his Suctonius Paullinus, Marius Celius, and Annius Gallus were appointed Gover- a mitchiefe, and nors: but his speciall affiance was in Licinius Proculus Captaine of the Guard, who made a Legion, as appeared the being a man serviceable enough in City souldiery, but raw in the field, cavilling and force to that the being a man service able enough in City souldiery, but raw in the field, cavilling and force to the the being a man service able enough in City souldiery, but raw in the field, cavilling and force that the being a man service able to the control of the caping at the grave authority of Paullinus, the couragious quicknes of Celfus, the ingthem was not confiderate discreetnesse of Gallus, as each was in vertue, by lewdnesse and craft (a might seeme by matter not uneasie) bare it away from good men, and modest. About the same time this place, but (Cornelius Dolabella was confined to Aquinun, without either strait or close keep-distiller, they that remained ing, for no matter of crime, but only as an eye-fore for his ancient house and kinred that sensited ing, for no matter of crime, but only as an eye-fore for his ancient house and kinred that sensited in the service with Galba. Then Otho commanded many of the Magistrates, and a great part of a grid primes pilos thosewhich had been Consuls, to be in a readinesse for the voiage, not as to employ days at as Consultant Cons them in any charge in the war, but to accompany him onely: among other Lucius file in the war with the reft, neither as brother of an Emperor, nor as broint in this war were thereof an enemy. Hereupon the cares of the City revived: no state was voide of fix or seven thereof an enemy. feare or of danger: the chiefe of the Senat weak for age, and with long rest unlusty, Galler, Freeding the Nobility flothfull, and having forgotten the warres; the Gentlemen ignorant the more they all fought to cover and hide it, the more they in fight be-the flory sand to waied their feare. On the other fide fome upon a foolish vain glory bought them make his brother feat for brave armour and goodly great horses; some riotous provision for banquets and afterward. viave armoni and goodly great notice; in the trocking province to the queet and filtred Briquietnesse of the Weale-publick perturbed: the witlesse, and not able to see into in impair for the weale-publick perturbed: lequels, were puft up with vaine hope: and many a good man, banker uptin peace, 1:03, 30 a 193-100 mowin the troubles showed most gallant, then being safest, when the state was un-close positions. fafett. The common people, who for their huge greatnes taketh no care of publick common people, who for their huge greatnes taketh no care of publick common people and people of the live affaires, began now to feele by little and little the smarts of the war, perceiving the interpolation money was turned all to the souldiers use, and victuals to grow more deare in the diam diese market; which evills in Vindex commotion had nothing worne the Commons so beautiful. bare: the city was then out of danger, and the war in the Province, which being g staine after-tought between the Legions and them of France might feeme in a fort externall ward by Virel-lius commandand forrein. For fince the time that D. Augustus ordered the Empire, the people ment. 2. High. of Rome fought a farre off; the care and the credit belonged to one: under Ti-h Heutenant of Dalmaia. berius and Caius men feared alone the mileties of peace: h Scribonianus at-Dishib.60.

Plutar. Theiger प्रदेश केंग्रे कर्यात्र

a Plutar. x, Tè afai à Shuller j ountlaux onne?

ey imoigras ei

ττου οὶ μοχ Ξπεέν. Plinius lib. 3.

c.5. Quinimo va tes, intelligisur

(Tiberinus am-

nu) potius ac monitor, ailu

femper religiofus verius quam

Q.o.t fingulis vealla four bella, sun factum efts

tempts against Claudius were begun and dasht in a moment: Nero was rather by newes, and by rumours, then by force of armes cast out of state: but now the Levi ons, the Navies, and that which feldome elfe had been feen, the Guard and Cityfouldier were brought to the field; the East, and the West, and whatsoever was on both fides behinde; matter for a long war, if other Captaines had warred. Some perswaded Otho, as he was now ready to march, to stay yet a while, making a scrunle that the 2 holy shields called Ancilia were as yet not laied up againe: but he could not abide to heare of delaies, which had been, he faid, Neroes destruction, and Cacina having already passed the Alpes called him forward. The fourteenth of March commending the Common wealth to the Lords in Senate, he granted to the persons restored from exile the residue of Neroes confiscations, such as were nor as yet come to his Cofers: a gift most reasonable and in shew very great, but in f. fect fruitlesse by reason of the hasty exaction. By and by assembling the peoplehe magnified the majesty of the City, the consent of the Senate and people of Rome in favour of his fide, modestly touching the contrary faction, and blaming the Legions rather for ignorance, then raffinesse, without any mention at all of Vitellius, whether it was of his own temperatenesse, or that else he which penned the Oration fearing the worst, did of purpose forbeare to revile: for as in military matters he followed the advise of Suetonius Paullinus and Marius Celsus, so in civillhewas thought to use Galerius Trachalus wisedome: and some there were, which would feem to know the manner of phrase, notorious by reason of his often pleading, large the foundation of the street o measure or truth, contending to passe one another in applause and wishes, as is it college Management had been to Cæfar the Dictator, or the Emperour Augustus; neither for fearenor for love, but onely upon a delight in servility (*as in private families every man provoked by some private cause, no man regarding the publick dishonour. kOtho departing away, commended the quiet efface of the City, and cares of the Empire to Salvius Titianus his brother.

Lo lamentari & placers inerpifeven and twenaccording to Marcellinas.

> 1 Allurements of lufts, &c.] Juvenal Satyra fecunda writeth, that Otho himfelfe inter influmenta belli carista certain looking-glaffe.

Res memoranda novis annalibus, atque recensi Historia, speculum civilis sucina belli.

Contrary to that testimony which Tacitus giveth him. 2. Hilt. New Othoni segme, art corruption luxu iter; sed louis fa-

Contrary to that cumony which I actually shareque dylimits.

2. That the holy likelds called Ancilia] Ancilia, their I Martin, ab antifu fe dilla, quod ca arma ab utraque put, at

pelle Thracum incifa. Varrolib.6. de ling. Lat. Ovidius Faftorum 3. Atque Ancile vocat, quod ab omni parte recisum eft,

a Although Livy in the Oration of Camillas feemeth to at-Romelus alto for timed fake 2 . Aneili-

D reite Paters

Quemque notes oculis, angulus omnis abilt. Dionysius Halicarn, lib expressing Anale in Greek turneth it mir Tur Speciar, in sigure much like, saith he, saith dit Bung stramegue igen the America. That is, a Thracian thield, refembling a loving figure Target whole angles be rebated. Livy lit. 2. and lib.5. termeth them (welsilia arma, and colo demilla: where the flory at large is in Ovid, in the place above alleaged : Dum loquitur tourn, e.c. and in Dionyfius although with fome little difference of cucumftance. के हैं रचीर वरित्रवार करात्वीर करान शैक्यार मिका हैं। प्रेर्ड का वेनकार के श्रामिक के कारण के कार के कार है स्वाराता से मार्च undere aidpartor electifearre, sud'hanguire melinege à litagois nuitre gouares, US de d'opinion direction, fregue Se Somether E) to Conter, Councilism 3 ter vouer. muselly to aute pressor con the neather stor en legale quient the the te Alt, y Junis institut 19 John, adamin 3 Stefands wie and indent & santouis and accomme, inthe expect which camσκινόσειδει το διοπιτεί παιχαπλέσια, μεμιορία τιτίς το έργο διμμηρά ότα διομίν, αστ διστμος γρίωση κ. Ουσδιώριας τι πιλ μίλλουση διηβελαύση & το διοσομπίος φο'σιν, δια & είπαρείναιτου το συθραπίναι έρχων εμειέτατα. That is, Among these fliches which are very many, one they fay there is which fell down from heaven, and that it was found in Numes Palace not brought thither by any mans hand, no not fo much as the fashion being known in Italie before that time. Vpon which two reasons the Romans were induced that the piece was sent from the gods. So when Numa had determined to have it carried through the Citie on high dayes, by some of the molt honourable young men , and to institute yearely sacrifice in memory thereof; fearing least the enemit should privily steale it away, as the report goeth he took this course. He caused many others to be madelike

washis which fell from above (one Namerius undertal ing the work) that whospever fought to seale it, for the nearenesse and panton who file rell wought by mans hands might not be able to discerne the some of that which came from the gods. (b) Lampri- b Varro. from we file to gabalo. Matris typum, & V fle ignem, & Palladium, & Ancilia, & omnia Romanis veneranda & Now as con- whom Dionyand Heliogana de Arailium I finde of it two feverall circumstances recorded. Servius upon this place of Vergil. 8. Æ- fius in matter eening en mage impulit arma, writech thus: Is qui belle faleperat cann (meaning as I think, the Conful) favorum of amoquity quist ingribus prims Ancilia commovebat; post biftam simulachii ipsius dei, diceus, Mars vigila. After which ceremony seldome swar-quist ingribus prims Ancilia commovebat; post biftam simulachii ipsius dei, diceus, Mars vigila. After which ceremony seldome swarreformed by the Conful, the Salii, as I gueste, immediatly they and their servants carried the Ancilia about in pro- veth, seemeth kriemed ny tne conting one assay, as a gueue, impacciatly tney and their tervants carried the Ancient and the index of the continue of the co thing a Descript wants, Medic worders Sec. That is , The Salii celebrate a folemne feaft about the time of the Athe- Li. 5, de ling, lat. nian Panathenara in the moneth of March, continuing many dayes, in which they passe thorow the City solemnly dancing into the Forum, the Capitoli, and many other publick and private places, wearing party coloured coats ent to them with copper girdles. Over these they cast their gownes guarded with guards of purple, in their own geren under Trabes, which they falten with a button, lally wearing on their heads a certain atter which they fallen which they fallen with a button, lally wearing on their heads a certain atter which they fall spire. Belief this every man is girt with a fword, and in his right hand holderha fpeare or rod, or fome such other things, and in his left a Thracian thield. They dance in certain militarie measures to the noise of the pipe, fortunes all at once, sometimes by turnes; and withall sing old songs delivered to them by tradition from their fahers.Livius lib. 1. Salios item duodacim Marti Gradivo legit, tunicaque picha inssene dedit, & super tunicam aneum pectori indet. LVIIIS 110. 1. 3 auto item automation neuro estato un esta contra que proce engigareaux, o "pays issuadamacam petato ingua, cal·filiappe arma, que « dantia appellanta fera es per subem in ecamente camina cam inpudiis, solumnique statatu que sub esta esta as Dionyssus writech, was celebrated usprio usob, begun, as it may appeare by Ovid, the very Callais of Mirch. Carissus seemeth to place it in the Quinquatrus, which began the 19 of March, Quinquarus saith is, squinquatos, listifamado, quod eo die arma Ancilia lusteri son solution, which etymologie no doubt is erroneous: for is, squinquatos, listifamado, quod eo die arma Ancilia lusteri son solution. Sunquatrus without question is derived of quinque, Ovidius,

Nominaque à junctis quinque diebus babent. Varrolib. 5. de ling, Lat. deriveth Quinquatrus quod erat post diem quintum Eidus. Then Quinquatrus were holy antio Minerva, not Mars, to whom the Ancilia properly belonged. So taking beginning at the Calends of ents o states on, not mars. to whom the statem property beconiged, so taking beginning at the estatement which, the fealt's continued and make the man and by this very place of Facilists its elected by were not laid up again e Diamphus, blotche to 4 of the fame moneth, when as Otho took his following leave of the Senate and people. Polybius fragm. entendeth the whole folemnity The resident spieges. That is, To thaty dayes : but mothe Analium began certain dayes muthebeginning of the feast, as it may appeare by Polybius in that place, and Livy lib. 37. speaking of the same natte: during which time no expedition was usually undertaken. Sureonius Othone cap. 8. agreeing with Tacinand expounding this place; expeditionem impige caque ctiam proproper inchonvit (Otho) nulla re religionum quidem enfeld o mois needum conditis. Ancillom, quod antiquitus infaustum babebatus. Liv, lib, 37, Stativa and Mellefontum alimadin habuere; quia dies forte, quibus Ancilia meventur, religiofi ad iter inciderant.

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. Titus Vespasian sayling toward Rome, hearing of Galbaes death at Corinth, returneth into Syria. The disposition of the Easterne armies.

a For the Empire of the Flavian family. * Or, which diverlly accord.

⁵ Acceptable and profperous in the perions of Fe-B jian and Ti. tes : hatef: II and permicious in the perion of Donati n. · Jefeph drás. 4.64/.29. addeth fu ther. fent to under-Rand Gabas pleafure concerning the " muse A. Gr x, את שנים של בולה espi le faier άπλαί. 4 Suet. Tito.

tenente reme. vertit bomines quali adoptionis gratia are ffere-

c.s. Galia mox

· loco omaiam ctiam fortuga.

Ow fortune in a contrary coast of the world prepared cause, and laid the foundation for a new a Empire: *which put up in sundry regions, and according to the different government, became bacceptable or hatefull to the state, and to the Princes themselves prosperous, or pernicions. Titus Velpafianus being fent by his father from Jewry, before Galba was flain, gave forth, as cause of his voyage the doing of duty to the new Prince, and suing for of. fice, whereunto he was now by his yeers enabled and ripe; but the common fort, ready to make and devise, had cast abroad, that he was sent for to be declared successor. The age of Galba and lack of iffue, and that intemperate humor of the city, to name many till one be appointed, gave occasion and ministred matter to the speech: the towardlines of Titus increast the report, as being a person capable of any dignity were it never fo great: the comelinesse also of his countenance with a certain majefty, the prosperous proceedings of his father in Jewry, prophecies and oracles; and that Titles was laftly, when as the minds of men were once inclined to believe, even common accidents were reputed ominous, and helped to further the fame. At Corinth a City of Achaia he received certain advertisement, that Galba was slain, and some also were there who affured that Vitellius was in arms, and doubtleffe would proceed to make warre. Whereupon being perplexed in minde, calling fome few of his friends, he weigheth the reason on both sides in counsell: if he should proceed in his journey to Rome it were but a thankleffe office, being first undertaken to honor another and befide he should remaine as an hostage to Vitellius or Otho: if return back againe, the winner without question would be offended, but yet in some tolerable fort, see. missiand graticing the victory as yet rested uncertain, and the father afterward applying himselfto quagua interest the fide, the fonne would finde an eafie excuse: or if his father took upon him the state, then care not to offend were to be forgotten, where open hostilitie must be proclaimed. With these and the like discourses was Titus distracted between search and hope, till hope at the length prevailed. Some men supposed the vehement love he bare to Berenice the Queen did alter his course; and intruth his youthly affections were fetled fomewhat that way, notwith standing in no such degree, that it was any hinderance to his honorable actions: his youthfull yeares he paffed in pleafure licentiously, of better behaviour Emperour then Emperours fonne. So coasting along by Achaia and Afia thorow the feas on the left hand, he failed to Rhodes and Cypres, and thence: by the maine fea into Syria. Touching at Cypres he had a defire to go visit the the temple of Venusat Paphos, so much spoken of both there and abroad. It shall not be long summarily to set down the beginning of that devotion, 3 the fire of the temple, and shape of the goddesse: for she is not elsewhere portrayted fo. The ancient tradition is, that the temple was founded by King Aerias,

which some affirme is the name of the goddesse: a latter opinion holdeth, that Kino Cinaras did confecrate the Temple, and that the goddeffe, being conceived of the Father to fea, arrived there: but the skill and art of Haruspicine was borrowed abroad, Cyrus of whom some brought in by Thamyras the h Cilician; and so it was accorded between them, that tay the Iland the government of the ceremonies should belong equally to the posteritie of both tooks denofamilies: anon it feemed abfurd, that the bloud royall should not have any prero-minition. Euostive above the forraine; whereupon the strangers gave place in the science, which mis head in. they themselves had induced; and so the Priest-hood remained alone in Cinaraes and so the Priest-hood remained alone in Cinaraes line. Beafts for facrifice, as every man liked to vow, onely of the male kinde were wiso Kinder. chosen: the fibres of Kids are esteemed of certainest credit: to poure blond on the cians skill that alaris not permitted: 4 prayers and pure fire are the incense for the Altars, which way read Tully are not within any covert, and yet never wet k with the weather. The Image of the and others. coddeffe is not of human shape, but a s figure rising continually round, from a larger in Explatitius in bottome to a small top, in * conicall fashion: the reason thereof is not knowne. Only of peak-When Titus had viewed the riches of the place, the offrings and liberalities of Prin-ing of the Alces and what else soever the Greekish Nation, delighting in antiquities, fabulously in Paphos. (es, and what the both control of mind, he proposed demand first as touching his voyage and proposed demand first as touching his voyage and proposed demand first as touching his voyage byfea: and when it was answered, that the way was open and passage prosperous, m. sia without the many beasts to be facrificed, he inquired covertly concerning him. et al. many. file. Softratus (for fo was the name of the Priest) feeing the intrailes fortunate and of the Priest) arrecing, and perceiving the goddeffe to give affent to his great defignes, at that The like is melent time made a short and ordinary answer; and anon requiring a secreter confemace, he opened to him his whole fortune to come. Thus Titus increased in cou- 16, and beleenee returned againe to his father, bringing great comfort to the mindes of the ved by others. Amies, and Provinces that were suspensed and doubtfull. Vespasian had vanquish- 3 to analysis and suspensed and doubtfull. edthe lews, and made in manner an end of the war, it onely remained to oppugne Baryoutings. S. lemsalem: an enterprise of difficulty and hardnesse, more through the nature of the on the care of the | smalem; an enterprise of difficulty and hardnesse, more through the nature of the fire variables people, and the obstinate persisting in their superstition, then for any strength or a- work work with the play they had to be are out the siege. Vespassan, as before we have said, had three works we work they are the strength of the s withflanding emulation, and the glory of the army adjoyning, drave away floth; thion adas the one thorow labour with danger grew stronger and more able of body, fo remaining the other became more lufty and fresh by rest undisturbed, and peaceable labour: then in Cefara both had Auxiliary Cohorts and wings, both Fleets and Kings at commandement, of Judga. Josep. both renowned alike upon causes unlike: Vespasian a vigilant Warrior, marching 4. and cap. 29. theforemost, chusing places for commodious encamping, night and day giving out direction and order where it was needfull, and the case so requiring manfully fighting with hand; of diet not dainty, apparelled as the common fouldier, or not much otherwise; in all respects, set avarice aside, comparable to the commanders of ancientimes: Mutianus contrariwise excessive in wealth and expenses, in all things exceeding the measure of private estate; in speech the abler man, very expert in the direction and forefight of civill affaires: a well forted medley of Princely qualities, istaking away the vices of both, the vertues alone were laid together. But the one being Lieutenant of Jewry, the other of Syria, countries confining, through emulation and envy certain jealousies were between them: notwithstanding upon Nemesdecease, they layed grudges aside, and conferred counsels in common, first by hiends interposed, then by mediation of Titus, the principall assurance of true reconcilement; who being a person by nature and art framed to winde in with Mutianus alfo, induced them both to furceafe from fuch hurtfull contentions, with conof the way

from Vitellius

fideration of their common utilitie: the Tribunes, Centurions, and common foul. dier, by labor or licence, by vertues or pleasures, according to their severall inclinations, were drawn to the party. Before Titus coming both the Armies had sworns allegeance to Otho, the newes of his being in State, as the custome is in such great matters, being brought in great post, and civill wars ripening by leifure, into which the East, that had a long time beene quiet and peaceable, the first of all began for to enter. For in time past the most mightie and puissant civil warres, beginning in Italy and Gallia, were undertaken with the power and strength of the West: and they which maintained them in the East, as Pompey, Cassius, Brutus, Antonius ended alwaies unfortunately, and Syria and Jewry more often heard tell of, then faw any Cæfars, the Legions had never mutined, onely fometimes were led out to brave the Parthian, speeding not alwaies alike: and during the last civill war, when the world was shaken elsewhere, among them was affured tranquillitie; then faith toward Galba. But after it was publickly knowne, that Otho and Vitellius went about with impious armes to prey upon the Romane estate, the fouldiers began to ftorme, that others & received the favors of Princes, and they served continually as flaves. From thence they grew to confideration of their owne forces: feven Legions they faw at hand, and two Provinces, Syria, and Jewry, with a huge multitude of Aide-fouldiers: then Egypt adjoyning with two Legions, and on the other fide Cappadocia and Pontus, and the strength which lay encamped against the Armenians: Afia and the reft of the Provinces, plentiful of money, and of men not unfur. Orlying out nished: all the Ilands of that fea, and the fea it felfe in shut up and yeelding security in the meane season to prepare for the war. The forwardnesse of the souldiers was not unknown to the Generals: nevertheles it was thought expedient to attend the fireigh, fell- iffue of the other warthen being on foor, fith doubtleffe mutuall jeloufies, between the conquering and conquered party, would never fuffer any found and perfect intelligence between them: neither mattered it much whom fortune should favour, Vitellius or Otho: even fingular commanders by prosperitie would grow insolent, much leffe might good proofe be expected of these, whom discord, sluggishnesse and riot would ruine: whereof the war would overthrow the one, and the victory the other; both of them through their owne vices and faults. So till occasion should ferve; the open taking of armes was deferred by Vespasian and Mutianus, having entred but lately into these communications, whereas the rest had conferred there of long before; the better fort upon love to the common-wealth, the rest some allured with the sweetnesse of spoile, some pricked thereto by reason of their doubtfull and decayed estate at home: fo the good and the bad, upon causes unlike, with like affection ardently all defired the warre.

> 1 By the maine fea, Audeminibus spatiis] i. per alum, in opposition to littus & oram legere, feu prattruchi. Sotia the meaning of the place is, that Truis from Corjath to Cypres went along by the coall, and from Cypres mo Syria by the afaine lea.

he doubted wherefore mention is made before of the choice of beafts, of the fibres of Kids, and anon Cafis complutihu hoffiis. But perhaps there might be bloudy facrifices before the Altar, although upon it none but unbloudy. 5 A figure riling continually round] The figure which Tacitus describeth is a Comus. Maximus Titus tearmeth

1 meguida, which is a somewhat different thing in firsting the of tearmer. His works be these different his hora of a mindia: a parket 3 disc Kennein, than of the history เลก หมาย เลเล่า และ Apopo เพราะ เพื่อ กาเล่ว รัวอง, กรัว วิ วานางและ ล่า อ่า อ่างเล่าสูล น้าง เลาที่ นักของแม่สำนักของ worthip Jupiter : this Image with them is nothing but an high Oake. The Arabians adore, but whom I know not the image which I faw amongst them is a square stone. In Paphos Venus hath the chiefest honour, howbeit her image you can liken to nothing fo well as to a white Pyramis, or rather a triangular Pyramis: or peradventure it was written wooding Day, that is required.

6 Received the favours of Prince] He feemenh to have expressed the very words of Tolephus 4 and a. 26. out unti dir theuting & di spartaru gad' irugelay ganeges fich unrules, by flus, no born, & dieganaureovrus leden of uit Ent e Paules spartarug ישריות בין עשל שבינות שת העוב ביועוני לישרון לישרון ביותר ב and denies 2 cross. That is, The leaders and fouldiers banded themselves rogether, and openly sought to make a change furior fly crying; These souldiers which live in Rome at their case, which never could abide to heare so much state rumour of warre, chuse whom they list to the Empire, and upon hope of gaine pronounce Princes. Whereas thry who had paffed thorow to many paines, and were now waxen old under their fielmets, must yeeld that authoriving other, and that having in their owne Campe a man fittelt of all other for government: & paulo pull: γιηθοίτ ή ε μότον αυδών κέπε τε ίχουν ποίε Στη θελτητ, ού τε τεέπ πάγγια τα, κή πάς παιρά το βασηλίων στιμμαχέπε έχοντας, κέχλα κή στιμοwith with the their side attitute, at if Eugenine Some all Site Outtands prouves the Estat. That is, That not onely they would employ their forces to the ethablithing of fuch as should be agreed upon there , having present with them three Legions and Auxiliary forces from the Kings; but that the whole East would confpire, and so much of Europe as flood out of feare of Vitallius.

II. A counterfait Nero oppressed in the Ile of Cythnus.

Bout the same time a salse alarme was given to Achaia and Asia, as if Nero were approching: for the report going diverfly concerning his death, many gave out untruly that he was alive, and many believed it. The adventures and attempts of the rest of those counterfaits we shall hereafter declare, in the proceffe of this work. Now at that time a bond-man of Pontus, or as others have written, a libertine of Italy, skilfullininftrument and voice, and thereupon, befide some resemblance in countenance, being more fit to deceive, adjoyning unto him certaine fugitive and beggarly vagabond persons induced by great promises, taketh the Sea: and being by violence of weather driven into the Ile of Cythnus, he affor ciated to him certaine fouldiers which passed that way out of the East; commanding the rest to be flaine which refused, and spoyling the Merchants armed those of the flives which feemed most puissant of body. Moreover he affayed by fundry deviles to practife the Centurion Sifenna, who carried in the name of the Syrian Army to the fouldiers of the Guard, Right-Hands in token of concord; untill fuch time as Sifenna for feare, and suspecting violence, left the Hand and fled secretly away. Thereupon the terrour was dispersed abroad, and the matter growing famous, many lent their eares willingly thereto, upon defire of change, and dislike of the present. Thus reputation daily growing to the cause, it was by a matter of meere. chince wholly overthrowne. Galba had granted the government of the Provinces of Galatia and Pamphylia to Calpurnius Asprenas: to wast him were allotted two Gallies out of the Navy at Misenum, with the which he arrived at the Ile of Cythnus. Upon his arrivall the Masters of the Gallies were summoned to come unto Nero: who at their coming composing himselfe to heavinesse, and requiring, as their late mafter at his fouldiers hands, their faithfull affiftance and fervice, prayed them to fet him a land in Syria or Egypt. The Mafters, partly perswaded, or else fraudulently, answered that first they would takle with the fouldiers, and so having prepared their minds would returne: but the whole was truly reported to Afprenas; by whose perswasion his ship was forced and taken, and he, whatsoever he were,

² The Dern plc of Venus at Paphos] Strabo lib. 1 4. Min Tan and nicho corrieders valiote colp rat Sun and taling the opens i very distigly objective ret medies weed from Thesis, Next is all Paphosfundt about et ven fledia from the fus the cit state bomov for flow, and an ancient tempte of Venus, furnamed of the place t-uphia. Homerus Odver, O. 4. of Bek Kimen lean projekt the Aberd in

Diorylins Afer callesh the whole Hand Batemon Ber Aingene According 2. The fire of the Tempie]. A point proposed, bur forgotten to be handled, unlesse we will rake those und quantifent in a posts, as a sufficient estimately of the were somewhat hard, being spoken particularly of the altars whoteles Momermaketh diffine and exprese mention, both of real and salat it bat it, The tempter

^{4169.} Haiw and The Hit were an unbloudy factifice, as by these words it should seeme, it may reasonable the History

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The first Book of the History flaine. His body was carried into Asia, and thence brought to Rome, wondred at for the eies, and haire, and sternnesse of countenance.

III. Annius Faustus, after much adoe and some sturre in the Senate, condemned of promoting.

Na diffentious state, and through the often changings of Princes, waving be. tweene licence and liberty, even small matters were not shut up, without great Ladoe, Vibius Crispus, a man for money, might, and wit, accounted rather among the great menthen the good, called to his answer in Senate Annius Faustus a Gentleman, who had made profession in Neroestime of accusing: for immediately up. on the election of Galbathe Senatours had ordered, that the causes of the accusers should be heard and examined; an order diversly construed and drawne, and as against a weake defendant in force, so against a mighty too weake. Beside Crisous employed the terrour of his greatnesse, and the uttermost of his might, particularly to overthrow him, as the accuser of his brother, and had drawne a great part of the Senat into that opinion, to require him to be executed, being neither defended nor heard: contrarily others favouring the defendant, fo much the more because the plaintiffe seemed too mighty, were of opinion, that a time should be granted, the crimes specified, and the man, though culpable and odious, should not with standing not be excluded from common right of being heard in his justifications. Which opinion prevailed at the first, and so the hearing of the matter was some few daies Dur over: but in the end Faustus was condemned, albeit not with the generall affentof all parts that his lewd conditions deserved: some men disliking, not that the crime shall finde him forted with E. was fo punished, but that it was done at his suit, awhom they well remembred to prius Marcelluss. have exercised himselfe the same profession with gaine.

IIII. The power of Otho by land.

He beginning of the war was prosperous on Othoes side. For at his commandement the Legions marched a out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, being in number foure, out of which two thousand men were sent before, the Legiwife the Legi- ons followed after with competent journies, the feventh lately gathered by Galba, the rest ancient, the eleventh and thirteenth, and the fourteenth greatly renowned for their service in repressing b the Britishrebellion; and Nero had increased their glory, chufing them out as the most speciall men: whereupon they remained long faithfull to Nero, and were great favourers of Othoes proceedings. But these Legions the more strength and forces they carried with them, the more confident they were, and confequently the flower in coming forward: the Auxiliarie Cohorts and Wings came before, the corps of the Legions followed after. tended expe-cition adparts: Moreover the city it felfe furnished good store of fouldiers: five Prætorian cohorts, and certain Coronets of horsemen, the first Legion, and beside two thousand "Fencers; 2 a base supply, but in civill wars used even by severe commanders. Annius Gallus with Vestricius Spurinna were appointed to lead this power, and sent before hand to put themselves in possession of the bancks of the Po: because their first determination had failed, seeing Cæcina had already passed the Alpes, whom they hoped might have beene kept within Gallia. Upon Othoes person a choice company of "Spearemen attended, accompanied with the rest of the Pratorian Cohorts, and the old fouldiers of the Guard, beside an excessive number of those

which had ferved at Sea: His voyage was with diligence and speed, as appertained. not wastefully spent in riot and pleasure: himselse with his iron brigandine marching before the enfigues on foot, not decked, nor trimmed, but fouldier-like, and unlike the name that went of him.

. The beginning of the warre] In declaring of this great and important action betweene Vitellius and Otho.

Ifinde Tacitus, at least in my conceit, much inferiour to himselfe otherwhere; omitting many necessary circumflances, confounding things together, affirming contratieties in appearance, and generally leaving his Reader not fafully frished, as in Hillory is to be looked for, As first in the circumstances of Otho the principally erson, whose pacts and foot-fleps would have been numbred, Tacitus bringeth him out of the City accompanied in a maner with all the Senate, toward the latter end of March, and as we found by collection out of (2) other Writers upon the fe- a Suetonius ren and twentieth day. Then here shewing his fouldier-like maner of marching before his fouldiers on foot, in the and Marcellings. end he bestoweth him and his company no where : whereas indeed the Senate was left at Mutina, and himself marched toward the enemy, as far as Brixellum a city upon the Po, and there fending out his Captains stayed behinde, as it appeareth in Plutarch, and Tacitus elsewhere; circumstances, in mine opinion, not so lightly to have been pasfed over. From Brixellum, faith Flutarch, were dispatched away Celsus, Paullinus, Gallus and Spurinna. Tacitus femech to say, that Gallus and Spurinna were dispatched at Rome, and sent before hand ad (b) acenpandas Padiri b Perhance the meaning of these payWhichif it were meant to guard the South-side of the Po, & so to stay the Vitellianists at least from passing the world a second tiver, fince they could not stop them in the mountaines, a few being able to keepe such a passing against a great ar- pass law Passi rimersime they could not not be useful in the mountaints, a two coing and co may have been sufficient posterior as a significant great at pan lat pen the Pad tri-my, thirth good reason. But Gallus did not so observer, If te oput himselfein posterior of both sides of the Po, has, pandar Pad tri-mount of the whole triver at commandment, how could he with a few withfland Cacinaes whole army, having ripats, is to put mountained of the place? Now to the leading of Gallus and Spurinna sent before, from what place soever, and notification of the unjouls Padi ripus, Tacitus affigueth five Pratorian Gohorts, equitum vexilla, legio prima Adjuvix, and two thous upon the find balancers: in the procefle of the Works, affiguine the eladiators to the overnous conduct, and two thous upon the find balancers: in the procefle of the Works, affiguine the eladiators to the overnous conduct, and two thouses upon the unpained rates 1796; Activities and the Worke, affigning the gladiatores to the government onely of Martius Macer rivers, ashird man, and after him to Flavius Sabinus, and fetting the other two farre enough assunder, Spurinna at Placenna with three Prætorian Cohorts, one thousand Vexillarii not named before in the survey of their whole power, andatew horfe, and Gallus with Prima adjutrix, I cannot tell where, nor when, & upon what occasion they divided hamfilves, but where foever he was, taking Bebriacum in his way to Placentia, he was in all reason of the North Meof the Po. Then for his other three Gaptains Paullinus, Celfus and Proculus, whereof mention is made in the preparation of the war heree in the fetting our they have no charge at all affigured them (and to fay the truth, I cannot fee any great maffe of menthey could have, leaving Otho fufficiently guarded) nay they are not fo much as once named. By way of probable conjecture we may suppose, that Proculus, as being Captaine of the Guard, stayed at Brixellum, and attended upon Othoes person. But Celfus and Paullinus are not named before in the battell distallaris. Where suddenly within twelve miles of Gremona they appeare, and not farre from Bebriacum (where Galluswas left) never mentioned before, befides many other with prima legio, under their leading, being the peculiar tharge of Gallus. So that to rove at that which was our Authors fault, not to let downe plainely, we may imagine, that Paullinus & Celfus were fent afterward from Brixellum to the camp at Bebriacum, either to take joynt charge with Gallus, or elfe charge in his place, asit is more likely, and that thereupon Gallus withdrew himfelf, perchance to recover his fall mentioned 2. Hift, feeing there is no mention of him in the action ad cafforu; and in an action which passed at Bebriacum, we shall finde him by and by away, where notwithstanding Tacitus left him. Now whereas Tacitus upon not profecuting a little skurmish of the gladiators against the Vitellianists, maketh Othoro find for his brother Titianus, whom he had left at Rome, to make him Lieutenant Generall, Plutarch with greater reason and probability, faith it was done after the battell ad Cafforis, upon dislike of Paullinus flow proceedings; and that Proculus Captain of the Guard was fent withall; but when they came to Bebriacum I cannot determine, Nowif Otho were at Brixellum, Paullinus and Celfus at Bebriacum, where shal we say the great consultation was holden, where Otho, Titianus, Proculus, Paullinus and Celfus were prefent, and Gallus absent? Heere Tacitus fayleth us againe, and Plutarch releeveth us shewing that Otho removed from Brixellum to Bebriacum, to confuls with his captaines of the manner of proceeding in the warre. Thus much of Otho and his Captaines, it followeth oftheir power, which was of two forts, brought from Rome and fent for from abroad. From Rome of fixe forts. 1 Quinque Pretorie cohortes : 2 Equitum vexilla : 3 legio prima Adjutrix : 4 Gladiatores : 5 Cetera Pratoria cohortes and 6 Claffici. With Gallus and Sputinna, 1 Quinque Pretorie cobortes: whereof three were with Sputinna in Plaunuz, the other two belike with Gallus. 2 equium vexilla without number; 3 legio prima Adjutix Claffica ex reliquis tesouma Galba ad pontem Milvium: 4 two thousand gladiatores: in the fiege of Placentia we finde mention of a thoufand vexillarii: whether differing from all these, or portion of any, I know not. Then in Othoes traine Spiculatorum leffa corpora, as I thinke, e Pratorianis, s Caura pratoria cobortes, beside the five sent with Gallus : and yet many Pratotian fouldiers were fent with the Navy into Narbonensis, so that surely all the rest were not here. Classici from whence foever they came, have ministred us, and will minister many men. Seven thousand were flain by Galba ad pomiem Mikvium, and the relt decimated, e reliquis prima legio Adjutix was composed. In the Fleet to Narbonthere lerved also many as fouldiers. Here we have clafficorum ingens numerus: with Otho a thousand Classici inter Placentiam & Ticinum intercepti, which by all circumstances were none of this company. And Turullius Cerealis had many Classici : but whence he had them, and how he became their Captaine is not set downe. And beside all these we have in the third book another whole Legion & Classicis differing from prima Adjurix, which then was in Spaine, The power fent for by Otho from abroad was out of Illyricum onely, where at that present were seven Legions, to wir, two in Dalmatia, Vndecima Claudiana & quartadecima Gemina; two in Pannonia; septima Galbiana, and

tertiadecima Gemina: in Mælia three, tertia Gallica, septima Claudiana, and octava Augusta, as it is declared

elsewhere. Now all these being sent for by Otho, there marched at Othoes commandement, saith Tacitus, the

*Tac.4.bst. in oratione Curris

Montani, and

immediately

following,

where you

· And fo out of Miioa like. ons marched, but came no further then Aquileia, Tac. The Hory is at large in Tas. 14. Ann. and in the life of Agricola. Forhis in-Caspias, as I thinke, and

upon the re-

volt of Vinda

retayning them full in

Italy.

Legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which is manifelly defective, for the Meetian Legions marched also, and came forward as far as Aquileia in favour of Otho: the same Tacitus. So that all the seven legions upon Othoes commandement marched, and came on : but who were come before the great battell at Bebriacum, and who not isin my opinion a question inexplicable, Tacitus words receiving so many oppositions, and implying so many contradictions, and no other flory to purpose being extant of this matter. And first to begin with the most ter-taine, the three Legions of Mossia, absolutely were absent in all militar actions of this war. Tacit, lib. 3 August exercitus vines integre, present absolutely were two thousand fouldiers sent before out of the foure Legions of Dal-

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e Vodium Aqui-Iam tertia decima legionis legatum.

c Cap. 6

jus imperii tran-

iin e Dalmaria Pannoniaque & Ma fia.

L As rwo Legions left at Vetera thouland men. Tacit, lib.4.

exercitis ones mieges, pretent automety were two toutism and many and pannonia, as Tacitus faith. But Suctonius (c) Velpaliano feemeth to fay they came out of Meela, Maylaci executus bina e tribus legionibus mill:a milla auxilia Othoni, and Tacitus himleste, Praemissi Atasia: either meaning the same that he maketh here to come out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, or talking there of men in the action ing the tame that ne mareth nere to come out or Dalimeter and a mare any in the large market nere in hisgenerall view, and lib 3. Due tune Pannonice at Melice ale persumper bollem, talk ing of the skirmith of horfemen at the beginning of the battell at Bebriacum. Now before the foure Legions of Dalmatia, and Pannonia, ale cobortesque prevenibant: which words seeme to be meant onely of these bina millia danatur auxili. premifa: although it may be that some other (d) Auxiliaries were sent after the bina millia, and before the Legione themselves, of whose coming and presence is the greatest and most disticult question. In the skirmish ad Callenia prelional Castoris. we have tertic decime legionis vexillum being one of the Pannonians, in the shock at the great battell of Bebria. we have tertile decime ugions vermin being one of the Familianis, in the more at the great suttent of Bebra-cum tertia decima legio it felfe is excretlely mentioned by Tacitus, and Vedius Aquila Lieutenant of the fame. (c) Likewife in the very conflict at Bebriacum expresse mention is made, of the Quartadecimani, one of the Dalmation Legions, and lib. 3. Quartadecimani campis Rebriacensibus fust strategue. Now that septima Galbiana, and undecima Claudiana were before the battell at Bebriacum united with their fellowes, albeit they are not in the battell expressely named, it may appeare where they are counted intervisitas Legiones as well as quartadecima and tertia decima, and by Vitellius commandement fuis hibernis reddina, and in Pannonia tertiadecima legio ac ferima Galbiana do orem iramque Bebriacensis pugne retinentes. Moreover the Prætorian souldiers at Bebriacum after the f venire Maficus field lolt comfort themselves with no other '(f) supply, but onely of the Mochan Legions : and at Brixellum, in comforting Otholikewife meation is made onely of them, premiss Massia candem obstinationem adventantis execuus liganes Aquiliciam ingessia munitabant, ut nema dubitet potusife renovari, &c. So that by these places, and some other like, we may probably conclude, that all the foure Legions of Dalmatia & Pannonia were come, and joyned, but when they came and how, where they joyned, and all other circumstances necessiry in a point of that importance, we are smally beholding to Tacitus diligence for omitting. Of the contrary fide, to prove first that quartadecima was not come, we have Tacitus words in the confultation at Bebriacum, which was not above two or three dayes before the battell , paucis diebus quartamdecimam legionem, magna ipsam sama, cum Massacis copiis affire, whereby it may reasonably be collected, that all the other three were come, but not quartadecima, e vittu legionibus quartadecima prima, tertiadecima, feptima, undecima, foli quartadecimani fe victos abnuebant, fo that the relt belike wite there. Now betwixt the time of confultation and the battell, there is no mention at all made of their coming: a e Titismus de Pro- thing in reason if there had been any such, not to have been omitted, and which (g) Titianus and Proculus would adat whe conflict no doubt, have alleadged, in juftification of their purpole, against Paullinus and Cellus, or if this be but conjectually adversarily, add what can be failed to the place of Tacing. Commentaries and conference on white of the part (any conference). what can be faid to the place of Tacitus, Conus atroci mendacio un versos perculit, affirmans superventu quartadecima legionis versam partium fortunam, as being a knowne matter, that quartadecima was not come, at the time of thebat. Il at Bebriacum, and againe, speaking of the quartadecima legio, Bebriacensiatie vexillaris tontum pu's vires legimis me assissation and the conformation of the consultation as it appeared by Plutarch, were absent at the time of the consultation at Bebriacum Odored the identification according to Sudajus in musica, manages. That is, That Othors forces expected out of Meelia and Pannonia were no leffe then those which he had then prefent, And Tacitus 1 3. Pannonica legiones decepta magis quam villa refurgere in ultionem properant, and generally, (b) if the foure Legions of Pannonia & Dalmatia were in the action at Bebriacum, why have we no mention fet down of the maner of yeldtho flew himfelf, ing to Vitellius: being without all question the greater, and better part of Othocsarmy? and yetcertainit is, that immediately after the battell all the foure Legions in question at least were in Italy, and disposed of by Vitellius, as regats, quast focus represents up a activity, but when they entred Italy, whether they ever joyned with thereft, and when, how and by ad focusing a fairness they yeelded themselves to Vitellius disposing. Tacitus to the eternall note of imperiection of this detimerat. Of the most excellent they otherwise, hath left us utterly ignorant. Of Vitellius side all is cleare out of question. In the permittable of Germanes. Kal Janua Gallia income. Vision call. que enaminare espire, quas fection appeareth by Tacitus, but when they entred Italy, whether they ever joyned with thereft, and when, how and by Germanes, Kal. Janua. Galba iterum & Vinio Coff. at thetime of Vitellius revolt, were feven Legions as is declared elsewhere; namely in low Germany quinta, and quintadecima, whose standing campe was at Vetera: prima, who lodged at Novefium, and fextadecima at Bonna. In high Germany quarta Macedonica, and decima octava alias duoctvicesima encamped at Magontiacuni, and unactvicetima Rapax lodged, as I think, at Vindonista. Whereof Cxcina took away with him unactvicehma Rapax wholly, and pulled well the other two at Magontiacum, to make up thirty thouland men; and in Italy affociated unto him Ala Syllana. Valens took with him aquilam quinta, with cohorts and wings out of the other three to make up fourty thouland, & by the way affociated to him legio Italica, & ofto cohortes Balavorum. Tac. 1. hift. Neither doc we finde in all this action, before Vitellius coming, any Legion named but Rapax, and quintani. Now by Aquila quinte we are to understand some good portion, not the whole Legion entirely, which portion albeit it beareth fornewhat the name of quinta, yet we are to understand, that formany were left in Vetera thereof, as bare also the name of quinta at the same time. Vitellius at his coming away brought with him, faith (i) Tacitus, the reft of the firength of Germany, leaving the fame Legions in number and names which were before (Rapax onely excepted, which was wholly gone away) but most flenderly (k) furnished of men, and of fouldiers, very few or none: fo that under Hordeonius charge, in the fourth booke of Tacitus, we findein Germany quinta and quintadecima at Vetera, fextadecima at Novelium, prima at Bonna, quarta & octavadecima alias duoctvicesima at Magontiacum, and the very same time with Vitellius in Italy was another quinta, another quintadecima, another fextadecima, and fo of prima, quarta octavadecima alias duoetvicelima, being indeed not two legions, but two members of one legion, Rapax onely excepted, as before I have faid, which Cacina tooke wholly away, not leaving any in Germany to carry the name of Rapax, till the felfefame legion returned thither afterward with Cerealis.

A base supply] being bondslaves of the worft fort, and besides the dishonourablenesse of the thing Tacitus noteth their unfi nesseto service, nequeea conflantia gladiateribus ad prelia que militious, ce. and yet we finde, that Spartacus with a few of his companions breaking out of their Schoole put Practors and Confuls to flight, and unabled the whole Romane flate in the greatest height. And P. Rutilius being Conful, as Valerius Maximus reportechin his fecond book, fent for certaine Malters of fence out of the Schoole of C. Aurelius Scaurus, and fo ferting them to teach his fouldiers vitandi at que inferendi ictus subtiliorem rationem legionibus ingeneravit. V nlesse peradvenone it be true, that fuch menhave better cunning then valour.

V. The action of Othocs Fleet.

70w fortune feemed to finile upon Otho and favour his proceedings, for the greater part of Italy, by reason of his Navy at sea, was possessed in his name. even to the entry of the * sea-Alpes. To the taking in whereof and invading * Alpes, Maritthe Province of Narbon, Suedius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Æmilius Pacenfis were appointed Captaines by Otho: but Pacenfis was overweake to governe the licentious fouldiers; Antonius Novellus had no reputation; Suedius Clemens ingovernment too popular and plaufible, both corrupting the rigour of discipline. and ver greatly desirous to fight. It seemed they entred not into Italy, their owne native Countrey and foile: as if it had been forraine coasts, and Cities of enemies. they burned, wasted and spoiled, with so much the more outrage and harme, because no such invasion was feared, and therefore nothing provided against it: the fields lay full of commodities; the houses wide open; the Masters meeting them with their Wives and their Children, thorow the fecurity of peace, were overtaken with the mifery of war. Marius Maturus the Procuratour was Prefident of the fea-Alpes at that time, who mustering the Countrey, which yeelded store of serviceble men, purposed to withhold the Othonians from entring into his government: but at the first push these Mountaine people were slaine, and dispersed, as being aslembled at adventures, without knowledge of Campe or of Captaine, and therefore reposing no honour in the victory, nor shame in the slight. The souldiers of Othobeing exasperated with that battell, wreaked their anger upon the free towne of Albium Internelium; for in the late conflict they had gotten no booty: the Pezants were beggerly, their Armour not worth the taking up; and befide, being swift of foot, and skilfull in the Countrey, they could not be taken: but the fack of thepoore innocent towne paied the reckoning, and contented the covetous fouldier. The odiousnesse of which fact was greatly increased by a notable example, which happened there of a Ligurian woman: who having hid her fonne, the fouldierssupposing she had hid her money withall, and thereupon by torture examining her, where the had hid him, thewing her belly answered that there he was hid; neither could she by any manner of torment afterward, or death at the length, be induced to change that worthy answer.

VI. Certaine skirmishes betweene the Othonians and Vitellianists in Gallia Norbonensis.

Ow word was brought in hafte and great feare to Fabius Valens, that the mindelficibiter, or fleet of Otho lay hovering & ready to affaile the Province of Narbon, which meant the period had fided it felfe and fworn to Vitellius, and the Colonies fent their Embaf-that four trough and a wingsyeld fadour to him, defiring helpe and affiftance. Whereupon he dispatcht away to that 14 troupes of horsen, where ladour to him, deliring neipe and annualice. While two cohorts of Tungrians, foure * troupes of horfemen, and the whole of sawer fear again the ensurements wing of the Treveri with Julius Classicus their Captain: part of which power was my the effect retained from Julius Classicus their captain is part of which power was my the effect retained from Julius Classicus their Captain is part of which power was my the effect of the captain is part of which power was my the captain is part of w

retained for defence of the Colony of Forum Julii, lest if all were imployed in the land-service, the Fleet finding free passage by sea should suddenly surprize the city: twelve troupes of horse-men, and the choice of the cohorts, went against the enemy, beside a cohort of Ligurians being the Aide anciently belonging to that place and five hundred Pannonians, which were not as yet marshalled in Companies, Nci. ther was it long ere they met together, the battell on both fides standing thus. Part of the Mariners with Pezants among were placed above in the hils, which were by the Guard-fouldiers: fast by them in the sea it selfe stood the Fleet prepared to fight, turning against the enemy a terrible and threatning front. The Vitellianists. whose ftrength consisted in horse rather then foot, placed their horse men against the Guard-fouldier, and behinde the horse the cohorts in thicke and close ranks. marshalling the Pannonians in the hils adjoyning. The troupe of the Treveri charged unadvisedly, which charge the old fouldier received with courage: and withall the Pezants in flanck gauled them with stones, men fit enough for that kind of service, & such as being mingled with souldiers, though otherwise dastards, vet now in the victory dared as far as the best. As the Vitellianists were thus distressed a greater discomfort was added by the Fleete, which in the meane season setchino about affailed their backs as they fought: so being inclosed on every side they had all beene doubtlesse destroyed, had not the darknesse of the night favoured their flight, withholding the winners from following the chase. The Vitellianists. albeit they had loft a battell, would not be contented: but fending for new supply gave a fresh affault upon the enemy, which by reason of the former successes was growne fecure and leffe vigilant, flew the watch, entered the trenches, and gave the alarme to the ships; till such time as the feare, which at first is most terrible fetling by little and little, the Othonians drew themselves in safety to a hill there adjoyning, and then charged couragiously upon them. Much bloud was thereshed and the Captaine of the Tungrian Cohorts, having long maintained the skirmin were forced at length to yeeld up their lives: even to Othoes men the victory cost bloud, of whom diverse unadvisedly following were intercepted by the horsemen turning upon them. And fo, as if a mutuall suspension of armes had been concluded upon, with covenant on the one side that the Fleet, on the other that the horsemen should not attempt any sudden invasion, the Vitellianists retired to Antipolis a free-towne of Gallia Narbonensis, the Othonians to Albingaunum a Colony of Liguria interior.

1 The battell on both sides] In this conslict we have of Othocs side mention distinctly of Classic's, Pagani, Prztoriani, and the Navy. For Vitellius of twelve Turma of Horfe-men, a cohort of Ligurians the choice of the two Tungrian Cohorts, five hundreth Pannonians, and a little afterward Alpins beside: unlesse peradventure it should read Alpini in both places, and meant perchance of the Ligures: for what Pannonians should do here I cannotimagine, or if it were true, yet being strange, at the least Tacitus should have done well to have told us how they came thither.

VII. The estate of Corsica and Sardinia, and the rest of the Ilands there about.

He reputation of Othoes victorious Fleet eafily held Corfica, Sardinia, and the rest of the Hands thereabout in Othoes obedience. But Corsica almost was ruined by the rashnesse of Decimus Pacarius the Procurator; who entred into an action, which in fo great a preparation for warre, could nothing availe to effecting the Principall purpose, and yet served well enough to work his destruction.

For upon hatred against Otho, he determined with the strength of the Iland, to aid vitellius; an aid vaine and to no purpose even if it had succeeded. Whereupon calling the principall men of the Hand, he declareth his meaning, and commandeth Claudius Phirrhicus mafter of the Gallies there, and Quinctius Certus a gentleman of Rome, to be flaine, who opposed themselves against his proceedings: by the death of whom the rest that were present being terrified, sware allegeance to Vitelljus, and consequently the inferiour fort partly upon ignorance, and partly to beare them company which did it for feare. But when as Pacarius began to take muster, notrie those rude people in training & other military duties, they waxing weary of that unwonted labor fell to recount their own weaknesse: that it was but an Iland. which they inhabited: that Germany and the Legionary power was farre off: and that even they were wasted and spoiled by the Fleete, whom both Cohorts and Wings did protect. Whereupon their mindes suddenly fell away, and so they confoired against him, not by way of open rebellion, but by privy attempt against his nerson. For which purpose chusing out a fit opportunity, as he was in the bath naked and without helpe, the multitude that followed him being departed away, they flew him and his company, carried the heads of them, as of Traitors, to Otho: by whom notwithstanding they were not rewarded, as also not punished by Vitellius, in so great confusion and disorder of the state, passing among greater crimes; and shadowed with other more hainous offences.

VIII. Certaine small actions of the Syllan wing in Italy before Cacinaes entry.

Ow the Syllan wing, as before we have shewed, had opened the passage into Italy, and drawne the war over the mountains, the Countrey favouring not Otho, neither yet upon any speciall fancy to Vitellius; but as men whom . Hift. Quia long peace had broken to allkinde of flavery, they were eafily possessed by the first preside ale unicomer, and not curious to fide with the better. The whole countrey and cities lying us latifima comer, and not curious to fide with the better. The whole countrey and cities lying pars Italia debetweene the Po and the Alpes, the most flourishing part of all Italy, was held by jendin:quibat, Vitellius fouldiers: for the "Cohorts which Cæcina had fent before him were now preside GalVitellius fouldiers: for the "Cohorts which Cæcina had fent before him were now preside Gallorum, Leftalorum, Britanlorum, Britan-Placentia and Ticinum anhundred horse intercepted, and a thousand sea-souldi- norumque coers: by which fucceffe Vitellius men being animated could now not be stopped by hards & Garers: by which fuccine vite in the little and beyond the Rhene mann h vexilla, banknor by river. Moreover the inhabitants of Batavia and beyond the Rhene Didaining were enflamed the more even by the very b fight of the Po: which they paffed over that the Po were chilatived the most aking fome of the enemies spies so terrified the rest, that bethould stay them who beins afraid the falfely reported Cæcina was come with his whole Army. Spurinna were accussowho then was within Placentia, certainly knew that Cæcina was not yet come, need to fwim who then was within Placentia, certainly knew that Cæcina was not yet come, horse & man and if he did come, was certainly resolved to keepe his men within their defences, over the great and not to hazard three Prætorian cohorts, and a thousand Vexilliaries, with a few river of horse, against an Armie of old and approved warriers: but the unruly souldiers, Rheine, and and against an entitle of old and approved warriers but the unitary total others at and unskilfull of fervice inatching up their Enfigues and Banners, rushed forward, heme in their and as the Captaine endevoured to stay them they bent their weapons upon him, Countrey. Tac. not respecting their Centurions and Tribune, who commended the Captaines 4-1111, Balazoi not respecting their Centurions and Thome, who commended the Captaines precipes mand; circumspectnesse, but the souldiers cried For Otho, and stuck not moreo-sudioarmaeverto affirme, that Cæcina was fent for under hand. Spurinna yeelded to follow quafque retinentheir folly, by force at the first, afterward making shew as if he were willing that the min Thenum his counsels might carrie more credit, if it happened hereafter the sedition to permupere,

coole. When they were in the fight of the Po, and the night approached, order was given, that the campe should be entrenched and staked. That labour strangeand unusuall to the city-fouldier, abated their fiercenesse. Then they of the elder for began to fee their own error, and corrected their credulity; to lay open the fear and the danger, if in those champion Countries Cæcina should with his Army environ them being as it were but an handfull: and now they beganne thorowout all the whole Campetouse modest and dutifull speeches, and by meanes of the Centurions and Tribunes, who infinuated themselves, into their companies, to commend the wisdome of the Captaine, in that he had chosen out, for the strength and seatof the war, a Colony of that power and that wealth; and lastly Spurinna himselfe. nor by untimely exprobating their fault, but by reason convincing it, wan them to his opinion, and leaving some behinde for scouts brought back the rest into Placentia leffe mutinous then before, and more at commandement. The walles were made ftronger, the number of Bulwarks and Towers encreased, and provision made nor onely of Armour, but of subjection and love of obeying; the only point which lack. ed in that side, when as otherwise they had of valour sufficient.

t Lying between the Po and the Alpes] Of Milan, Novara, F poredia, and Vercellæ we have mention before lib.t. of the reft being many and great townes, how they were at this time come to Vitellius like, nothing is fit downe in Tactius matters, in my opinion, not to have beene omitted, especially concerning Ceremon. Flutant ferented to make Cremona, being one of the townes between the Alpes and the Po, to have beene kept and peleficid a great while by the Othonians. And Tacius here writeth, sapla Pannoise amobars and Cremona by the Vitelliantils, which cohort of Pannonians, whatfoever they were, and from whene foever they came thinker (for Tacitus leaveth us to our gueffes) may seeme to have been put in the towne by Otho for a Gurtson, and hencisken by the Vitelliantils with the rowne, although the circumstances in Plutarch doe not fally agree with thy tree foo of the time there.

IX. Cacina cometh into Italy, and lyeth before Placentia in vaine.

Ut Cacina, as if he had left on the other fide of the Mountaines cruelty and Dlicentiousnesse behinde him, marched thorow Italy with all modesty, he and his Companies. His kinde of attire the free Cities and Colonies construed as a figne of pride, because he gave audience to men which came gowned, himselfebe. ing in his short souldiers coat of changeable colour, and wearing withall breeches after the French barbarous fashion: and as though they had beene interessed thereby, they were grieved also to see his wife Salonina riding upon a goodly Palfray with a rich furniture of purple, albeit no man were wronged therein: fuch is thenature of man, and so deepely is the quality rooted in us, straitly to looke into the late prosperitty of others with an envious eye, & to require a moderation of fortune, no where so much, as in those wee have seene in an equal degree with our selves. Cæcina having passed the Po, and assayed by parlees, and promises to weakenthe loyalty of Othoes men, being quit with the like on their part, seeing that the plaufible names of peace and concord had often beene spent betweene them in vaine, converted his counfayles and cares to the befieging of Placentia in most terrible manner; knowing right well, that as the beginning of the warre should succeede, fo for the rest reputation would follow. But the first dayes worke was conducted rather by fury then according to skill meet for men of fo long experience in service: without cover or defence they ventured rashly under the walles, their bodies surcharged with meat and wine. In that affault the Amphitheatre, a piece of most curious workmanship standing without the walles, was burned, set on fire either by the Besiegers as they hurled brands and balles of Wilde-sire against the befieged:

helieged: or by the belieged as they hurled againe. The townesmen being jealous. and prone to suspicions, believed that matter was ministred to the fire upon malice. hycertaine neighbour Colonies, upon emulation and envy, because no piece of worke in all Italy was of that capacitie beside: by what chance soever it happened whilest farther danger was feared, it passed not greatly regarded; when all perill was past, as if no greater misfortune could have befallen, then it was much forrowed for and lamented: but in the end Cæcina was repulsed with losse of many of his men, and the night following was fpent on both fides in new preparations. The Vitellianists make provision of plutei, crates, & vineæ, instruments to undermine the wals, and protect those which were to give the affault: the Othonians of timher logges and great waights of stones, and lead, and brasse, to breake thorow the works and overwhelme the adverfaries. Both parties were pricked a with shame, a With shame and with glory, and feverall incouragements were used; the one side exalting the to be over-Legions and strength of the German Army, the other magnifying the honor of the come, and glocityservice, and of the Prætorian Cohorts: the one reviling the fouldier within as ing. fluggish and refty, and effeminated in the Race and Theatres, and the other rebuking the enemy without as a forminer and stranger: assuming withall into part of the * densum know praise & dispraise the persons of Otho and Vitellius, affording indeed more plenti-num egnen, and praife & dispraise the persons of Otto and victims, and any was scarsly yet forung yet Cacina had fully matter of reproach then of just comendation. The day was scarsly yet forung yet Cacina had but one Legiwhen as the wals were replenished with men at defence, the fields did glister with on, namely amour and fouldiers; the Legionary * with their thick and close ranks, the Auxili-undwicesina ayloofe and dispersed they attempt with arrows and stones a sarre off to disfurnish take it. the highest parts of the walles, if any place were neglected or decayed by age, thi- For the fuller ther they make neerer approaches: Othoesmen from above, with more poyze fatisfaction of mer they make needet approaches. Cemoare Cohorts, which rafhly came under the reader, it and certaintie, hurle darts upon the Germane Cohorts, which rafhly came under that been cona hideous note, and according to their countrey manner, with bodies paked, venient to haking their targets over their floulders. The Legionary Souldier, covered with have declared pluter and crates, underminerh the walles, raifeth up Mountes, and endevour-ned from Sputhto wrest open the gates: of the contrasty side the Prætorian souldiers having ima, or Gallas, milliones of huge weight placed for the purpose, with fearefull noise rowle them and by what downe upon the enemy: part which came under were overwhelmed, part occasion they wounded with darts, and flain or mangled and fo as in a confusion and feare, the were themin Sughter encreasing below, and consequently their fiercemesse above, the Vitellia-that place. milts retired with decay of reputation to the fide; and Cxcina upon the infamy and receive the Lehame of this fiege for ashly attempted, left he should seeme to sit still in the same sources coming ground scorned and to no purpose, passeth the Po, back again with purpose to goe tia, and Panneto Cremona. As he departed away Turullius b Cerealis with many of the mariners zia, which if atevolted unto him, and Julius Briganticus with a few horse: Julius was by birtha Ba-ny where at tavian and captain of a wing, the other having served as a principall Centurion in joyned them-Germanie, was easily wonne to Cacinaes side. Spurinna, upon knowledge hadielves with what way the enemy tooke, certifieth Annius Gallus by letters, that Placentia was ducted perdefended, what had paffed, and what Cæcina intended to doe. Gallus, miftrufting chance by Paullest those few Cohorts within could not endure a long siege, and the force of the laurs & cessus. Germane Army, was bringing the first Legion to succour the towne: but when he (taith the received advise, that Cacina was repulsed, and going to Cremona, he stayeth the kholiast upon Legion at Bebriacum being Harelly withholden from mutining, because he would he writchin notlead them to fight de Bebriacom is a village betweene Verona and Otemona, when the *notorious and infortunate for two Romane calamities. Hill. d and all the to mana vicefino ships becoming in the lawiss levely flaine, and when as the differences that one and

2 Plutei, crates and vince Pluteus, saith Vegetius lib. 4. cap. 15, is a certaine moveable engine contexts ad smilitudinem abstais, co-ciliciis vel coiis tella, quam objidints applicant musis, ejusque munitime protestis fazittis sive simissis definites de propugnaculis exturbant, us scales assentialis prefetur escasso vince according to Vegetius in the same place, and Lucanith 3, was a frame of wood, or hurdles, covered with earth, sub quo substantial substa the same place, and successfully and amenda. Crates the fame with the one or the other of them, or at least to the same pur,

2. Notorious and infortunated the two calamities here meant are the two great battels; the first betweenether 2. Notorious and infortunated the two calamites need to the vitellianifts and Flavianifts fet downer other between the Vitellianifts and Flavianifts fet downer of the Vitellianifts fet downer of the Vi in the next, more commonly knowne by the name of prelium Cremonens, and with greater reason, being fought under the wals of Cremona, and twenty miles from Bebriacum, albeit then the first skirmish indeed began not about eight miles from Bebriacum; 3.hift, and this former battell also was fought a great way from Bebriacum; immefam id fatium, faith Tacitus, and by all probability, many miles, as shall be declared elsewhere.

> X. Macer skirmisheth with the Vitellianists. Otho Suspecting the rest of his Captaines, committeth the conduct of the war to Titianus his brother.

Bout the same time, not far from Cremona, Martius Macer had a lucklieday against the Vitellianists. For Macer being a man of courage and forward "Gladiatores. L Dut the "fencers in Boats and landed them fuddenly on the other fide of the Po. There the Auxiliaries of the Vitellianists were distressed, and the rest sleeing to Cremona, those which remained behinde slaine: but the winners were not permitted further to follow the chace, left the enemy strengthened with new supply should turne head against them, and alter the fortune of the battell. That fact bred jelousie in Othoes men misinterpreting all that was done howsoever sinisterly, who eagerly as each was in courage most dastard, most lavish in tongue, so sought they by divers misconstruing criminations to put in disgrace Annius Gallus, and Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celfus, forthem also had Otho made commanders. The principallfire-brands of fedition and discord were the murderers of Galba, whobeing transported by feare, and the guiltinesse of their owne conscience, disturbed and troubled all good course of proceeding; sometimes breaking openly outing mutinous speeches, and sometimes by secret advertisements to Otho: who giving credit lightly to every base person, and standing in searc of the good, trembled and quaked, a man in prosperitie uncertainly carried, and governing himselse in adversitie better. I So he sent for Titianus his brother, and made him his Lieutenant generall in the warre.

1 So he sent for Titianus] This change of Captaines Plutarch with more reason putterh after the butell as Captains: της τίπος (peaking of the victory as Captains) δια διάπως σορη, δίπος εχούς της της της της έδους πικούς δίπος με Lagous: The most (speaking of the victory as Lagous), he was no configurate as a speak with surprise. That is, the visitory being not fully professed through the Lander, fault, Olds false to the sum Titusus, and Proculus Captaine of the guard, and indeed the alteration is too great to be induced upon the flackasses of a petite companion, especially seeing we finde Macer, who committed the fault, fill retained sharing, and Paulinus and Cellus, two of the greates menin the State, in a manner disgraced for the fault of another, according to Tacitus. Now upon this fault when soever committed, to send from Brixellum for Titianus at Rome of the contract of the send of the sen many miles dillant (for there we left him in the laft words of the first booke) and bring him to Berliaum to be confoliation, may prechance seeme strange to him that confidereth how that from Othoes going out of Kome with his Army till his death were not above twenty foure dayes in all, and perchance not fo much.

XI. Paulinus and Celfus give Cacina an overthrow.

N the meane feafon under the conduct of Paulinus and Celius a notable overthrow was given. Cæcinaes attempts all falling to nothing, and the reputation of his army now wanting, much grieved his minde; he had been repulfed from Placentia; his Auxiliaries lately slaine, and when as the discoverers met one ano-

ther, in those ordinary bickerings rather then materiall he commonly went to the worle: whereupon when Fabius Valensapproched, lest the whole honor of the war hould fall upon him, he hastened with greater speed then good counsell, to recover his glory. About (1) twelve miles from Cremona, at a place called Castores, he plaeth (ecretly in the woods, joyning upon the high way, of his best Auxiliary souldiers, commanding the horsemen to go out further, and so having begun the skirmish nogive backe & retire, drawing on the enemy to follow in the heat of the chase, unill the ambush should rife: that purpose was bewrayed to Othoes Commaunders. Paullinus was Generall of the foot, and Celfus of the horse. The Vexillaries of the hirteenth Legion, foure Auxiliary Cohorts, and five hundred horse were placed in the left battell; in the midle (2) three Prætorian Cohorts, ranked straightly together, kept their ftanding upon the high way : in the right battell the first Legion marched, accompanied with two Vexillary Cohorts, and five hundred horse: and out of the Prætorian & auxiliaries were led a thousand horse for an over measure if fortune hapned to go on their fide, or otherwife a fupply, if they should be diftresld. Before the joyning the Vitellianists turned their backes, & Celfus, understansingthe fraud, repressed his men. The ambush rising up early, as Celsus gave ground, followed fo farretill they were circumvented themselves, for on the sides were the Cohorts, and the Legion to meet them in face, & the horsemen suddenly ranging out had inclosed their backs. Sueronius Paullinus at the first delayed some time to give to his foot men the figue of the battel: for being a person naturally slow adone who liked much better wary courfes with reason, then happy by chance, he commanded the ditches first to be filled, the field to be made open and easie of pasfige, the battalions to be displayed, supposing it seasonably enough to begin then to overcome others, when as order was taken they could not be overcome themselves. Bymeans of that delay space was give to Vitellius mento flie into the vines, where, by reason of the branches wrapped and knit one in another, it was troublesome to follow: and a little wood adjoyned which covered them; out of which they issued efflones and flew the formost of the Pretorian horsemen, there *King Epiphanes, *King of fighting valiantly on Othoes fide, was wounded. By that time Othoes foot-men what country? nguing variantly on Othocsitic, was wounded. By that time Othocsitot flight and how came preffed forward and bare downe by maine force the enemies hoft, turning to flight he thinker? even those also which came for to succour. For Cacina sent net for his Cohorts to- what became gether, but one after another: which thing in the fight augmented the terrour: for of him afterthefeare of them that fled carried away they fuccours which came differfedly, and perfons in a never so many at once, as to restore the battell. In the campe also a mutinie arose, story require, because they were setched so scatteringly, and Iulus Gratus the Camp-master was inmy opinion, a more putinprison, as though in favour of his brother, who served under Otho, hee in-exact and parunded some treason, whereas the Othonians had, on the other side, committed to ticular deward Iulius Fronto his brother, a Tribune, upon colour of the same crime. But in toth every where the feare was fo great, in those which fled, in those which met them in the field & at the campe, that unlesse Suctonius Paullinus had founded the retrait, not fuffering his men to follow the victory, it was commonly talked on both sides, that Cæcina might have beene destroyed with his whole Army. Paullinus pretended that he was afeard, left beside so much travelland so great a journey, the Vitellian fouldier should have iffued forth of their Campe fresh against his men beingtired, no supply remayning behind, if it fortuned them to have beene defeated. Some few approoved that reason of the Generall, but most men condemned the fact, and blamed him for it.

(1) Twelve

(1) Twelve miles from Cremona at a place called Caftor.] This place ad Caftor is twelve miles (Lith our Author) from Cremona, where the maine Campe, I think, of Caerina lay, and eight miles at the leaft from Bebrie. thor) from Cremona, where the mane Camped, how foever they are here met in the middle way. Gallugars cum, where Paullinus and Cellus were encamped, how foever they are here met in the middle way. Gallugars found from a retired to cure himselfe of his fall, or at least, seeing here is no mention of him in the field, less to guard the Campe: asit seemeth also he was the time of the great maine battell described in the sixteenth

(2) Three Pratorian Cohorts] Five Pratorian Cohorts were under the charge of Gallus and Spurinna, Tax whereof three were at this time in Placentia with Spurinna, and three more we have here now in Gallus campe, one too many : but Otho, we must say, was not far off to supply it out of the rest of the Pratorian Coherts.

> XII. The description of a mutiny which happened in Valens Campe. Valens cometh into Italie and joyneth his power with Cacinaes.

His overthrow did not so much dant the Vitellianists, as it reduced them to a more modest behaviour, not onely in Cæcinaes campe, who cast the fault on the fouldier more ready to mutiny then fight; but the Army of Pabius Valensalfo (for now he was come to Ticinum) laying afide contempt of the enemy & desirous to recover their glory, began to shew to their Generall a more reverend and orderly obedience. For before a great and hot mutinie had hapned out, which I will now set downe from the beginning, albeit not in his proper time, because it was not covenient to interrupt the course of Cæcinaes actions. The Cohorts of Batavians, which in the warre of Nero were departed from the fourteenth Legion. and in their returne toward Britannie, hearing of Vitellius attempt in the countrey of Lingones, had joyned themselves, * as before we have shewed, to Fabius Valens, began to wax proud and infolent, vaunting and braving as they came to the tents of any of the Legions, that they were the men which had overruled the foureteenth Legion, bereaved Nero of Italy: that in their hands alone lay all the fortune and whole fuccesse of this warre. That seemed contumelious to the souldier, and highly displeased the Generall, the discipline being by their wranglings and brawlings corrupted. At the last Valens, by their infolent behaviour suspecting perfidiousnes also, receiving advise, that the wing of the Treveri and Tungrians were beatenby Othoes Fleete, and that the Province of Narbon was in some danger of invalidi, partly upon a care to defend his friends, and allies, and partly upon military policy to disperse these Batavians so mutinously affected, and of so great strengthis they remayned together, commanded part of the Cohorts to goe & relieve them, which thing when it was heard and noyfed abroad, the Auxiliaries mourned, the *Legions stomached, lamenting they should be deprived in such a time of so maynan af-Apoild be dif-fiftance of fuch valiant men: what? should those so experienced, and conquerours in so many wars, when as the enemies were within view, bee fent away, as it were, out of the field? if the Province were a matter of more consequence then the Citie whoseinfolent of Rome and safety of the State, why did they not all follow thither: but if the acand contume-complishment of the victory, the strength and stay of the cause consisted in Italy, what reason then to breake of, as it were, the soundest and strongest limmes from the body? Upon these and the like presumptuous speeches, when as Valens by sending his Sergeants among them, went about to correct their feditious behaviour, they offered violence to himselfe, threw stones, and forcing him to flee, followed lines before. after, and crying, that the spoile of Fraunce, the gold of Vienna, & the price of their labours was by him embezeled, and hid, they spoyled his carriage, they pearced and fearched his pavilions, and the very ground it felie with their lances and darts: for Valens himfelfe in a Bond-mans apparel lay unknown in the Tent of an under-cap-

tain of horsemen. Then Alphenus Varus the Camp-master, perceiving the heat of the matinie past, and the fouldiers by little and little to grow colder, adjoyneth a policy therunto : (1) forbidding the Centurions to meddle with fearthing & perufing the watch, and omitting to found the Trumpet, by which the fouldier is called to his charge. Whereupon they ftood all amazed, looking one on another, aftonified and difinated to fee themfelves thus without head, or direction : and fo with filence and patience, and laftly with teares and intreaty befought pardon of their offence. But when as Valens came forth above all expectation alive, weeping and hadly attired, then was there joy and compassion, and a generall favouring of the man: and changing their former affections into gladneffe, as the common fort is in both without measure, they carried him in the middeft of the Standards and enfignes, with praises and gratulations, to the Tribunall. Valens using a profitable and discreet moderation, required not any one to be executed for this transgressio; onlyin words reproved fome few, left if he diffembled the whole, he should be suspeded the more: knowing right well that in civill wars the fouldiers have advantage over the Generall, and are more bold to commit diforders, then the Generall may beto correct them. As they were entrenching at Ticinum, word was brought of Cacinaes overthrowe, and the fedition was almost renewed againe, as though by fraud and delayes of Valens they had beene kept back, and come fhort of the battell. Whereupon refuling to rest any longer, without staying for their Generall they march forward, running before their enfignes, and haftning the enfigne bearers: and to in all speed joyne with Cæcina. Valens was also disliked and generally blamed in the Army of Cae ina: who pretended themselves to be agrieved, that they were left, being fo far inferiour in number as a prey to the whole power of the enemics: highly extolling withall the strength of the other Army, partly to excuse themselves, and partly to flatter their fellows, lest as conquered and cowardly perfonsthey should be despised of them: and albeit Valens had more forces, almost double number of Legions and Aides to the other, yet were the good wils of the fouldiers more inclining to Cæcina, befide curtefie, wherein he excelled the other, by reason also of his flourishing age, and talnesse of stature, and upon a certain vaine favour of men. Hereupon there grew emulation between the two Generals. Cxcina contemned the other, as a lewed person of life and criminally noted: Valens foffed at him as being proud and vain-glorious: but referving their hatred in fecret they joyned openly both in the common cause, by many letters, without respect of pardon, objecting to Otho his infamous life; whereas the Generals of Othoes fide, notwithstanding the argument yeelded that way most plentifull matter, abstained from all reviling speeches against Vitellius: and in truth before their ends which on Othoes fide was most commendable, of Vitellius most ignominious, the drowsie pleasures of Vitellius was feared lesse, then the hot burning lusts of Otho: and belide, the death of Galba had made Otho more terrible, and more odious: contrarily no man charged Vitellius with beginning the war. Vitellius in accesse and bellytheere was an enemy to himselfe: Otho in riot, cruelty, audaciousnesse, reputed more dangerous to the State.

G 2 XIII. Otho

* It seemeth ftrange, that plcased with lions behavior they could

* r. Hift.

Forbidding the Genturions | Vetitis vigilias obite centurionibus. The Genturions charge was not obite vigilias but brown tubein latu vizilias diflinguere. Whereupon they whose charge it was (in Polybius, some of the horsemen, In Vegetius, circitores) went about. So that the Centurions not founding, the Round was not gone.

¬He forces of Cæcina and Valens being joyned together, the Vitellianists refused not any longer to end the cause in a maine battell. Otho proposed the matter in counsell, whether way were more expedient, to prolong the war, or else to put it by and by to the fortune of a field. Then Suetomius Paullinus, esteemed the most expert man of that age in military affaires, supposing it agreable to his fame and renown, to discourse of the whole manner of proceeding in this war, slood up, and declared his opinion to be , that making of halte was profitable for the enemy, and delaying for them, that all the hofte of Vitellius was come, certaine finall forces remaining behind, which could not conveniently bee removed from the bank of the Rhene, for feare of invalion of thole fierce nations: especially France standing also in some tearmes of rebellion: the souldier in Britanny had his hands full of the enemy there, and was also stopped by the sea: that Spaine had no greate ftore of fouldiers: the Province of Narbon was frighted, by reason of the late invafion by fea, and the overthrow which they received, and that portion of Italy beyond the l'o, now in the possession of the enemy, was wasted with the passage of their Army, and having no helpe by fea, and by land thut in with the Alpes, could not be relieved from abroad for that they could no where have come for their men, and an host without provision could not be entertained. Now the Germains, which of all the enemies were most terrible, having foggy and waterish bodies, would not, if the warre were prolonged to the fummer, beable to endure the change of the foile, and the aire, that many Armies whose fury at the first rush could not be resfted, by delayes and wearing out were brought unto nothing. Contrariwifethey had all things themselves, well stored and well affured unto them : Pannonia, Mocha, Dalmatia, the Eaft, with their Armies, whole and untouched: Italie, and Rome the queene of the world, the Senate and people, titles never darkened, though fometimes over shadowed: wealth private and publicke, and infinitemalfes of money, which in civill diffentions is of greater force then the fword: the bodies of their fouldiers were accustomed to Italy or to other hot countries: the river of Po lay before them as a defence: their Cities were fafely manned and walled: and by the holding out of Placentia it was cleere to be seene, that none through diffresse or despaire would yeeld to the enemy: and therefore in his opinion hee wasto protract the warre. That within few dayes the fourteenth Legion would be come, a Legion of great reputation, with the forces of Moclia: then might hee deliberate againe, and if it were liked to hazard the battell, fight with more power the with their and greater advantage. Marius Celfus approoved this opinion of Paullinus, and certaine which were fent to Annius Gallus (who was hurt with a fall off his horse a few daies before) to demand his advise, brought word that he also was of the same apon their de- judgement. But Othowas willing to bring it to a battell: his brother Titianus and Proculus Captaine of the Guard, hastening upon ignorance and lacke of skill, protested that Fortune and all the gods, with the god head of Otho, favoured the Counfailes, and would without question prosper the enterprise : descending to this groffe kind of flattery, left any flould dare to croffe their opinion. After they had concluded to fight, a new doubt arose, whether it were better, that the Emperour should with-draw himselse, or else be present in the field in person: the selse fame men taking also hereina wrong course, without any more opposition of

giam, where the confultati on was holden, but he meaneth if they thould, as power in tilbederam, and

of Cornelius Tacitus.

Paulinus and Celfus, left they should seeme to hazard their Prince too venturously, nerswaded him to retire to Brixellum; and so being exempt from the doubtfull events of the field, to referve himselfe for the maine chance of the state. That day was the beginning of ruine of Othoes fide. For with him a valiant company of Præwastic definition of the rest which remained behind were quite out of heart, as having no confidence in their Generals: "Spiculatomained behind were quite out of heart, as having no confidence in their Generals: "Spiculatorest." and Otho, whom onely the fouldiers trufted, because he trusted none else: but the fouldiers had not perfectly fetled the Generals in their charges, but left their authorities at large and uncertaine.

XIIII. A skirmish between the Vitellianists and Macer with his Fencers upon the Po.

Lithat was faid or done was carried by and by to the Vitellian fide, fugitives fearming as in civill wars, and the fpies, upon defire to fearch out and difcover other mens counsels, disclosing their owne. Cæcina and Valens lav fill, quietly attending while the enemy should by his own rashnesse miscarry, meaningin liew of wifedome to use the advantage of other mens folly. And so beginning abridge, lest their fouldiers should be made worse with too much idlenesse & ease, asifthey had meant to have passed the Po,& forced a band of "Fencers encamped "Gladiatoras, on the other fide, they commanded boats to be placed croffe the River, with their heads up the streame, inequall and convenient distances, & joyned them stronglytogether with plancks, calling ankers alfo to make the bridge steady and firme: but the Cable-ropes were not tied short, but plaied at length, that when the river hould rife, the whole frame likewise might rife without hurting. Upon the end of the bridge a tower was planted, reaching to the uttermost boat, that out of it they might with their engins and shot displace, and drive away the enemies: the Othomans also upon the banck had builded a Tower, and did hurle stones and fire. In the middle of the river there was an Iland, into possession whereof the Fencers sought toput themselves by boat, but the Germanes by swimming prevented them; and when Macer faw a competent number of them arrived there, embarking of his best Fencers, he putteth over to affaile them: but neither were the Fencers of the like courage in fight to the fouldiers, neither could they, tottering out of their boates, aime fo certaine a blow, as the other fteadily ftanding did from the land: and when asthrough fundry steppings aside upon feare the rowers and souldiers which stood adefence, were confuledly mingled together & put in diforder, the German fouldiersleaping couragiously into the shallow, and hanging at thetailes of the boats, either clambered up to the hatches, or by main strength overturned the boats into the water. All which things passing after this fort in the view of both the Armies, at Bebriaum, athey were matter of great joy to the Vitellianists, so to the contrary fide they and the other gave occasion to hate and detest him, who was author and cause of the losse. And by all conjethe skirmish was ended indeed by slight and the breaking away of the boats which the skirmish was ended indeed by slight and the breaking away of the boats which the skirmish was ended indeed by slight and the breaking away of the boats which remained: but Macer was required to the flaughter: and when they had wounded miles afunder. him with a dart afarre off, they ranne in with their fwords drawn to dispatch him, had not the Tribunes and Centurions come in to protect him. A little afterward Vestricius Spurinna by Othoes commandement, leaving a finall garrifonat Placentia, with his cohorts come to fuccour them: and anon Otho fent Flavius Sabinus Conful elect to command Macers Companies, the Souldiers being glad at the

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change of Captaines, and the Captaines by reason of so many mutinies, unwilling to enter into fo dangerous a service.

XV. That it is nothing probable, that in so corrupt an age, the souldiers would of their owne accord have surceased from civill warre. and by common confent, and advise of the Senate, deposing these two bad, have chosen athird good Prince.

N fome writers I finde it recorded, that the armies, either having in horrour the war, or loathing both Princes, whose shames and dishonours were daily di Avulged more notoriously abroad, consulted among themselves to surcease the contention, and that either they by common confent should chuse a new Prince, or refer it over to the Senats appointment: and that therefore the Generals of Othoes *Pair, attribu-fide, a namely Paullinus, had counfelled to delay and protract, hoping it would fall upon him, as being the most ancient Consular, a famous commander, and one that in the warres of Britanny had won great glory and name. For my part, although I fus not to precould be induced to grant that some few peradventure secretly wished quietnessein ftead of discord, and for two most lewd and wicked, one good and innocent Prince, fo I cannot be brought to beleeve, that Paullinus being fo wife a man would ever hope in a most corrupt age for such moderation in the common fort, that when as for defire of war they had troubled the peace of the State, now for love of peace they would abandon the war: or that armies in tongue and conditions so different, could condescend to so great an agreement: or that the Lieutenants and Generals, which for the most part were persons drowned in riot, beggerly and guilty of most hainous crimes, would ever have suffered any Prince but one polluted with thelike vices, and of their owne creation, and therefore wholly obnoxious to them That ancient desire of dominion and rule ingrafted now long ago in menshearts, grewup and shot out with greatnesse of the Empire. For whilest our dominions were strait, an equalitie was easily maintained: but after we had subdued the world, destroyed all Cities, or Kings which flood in our light, or might worke our annoyance; when as we had leifure to feeke for wealth void of perill, there arose first hot contentions betweene the Nobility and Commons: fometimes factious Tribunes carried it away: fometimes the Confuls held a hard hand and prevailed: and in the Cire and place of affembly, some little skirmishes, and commencements as it were ofcivill warres, were attempted. Anon after Caius Marius one of the meanest of the Communalty, and Lucius Sulla the cruellest of all the Nobility, by force of armes overthrowing the free effate, induced an absolute governmet. After whom Cneius s salylian upod Pompeius succeeded, somewhat becreter, but nothing better: but after that Satisfied time never was other question debated by armes, but who should be soveraigne Prince of the State. The Legions in Pharfalia and Philippi, confifting of Citizens, were not fo moderately minded: much leffe may we think the armies of Otho and Vitellius would, of their owne accord, have laid downetheir weapons. The gods were no leffe incenfed against us: men were no leffe mad and furiously minded the fame vices reigning amongst us have induced the like diffentions & discords. That the wars were decided, and ended as it were each at one stroke, we are to attribute it to the cowardlinesse and faint heartednesse of the Princes, & not to the peaceable. nes of the armies. But the recounting of the dispositions & manners, of present and ancient times, hath carried me out of the way. Now I return to the order of the storie.

teth it to Cil-

bably.

Grammaticis. Pompeius oris probi, animi ?; inverecundi.

of Cornelius Tacitus.

XVI. The great battell at Bebriacum: wherein Othoes side was overthrowne.

7Hen 'Otho was gone to Brixellum, Titianus his brother carried the countenance and title of Generall; Proculus Captaine of the Guard the power and authority: Paullinus and Celfus, when as no man employed their wifedome and skill, were Captaines onely for names fake, and to be entituled to other mens faults: the Tribunes and Centurions, seeing the better contemned, and the worft fort in credit, were doubtfull of the event: the fouldier notwithstanding was full of courage and heart, yet fuch as had rather construe then execute his Generals commandements. It was refolved, that the campe should remove forward, and sit down in a place foure miles off from Bebriacum, so without reason and skill, that although it was spring time of the yeare, and so many rivers about them, yet were they diffressed for water. There it was disputed whether the battell were to be given or not. For Otho by letters required to hasten the matter: the fouldiers defired their Princes presence in field: many were of opinion to send for the Companies which lay on the other fide of the Po. Neither can it so easily be discerned what had beene best to have done, as that it was the worst which they did: undertaking to go to the confluence of the rivers of Po and Olius, full fixteen miles from that place (2 competent journey for an Army to march, & much too great for them which went mabattell) directly against the advise of Paullinus and Celsus; who held it unsafe tohazard the fouldier, tired with the journey, & heavie laden with carriage, against an enemy, that would not faile, being lightly appointed, and having come scarce foure miles to charge upon them either as they marched in difaray, or else at the nome interest to charge upon them either as they marched multary, of cheat the fitting downe as they dispersed themselves to fortifie the Campe. But Titianus angles in those and Proculus; when they were overcome by reason fled to authoritie, by vertue of dayes had usually their Office commanding the contrary: and indeed there was come a "Numidian ally certaine their Once commanding the contrary and indeed their was contract the African or Nu-Horse man inpost from Otho with a sharpe message, in the which, as one that middan horsecould not abide delaies, and impatient to linger in hope, checked the Generals mento leade for their flacknesse, commanding thems for their flacknesse, commanding thems for their flacknesse, commanding themselves to put it to a field. The their traine, or for other sudfame day as Cæcina was busily occupied about making the bridge, two Tribunes den dispatches. of Prætorian Cohorts came thither, demanding to speake with him: and be-sinea Epid. ingupon the point to give audience, and make answer unto them, the skowts is 40mme jam piperginancame running in halte, fignifying the enemy was at hand, whereupon the parlee tur, utillos nubrake off, and so it remained uncertaine what they intended, whether to lay a traine midaumire. for Cæcina, or to betray their owne fellowes, or elfe fome other honeft devife. wagmen corfe-Cæcina having dismissed the Tribunes, riding back to the Campe, found the ramanucedar, figne of the battellalready given by Valens commandement, and the fouldiers in tupe of mills ngue of the patternameauty given by various commandement, and the founders in effequiveneratmes. Whileft the Legions cast lots concerning their order in marching to the enter via defifield, the Horse-men issuing out charged, and were beaten backe very strangely, ciant, qui luby Othoes men being fewer in number, even into the Trenches, had not the Italian nefum bominem by Othoes men being tewer in number, even into the 1 renenes, and not the I talian venire magao Legion manfully drawne their fwords, and by feare forced them to returne and pulver offendat. make head upon the enemy againe. The Vitellian Legions were ordered and put in 110m Epil. 38. make need upon the enemy agains. The vice han Legions were obtained fight of Otanial, 16.1.2.

aray without tumult or feare: for the bushes and thickets tooke away the fight of Otanial, 16.1.2.

Lepignam. 14. the enemy, albeit he were neere. Contrarily in Othoes Armie the Generals with Non vellor Ly. feare were put out of their skill, the fouldiers neither loved nor trufted their Gene-binings cabalrals; the wagons and idle followers of the Campe troubled the workes of the figure training metals; the wagons and idle followers of the Campe troubled the workes of the fouldiers, being confusedly mingled amongst them; and the High-way deepely adit, ditched

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ditched on both fides was too narrow for an army, though marching without feare of the enemy : fome stood about, fome fought their enfignes, on every side there was a confused noise of men running & crying: and as each was guided by boldnesse or feare, so pressed he forward into the first rankes, or retired into the last. Their mindes being in this fort striken with a sudden terrour, a falfly surmised joy abated their fierceneffe: for some there were which untruly gave out, that the army was revolted from Vitellius. That rumour whether it was dispersed abroad by Vitellius fpies, or rose otherwise among Othoes men, whether by fraud or chance, it is not certainely knowne: but howfoever, thereupon the Othonians laying afide alledge to fight, in stead thereof profered after a friendly fort to falute them, but were with unfriendly murmure intertained againe: which falutation gave cause to many of their owne fide, that were ignorant of the rumour, to feare treason. Then the host of the enemies in good array, superiour both in number and strength, charged upon them: the Othonians, although in difarray fewer and weary, yet valiantly recei. ved the charge. And as in places troubled with trees and Vines the fight was not every where after one manner: but here neere at hand, and there afarre off: fometime in squadron, sometime in Triangle-figure: upon the height of the way jovning foote to foot, and bearing down with body to body, and buckler to buckler: omitting the use of the darr, and with swords and hatchets unbuckling and break. * direction a de ing helmets and corflets: and the parties knowing one another, and being seene the financian of their companions, each contended to shew vertue and valour, as if upon their princp & Det. manhood had depended the event of the whole warre. It fortuned, that in open field betweene the Poland and the high way, two legions met and fought togetaketo principia wer with ther; for Vitellius the one and twentieth furnamed Rapax, a Legion anciently renowned, of Othoes part the first called Adjutrix, one never before brought tothe battell, but prefuming greatly of her felte, and greedy as in her first service, of ho-" Camp-manor. They of the first Legion, beating to ground the * enfigns of the one and twenfler in Falens tieth, took away the standard by force: whereupon the Legion incensed with griefe tioff, and now up in Ceciliais both put them of the first in braule flaying Orphidius Benignus the Lieutenant, and calling tway also took many enfignes and banners from them. On the other side the thirteenth Legion was forced by them of the fifth: and certain of the fourteenth hemmedin play with the gladiato es cit with multitudes of enemies that came in upon them. And whereas the Generals of others fide as it Othoes fide had left the field and were fled already away, Cæcina and Valens yet Being twenty ftrengthned their fide with fresh supply: and besides a new succour came in of bAlphenus Varus with his Batavians, after he had discomfitted the band of the Fencers, our reckning, who passing the water by boats, were slaine by the adversary Cohorts in the very to Pat. 150. Italia, which is river it felte. So being victorious they invaded the flanke of the enemies: and when once the middle battel was forced, the Othonians brake and fled ctoward Bebriacuin. The way was long and almost stopped up with dead carkaffes, the slaughter being the greater for that in civill wars there is no profit to be made of the prifoquettionable ners. Suctonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus took fundry waies and shunned the day an army campe: Vedius Aquila Lieutenant of the thirteenth Legion, supposing all other could go 6. waies unsife, through unadvised feare put himselfe into the danger of the surious miles, joyne and fleing a fouldier. For entering into the Campe a great while before it was night, he was exwas so miles claimed upon and railed at on every fide, with clamors of the most seditious and cowardly perfons: who forbearing to use neither tongues nor hands, reviled him as a come thither a fugitive and traitor, not upon any specialty they could charge him withall, but afgreat while ter the manner of the common fort, ea h man laying his owne shames upon others. before night Titianus & Celsus returned not before night, which served them to good purpose.

for the watch was now fet, and the fouldiers fury appealed by the helpe of (2) Anajus Gallus: who partly by intreaty and advise, partly by his credit and authority, nerswaded them not to heape misery upon misery, and beside the losse of the battell to feeke the spoile one of another that whether the warre were now at an end, orelie it would please them to resume it, the only meanes to relieve the conquered fide confifted in their agreeing rogether. And indeed the reft were out of courage and comfort: only the Guard fouldiers stormed, affirming they were overcome not by manhood but treason: and that the Vitellian side had bought the victory dearely with their bloud, their horsemen being repulsed, and the standard of a Legion takenaway, that there yet remained in store many fouldiers beyond the Poattending on Otho: the Legions of Moelia were coming at hand, and that a great part of the army had flayed behind at Bebriacum, & never presented themselves to the battel: that furely these at the least had not been overcome: and if so needs it must be, they hould with more honor die in the field. Upon these and the like cogitations sometimes growing desperate, & sometimes yeelding to seare, through consideration of their owne for lorne estate, they were incited more often to rage then to relent. The Vitellian Army lodged five miles from Bebriacum, the Generalls not daring that day to attempt the enemies campe: and befide a voluntary yeelding was hoped for: where albeit they could not intrench, as menthat went out lightly appointed and only to fight, yet their weapons in hand, and the victorie they lately obtained, was a sufficient defence. The day following those of Othoes men which had mide fliew of most courage, repenting and yeelding, the whole Armic with one accord fent an Limbatlige to the Vitellianists. The Vitellian Generalls without any queltion granted them peace: onely the Embaffadours were stayed there for a feason, which bred a scruple in the minds of the other, not knowing whether they had obtained as yet or not the request: but anon the Embassage returning, the Campe was set open. Then both the conquered & conquerers, breaking out into weeping, with a wofull joyfulnes, detefted the mifery of civill diffentions: and meeting in the same Tents, some comforted their brethren, some their friends which were wounded. Hopes and rewards were doubtfull and in expectation alone: burials and mournings were certaine and fure before hand: neither was there any sovoid of mischance, that had not to mourne for some bodies death. The bodie of Orphidius the Lieutenant was fought out, and buried with accustomed folemnity, and fome few belide by their friends: the rest of the common fort were left on the ground.

2 When Othowas gone to Brixellum] In the description of this great battell, in my conceit, are many great imperfections And helt to tettle the reading, wherein tome printed copies it is by correction confluences Padi & Addue fluminum perchant, whereas Padi & Agice was found in old written Copies, is a millaking of the Correctour. Padus and A Adua meete about Cremon: Bebriacu n Handeth twenty miles below; So that the Othonians remoring from Bebriacum, with intention to fight with the Vitellianills beeing about Cremona, had no rea-fortogoe to the confluence of Padus and Addina. Then the diltance cannot agree, For the flraight way between Bebriacum and the confluence of Addua, mult be no more then here is limited. So that wee mult finde a river micing with the Po, fome (1) foure miles or thereabour beneath Cremona: Ollius perchance, or fome other, 2 Vitellianus vix wholeconlluence the Othomans went to, and whereabout the battel began. Now where the Vitellianifts were en- quatter millian camped, Tacitus very flrangely omitteth to fer downe. Macer with his Gladiatores, was hand gracul Cremona, haffiam prografagainit whom Cacina made a bridge, which bridge, as it appeareth by the circumstances, was not farre from their maine Campe. Then the Vitellianills which fled away, flie to Cremona, as to their flrength, and place of retrait, Laftly Tacitus himfelfe. 2. Hift. talking of Cremona, cadem russus belli fides, and in the same book, Othomiano bello Gomanicus miles manibus Cremonenfium caftra sua castris vallum circum circum cerat : a notable particularitie, and more agreeableto have beene declared here. But by all these places, we may, I suppose, safely presume, that at Cremona, howlo ver they came by it for of that also may be a question, as it is touched before) was alwaics afterward the Vitellianifls maine Campe. Now the Othonians, faith Tacitus, removed 4-miles forward, leaving notwithstanding at Bebriacum the Campe standing and furnished with many men for the defence; So that this Campe four emiles from Bebriacum was but onely for a nights lodging: for to Bebriacum only did the Othonian fouldiers retire when

go an hundreth Ítadia, but Paulup the matter between them, and to they marched directly toward the e-

quam dispersi, passerves fessi. d Vicellani equites que minus à tancieribus in valum impingerentur : Iralice Legionis crieture territi funt.

6 According to they were in rowt, from (b) that lodging they removed fixteene miles further, not directly, as it may be supposed. Plutarch, from but declining on the left hand toward the Pojaboutfoure miles beneath Cremona, at the confluence of the Pojaboutfoure went 50, thathat the common of the common through t Bebriacum they Oglio as they now call it, or Agele, or whatfoever, and yet it (c) feemeth they fate not downe there, but went the day after in the triber minded to never heard of before nor fines, infomuch that no man knoweth where it flood, had little right to carry the name of this field, rather then Cremona, and yet all writers denominate it so, unlesse it were because the Othonians, being broken, fled thither: for furely the battell was begun twenty miles off, and hard under Cremon. For the time of lima difficaded oroseri neu timute to tutty in cateet was per eight between to have been fought the very next day after the off the Numidian ad Cassis s but by Tacitus, in this case a more credible authour, as in a matter done in Italy, it appearent to have horsemen took been farre otherwise. Suctionius Othone, cap. o. describeth the meeting of the two armies in farre other manner. Apud Bebriacum fraude superati quum spe collogrii sacta quasi ad conditionem pacis militibus eductis, ex improviso atque in issa

2 Annius Gallus In the confultation at Berriacum he was ablent When he returned againe thither, and where fort he stayed there when all the rest went out to hight, is not declared by Tacitus like as also many particularities concerning Cellus, Gallus, Tinanus &c. worthy the remembrance in the yeelding of the Othonians to Valeis and Cacina, which are well recorded by Plutarch, and ill left out by our Author, who to confelle a truth, in this whole hillory hath behaved himfelfe fo well, that the onely thing we may perfectly understand, is, that he understood not the matter fully lumfelfe; and indeed for the particularities Plutarch writeth, that they which were present the battell professed not to know themselves, Sia Taragian, xait araquahian. That is, for the diford r and corf. f. droffe, Butyet furely Tacitus is not excufable, feeing that Plutarch, who was leffe skilled in the Romane affaires, and had leffoccasion to know to much, of two bad hath fer it downe more intelligibly, being a man otherwise not to be namad the fame day with Tacitus.

> XVII. Othounderstanding of the overthrow at Bebriacum killeth him (elfe. The (ouldiers about him, when they could not induce Verginius to undertake the place, yeeld themselves to the Vitellianists.

out all paffion of feare, and certainely refolved what he would doe. And first an Luncertaine report of ill tidings was muttered without head or advow; then they which fled out of the battell came and declared that all was certainely loft. The fouldiers ardent affection was fuch, that they flayed not for any comfort or encouragement from their Emperour, but contrariwise they comforted him, bidding him to be of good cheere: that there was yet new forces remayning, & that they would hazard all perils and fuffer all extremityes for his fake: neither was it flattery; but in unfained good meaning, upon a certaine instinct and furie, and mightily defired to goe to the field, to fet up the fide and recover the loffes againe. They which flooda farre off held up their hands and befought him : the nearest embraced his knees, especially Plotius Firmus Captaine of the Guard, who befought him often and instantly not to for sake his so well deserving souldiers, so loving and faithfullan Armie, averring that it was greater magnanimity to endure then to relinquish when fortune doth croffe: that flout men and valiant, even against fortune doe relieupon hope, whereas the cowardly daftards are haftily drawne by feare to despaire. As Otho seemed by his countenance to yeeld to these speeches, or else to reject them, fo were there diverfly flowtings for joy, or a gronings for forrow. And not onely the Prætorians, the most addicted and partiall fouldiers to Otho, but those and the Armie which were sent before out of Mocsia affirmed, that the Armie which wases. pected would alike obstinately maintaine the quarell: and that the Legions already were come to Aquilea; fo that without all question a cruell and bloody warre might have been renewed of doubtfull event to the one fide and to the other. But Otho altogether aliene from any purpose of warre, To hazard, quoth hee, this vertue and valour of yours to needleffe dangers, I account it too deare a price of my life. The more hope you doe shew, if I listed to live, the more commendation will

N the meane while Otho at Brixellum waited for the newes of the battell with-

of my death as being voluntary & not by constraint. Fortune and I have had good "experience the one of the other: and nothing the leffe for that my time hath been "thort. I telyon, it is harder to moderate a mans felfe in felicity, the which he look-"eth not long to enjoy. The civil war began on Vitellius party, & thence grew the "first occasion to contend with arms for the Empire: but to contend no oftner but "once. I for my part am purposed to give the example. And hereby let the posterity "judge and esteem of Otho. Through my benefit Vitellius shall enjoy his brother. "his wife, and his children: I feek no revenge, I have no need of fuch comforts. "Others have kept longer the Empire, but let it be faid, that none hathever fo vali-"antly left it. Shall I suffer so much Roman bloud again to be spilt, and the Com-"mon-wealth deprived of fo worthy Armies? Let this minde accompany me to my "grave, & fo furely it shall, that you for your parts would have died for my sake: but "tarry you and live, and let not me be any longer a hinderance to your obtaining of "pardon, nor you to my determination and purpose. To speak more of dying, or to "use many words in that argument, I take to proceed of a cowardly courage. This "take for a principall proofe of my resolutenesse, that I complaine not of any. For "to blame gods or men is their propertie that gladly would live. After these words and the like, in courteous language, according to their age or degree, he-required the young men, and defired the old to get them quickly away and goe to the winner; left by flacking the time they provoked his further displeasure: rebuking eftsomes the unseasonable weepings of those about him, without any shew of alteranonincountenance, or figue of feare in his speech. Then he commanded those which departed to be furnished with wagons and barges; burned all books and letters containing any matter notably in favour of himselfe or disfavour of Vitellius, and distributed money sparingly, and not as one that should die. Then he called unto him Salvius Cocceianus his brothers sonne, being in the prime of his youth, and seing him fore afraid and weeping, he comforted him, not with standing the case touched nearer himselfe, commending his kindnesse, and natural lassection, and reprehending his timorousnesse. What? were it possible, that Vitellius should bee so hard hearted, and cruelly minded, as not to do him that one pleasure, whereas he had preferved for him his whole house without harme? that at least by his hastie dispatch of himself he deserved that some courtesie should be shewed to his kinred: especially having forborne, for the love of his countrey, to seeke his last and uttermost remedy, not upon extreme despaire, but then when as his army with instance demanded to bring it to a battell againe. But, hee faid, for his part he had gotten renowne enough for himselse, and nobilitie for his posteritie, after the Julian, Claudian, and Servian families, having first of all men brought into a house of no great continuance the honour of having an Emperour: and therefore he willed him with good courage to live and go on, neither torgetting at any time that Otho was his Uncle, nor yet too much remembring the same. After these things he willed all to depart and give place, and gave himfelfe a while to his rest: but a sudden tumult interrupted the course of his last cares, word being brought in of the disordered & outragious behaviour of the fouldiers: who threatned to kill all those which went away, but were most eagerly bent against Verginius, whose house being shut they besetround about. Whereupon Otho went out, and having rebuked the principall mutins, returning againe spent the time in waking and comforting them which departed, untill they were all safely conveyed away. When it grew toward night, hee quenched his thirst with a cup of cold water: then two Rapiers were brought in : and after he had tried their points he put the one under his pillow : and having

faith Platares. אמוזש: בדש: שרבים egatiy lauréy.

Platarch. But borne calleth her (blend.delima Epigram 3 1. ia rada maru. Sir Juc dam ระบัน ภูลิตะ หม่ Capara major : Othone file? fusinity on a cause of inter-transport of inter-mortal of intermuspahaceir; vi-UNIX:TU: GETS-65 un 50 1516.

tores.

2 CAP.2.

reigned three

of Otho ·λ=r. 4.6.33.

The second Book of the History having certaine knowledge that his friends were already gone, he paffed the night in good rest, and as it is said, not without sleep: assoone as it was day he ran himselfe through the breft with a Rapier. Upon his groaning, as he was dying, his freed and bond-men, with Plotius Firmus Captaine of the Guard, entred in, and found but onely one wound. The funerals were haftned with all speed, for he had most earneftly befought and intreated to dispatch them, lest his head peradventure should "At Distribution, have been cut off, and contumeliously used: the Pratorian Cohorts carried the Biere, with praifes and teares, kiffing his wounds and his hands. At the Funerall fire fome of the fouldiers flew themselves, not upon crime, nor for feare, but for the * Suppose to 1 great love they bare to their Prince, and to imitate fo honourable an example: and afterwards at Bebriacum, Placentia, and in other Campes many did thelike: a Tombe also they berected for Othowith little cost and solemnitie, and therefore * Maried, 180.6. the liker to stand. In this maner Otho ended his daies in the 'feven & thirtieth year of his age. He was 'originally descended from Ferrentium: his father was Conful, adhae bulleti. his grandfather Prætor: his mothers bloud d fomewhat disparaging, but yet not Olly, E-300, For- base, in his tender age and youth such as we have shewed; one, that by two acts, visus malls the one most detestable, the other most praise worthy, deserved with posteritie Ulbi: Dami- good fame, in as great measure as he did ill. As to heape together fabulous matto manufacture, and delight the readers mindes with tales devised at pleasure, I would account tan jum farguit. fide commonly fooken, and delivered. The same day that the Armies fought at Bebriacum, the inhabitants of Regium Lepidi report, that a strange bird was seen sitting in a grove much frequented and that the could not be feared or driven away, by the reforting of men to the place, or nue jui major of birds flying about her, untill such time as Othoslew himselfe; then she vanished out of fight; and that conferring the times, they found the beginning and end of the miracle to agree precisely with Othoes decease. At his funerals the souldiers through forrow and griefe raifed a new tumult, neither was there now any to flay them. And fetting upon Verginius menacingly they befought him, sometimeto take the Empire himfelfe, sometime to be their spokesman to Cacina and Valens; but Verginius, as they were breaking into the house, deceived them, slippingout ம் சால் திரிப்பு privily at the back gate. So Rubrius Gallus carried the supplication of the colorts, கூறு மாழ்த்த நாய்யும் privily at the back gate. So Rubrius Gallus carried the supplication of the colorts, கூறு மாழ்த்தின் which were at Brixellum, and straight waies obtained their pardon. Flavius Sabinus also came, with the s companies which he commanded, and yeelded himselfe to 5 Of Gladiathe winner.

1 In the feven and thirtieth yeare] Otho was borne, faith (a) Suctoniu; Camilla & Abino arbo (a) the 18 of Aprill, Auso athis condite. 785 and died in Anno 822 Galbait rum & Vinio Coff. The day or moneth of his death Tacitus ferreth not downe, as he is that way negligent even in very great actions. Neverthelelle beginning his Empire 15 day of January, as Tacitus reporteth I. Hill, the died, as Suttonius reporteth, (b) nonage span & quinto inpost de allowing feventeene dayes of January, twenty eight or twenty nine of February, thirty one of March, the eight teenth or the nineteenth of April will fall out to be the day of his death. True it is, that the copies of Xiphilin and b huipac I de nai epite muiac npa-Zonarashave onely ninety dayes for the time of his Empire, both taking it out of one erroneous fountaine, as I Zonarashave onely ninety dayes for the time of his Empire, both taking it out of one erroneous fountaine, as thinks. For Otho went out of Rome, as Suctonius faith cap. 8. die quo cultores dum matris lamentail & plante initialists. páras, having pium, which is the twenty leventh of March, as Marcellinus affirmeth. And for fo many great matters as by Tacinu faith Josephus archercrecorded to have passed between that and his death, three or foure and twenty dayes may in reason seems. time little enough at all. Now from the twenty eight of April, Anno 785 to the eighteenth or nineteenth or April, Anno 8.2.2. are there fever yeares, as Tacinas here faith (to whom Zonarus and Xiphilin do agree, not thirty eight, as Suetonius, who counteth both the extremes) lacking nine or ten dayes, Xiphilin faith lacking cleven, Zimen ph इसीबे मनोर्ट्यान्स्वरम्य देश, दार्वस्त्र मेथावृद्धी विकारत

XVIII. The

XVIII. The perill wherein the Senatours stood which were left at Mutina, upon the newes of the overthrow at Bebriacum.

7 Hen the warre was every where at an end, a great part of the Senate, which accompanied Otho from Rome, and afterward flayed by order at Mutina, incurred extreme danger. For when word was brought thither of the overthrow, the fouldiers rejected the news as false: and supposing the Senate to be enemy to Otho, they observed their speeches, interpreting their countenances, and externall behaviour to the worst; not abstaining at the last from reviling, and contumelious termes, and apparently feeking an occasion to begin a massacre: whereas the Senatours had beside to stand in feare another way, least they should freme not forward enough to like of Vitellius victory, with whom now all the world was gone. Thus trembling, and between both being doubtfull how to carry themfelves, they meet together, none daring to follow any private direction, but affociating himselfe with the multitude, presuming thereby of greater securitie. As they were in this perplexity, the a counsell of Mutina increased their cares, offering them a Ordo Mutineraarmour and money, and ftyling them at every word, very unfeafonably, Lords fis. i. Decuriones of the Senate. In that affembly arose a hot contention. Licinius Cæcina inveyed as it were against Epirus Marcellus, for that he feemed to speak ambiguously concerning the the common present estate, whereas in truth neither did the other Senatours plainly open their councillof mindes: but Cæcina picked out Marcellus among the rest, as a man exposed to envie, and odious for his late trade of accusing, to the end that himselfe being lately rifin, and newly come into the Senate, might become renowned and known, by emering into enmity with great persons. But by the moderation of the better fort interpoling themselves, the matter was pacified: and so they went all back to Bonoma, there to deliberate anew, hoping withall in the meane feafon to receive more avertisements. At Bononia they set in severall wayes severall persons to enquire newes of the paffengers which latelieft came from those quarters: by whom a Freed-man of Othoes being demanded the cause of his coming away, he answered, that he had brought with him his mafters blaft charge: that indeed he had left b After he had himalive, but without any care, fave onely of posteritie, and having renounced all dismissed all delights of this present life: hereupon they grew into admiration of him, and were (faith succonius adjusted to ask any further: and now all wholly declared themselves for Vitellius. espanolisated Historian L. Vitellius was present at their consultations, and already offered him. decilio exacou Effeto be fawned upon, when fuddenly Cenus, a Freed-man of Neroes, with a adformem confolowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrivall of the latinin: [ed & ad lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrivall of the latinin: [ed & ad lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrivall of the latinin: [ed & ad lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrivall of the latinin: [ed & ad lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrivall of the latinin: [ed & ad lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrival lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrival lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrival lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrival lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrival lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrival lowd and desperate lie amazed them all affirms the latin lie and the latin lie amazed them all affirms the latin lie amazed them all affirms the latin lie amazed the latin lie ama burteenth Legion, the forces which were at Brixellum being joyned thereto, the nis, quam matrifortune of the fides was changed, and the conquerers were overthrown. The cause monio destinativeof deviling the rumour was, that the commissions of Otho for postes, which began rat, commendants will be rumour was, that the commissions of Otho for postes, which began rational rat not to be regarded, might through fo gladfome a message be revived againe. And & memoriam: 6 Cenus paffed indeed in post to the Citie, but within few dayes after by Vitellius and something commandement was executed, but the perill of the Senatours was augmented to Vitellius althereby, for Othoes fouldier believed the newes to be true: and that which made in favour of their caufe worfe was, that they were departed from Mutina, and fo the fide feem-bis friends. their caufe worfe was, that they were departed from Mutina, and fo the fide feem-bis friends. The fide feem-bis friends. Weither ports of the Councell of flate. Neither ports of did they after that time consult any more in common: every man fought to Otho. Provide for himselfe, untill such time as letters sent from Fabius Valens, and

St

the 12. of A-

The second Book of the History

the death of Otho the more praise worthy the foouer heard of, put them out of

XIX. The estate of affaires at Rome: and the insolencies committed by the Vitellian (ouldiers after the victorie.

*Certalia began 1 Utat Rome all was quiet, without any trouble or feare, the *playes of Ceres were folemnely kept according to the custome: and when certaine word was brought into the Theatre that Othowas dead, and that Flavius Sabinus Pro. prill, and ended after the death woft of the Citie had sworne all the souldiers in the City to Vitellius, in signe of joy of Other at Bridge the people clapped their hands and gave applause unto Vitellius. Then they carried action here of the people clapped their hands and gave applause unto Vitellius. Then they carried and flowers about the Temples have at Rome, Core. the images of Galba with boughes of Lawrell and flowers about the Temples, heap. ales ludi cx mae ing uptogether in manner of a tombe garlands and Coronets about Lacus Curtius, fletialnam, which place Galba at his death had embrued with his bloud. In the Senate all titles the day of his which place Galba at his death had embrued with his bloud. In the Senate all titles the day of his which place Galba at his death had embrued with his bloud. In the Senate all titles the day of his which place Galba at his death had embrued with his bloud. In the Senate all titles death, albeit and honours usually conferred upon other Princes by occasions, and after they had the newscame reigned many yeeres, were straight wayes decreed to Vitellius: and withall praises na pour, course concluded upon for the German armies, with folemn thanks for their good fervice, hardly be fo late 25 the 18. and an Embaffage fent to congratulate. Letters also were read; written by Fabius of April, and not possibly to Valens to the Consuls, in a stile humble enough: yet Cæcinaes modestie was better late as the 19. accepted in that he wrote not at all. But Italy was now more grievously vexed, and cruelly handled then during the war. The Vitellian fouldiers difperfed in the free towns and Colonies pilled and spoiled, polluted and ravished without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane, but only following their ravenous and infolent humour, or else by money bought out to forbeare: and some there werether counterfaiting themselves to be fouldiers slew their particular enemies. The souldiers also them felves were skilled in the Countrey, and designed out the well stored grounds, and well monied mafters to pray upon, or if refiftance were made, to destroy them; the Generalls being obnoxious and not daring to prohibit it: Cacina was leffe covetous and more poffesfed with vain-glory: Valens was for bribery and polling infamous, and therefore a winker also at other mens faults, so many footmen and horse, so great violences, dammages and injuries, especially the state of Italy being already greatly empoverished before, were hardly abiden.

> XX. Vitellius voiage from Germanie to Lions, and his actions there.

TN the meane feason Vitellius ignorant of his own victory, made preparation as for a war new to begin, and carried with him beside eight thousand souldiers ▲of Britannie, the strength which remained of the German army: few old souldiers were left in the standing Camps, but new men levied in hast out of France touphold the names of the Legions remaining behinde: and the charge of the militane affaires there was committed to Hordeonius Flaccus. When Vitellius had marched fome few dayes journey, he understood of the good successe at Bebriacum, then that Otho was dead and the war finished: whereupon calling an affembly he highly extolleth the valiantnesse of the fouldiers. After the speech, his Armie instanty crimo impende requested him to create Asiaticus his freed man a gentleman of Rome: web standard frametonia. cap. 12. full flattery he then rebuked; and foon after upon a ficklenesse of wit, that which contrasper the he had openly refused, he privily bestowed in banquet, and honoured with rings Affaticus, a base abject slave, and one seeking to rise by ill meanes. About the same

timeimesfage was brought that Albinus Procurator of both Mauritaines was slain, and the Countries had fided themselves with Vitellius. Lucceius Albinus was by Nero fent over Mauritania Cæsariensis, and Galba annexed the administration of Tingitana; fo that he had forces of good moment under his charge: eighteen Cohorts, five wings and an infinite number of Moores not unfit for the warre, as men that usually lived of stealing and harrowing their neighbours. When Galba was fin he followed the party of Otho, and not contenting himselfe with Africk, had apurpose for Spaine, being disjoyned from it by a narrow straight. Hereupon Cluvins Rufus was afraid, and commanded the tenth Legion to approach to the shore. as if he meant to have shipped over: sending before certain Centurions to induce the mindes of the Moores to favour Vitellius: neither was it hard to effect. For the fame of the German Army was great throughout all the Provinces, and befide a renort was fored, that Albinus contemning the name of a Procurator, had usurped a royall diademe, and the name of b Juba. So their mindes being changed, thereup-b Thelast King

onthey went and flew Afinius Pollio Captain of a wing, one of Albinus faithfulleft of Chamitania, filedded by Captaineds, and Festus and Scipio two Captaines of Cohorts: Albinus himselfe as he far amount, went by sea from Tingitana to Mauritania Cæsarienses was slain as he landed, and cond. 708. his wife withall, who voluntarily offered herfelfe to the flaughter. Thefe things and allelfe what was done Vitellius paffed over without due examination, as his manner was with a short audience to turn over matters of greatest importance; a man farre

Army to march by land, and went himselfe down by the river, without any furniurefit for a Prince, but in his old beggerly array, till Junius Blæfus governour of Gallia Lugdunentis, a man of high parentage, of a franck minde and wealth anwerable thereto, furnished him of provision and servitours, and accompanied him honorably according to his effate: a thankleffe office and displeasing, albeit Vitelliusfought by fubmiffe and glozing speeches to cover his hatred. At Lions the Gemends met him of both fides, the winning and loofing. Valens and Cæcina he commended in open affembly, and fet them about his chaire of estate: then he com- carreli suc. manded the whole Army to go out, and meet his little dyoung fon. Being brought aliohad Clies and clothed in a princely mantell, his father holding him in his armes named him omics in the

nomeet to wield waighty affaires. When they came to Araris, Vitellius willed the

Germanicus, and arraied him with all the imperiall ornaments: this excessive ho-Emperours nour in prosperity, in adversitie served for a comfort. Then were the bravest and differing in forwardest of Othoes Centurions put to the sword: upon which occasion grew prin-furniture, in apilly the dislike the Illyrian Armies conceived of Vitellius, and withall the rest of the Prziors the Legions, partly by contagion, and partly upon envy to the German fouldiers, had also, and projected warre in their mindes. Suetonius Paullinus and Licinius Proculus could some of the not have audience, but were detained a great while in forrow and heavinesse: till Offix years

alength being admitted they produced matter of excuse, rather such as stood without sommer. the present necessity, then such as might stand with their honour: as that in favour Paludamentum of Vitellius they had betraied their own fellowes; alleadging the length of the jour-long: for Masnybefore the battell, the wearinesse of Othoes men, the shuffling of Cartes and the cianus caused fouldiers together, and many other matters of chance, as done by them for the purpole: and Vitellius beleeved the treason, and acquited them of the crime of fidelity. 4. Histor.

Salvius Titianus Othoes brother was clearely discharged, being holden excused both because he was so nearely tied by nature, and because he was a man of no moment. Marius Celfus had his life and honor faved: for his Confulfhip was referved unto him. It was faid and beleeved, and afterward objected to Cacilius Simplex in

the Senate, that he fued to have bought that office with money, feeking withall the destruction

fore his departure from Rome. 1. Hiftor.

Vitil. 13.

EWho compo-Confulship without any money or bloud. As for E Trachalus, Galeria Vitellius wife protected himagainst his accusers. Among these dangers of honorable persone which Other pronounced to Maricus (a shame to be spoken) a base fellow among the Boians, counterfeiting new the people be revelations, dared to thrust him forward and try his adventure, and to provoke the Roman forces against him: who pretending to be the setter of France at freedome, and a god, (for so he intitled himselfe) had drawn already together eight thousand men, and began to waste the Frontiers of the Aeduans: but that grave and wife City, affembling the choice of their youth with some of Vitellius Cohorts, discomfited the fanaticall multitude. In that encounter Maricus wastaken, and being cast to the wilde beasts, because he was not devoured, the sottish people beleeved that he could not be hurt, untill such time, as in the presence of Vitellius afterward he was flain: neither was there any further cruelty shewed to any of that conspiracy, either in body or goods. The Testaments also of them which died in the field for Otho, remained in their full strength and validity, or if they died unte. state, the ordinary course of the Law, provided in that behalfe, was observed. And generally, if he could have for born his riotous living, or used any moderation therein, coverousnesse was a crime in him not to be feared: but he was shamefully given to his belly, without all order or measure: for which purpose there were daily brought out of Rome and Italy, all provocations of gluttony: the high wayes from E Vide Sucten. both the seas sounded of nothing else but of Caters and Ripiers: the greatest men in the cities were spent and consumed in providing of Cates for the bankets: the ci. ties themselves were wasted the souldiers grew worse and degenerated from labour and vertue: partly by enuring themselves to pleasures, and partly through the contemptiblenesse of the Commander. Morcover an edict was sent before hand to Rome, wherein Vitellius declared, that he would not accept of the title of Auguftus as yet, nor the name of Cæsar at all, whereas in substance and power he abased nothing thereof: and withall the 'Aftrologers were banished out of Italy: and moreover it was straitly inhibited, that no Roman Gentleman should pollute himfelfe with profession of fencing in School or Theatre. Some former Princes hadhired them with money to do it, and more often compelled them by force: and many " surray, 99 Free-townes and Colonies, each striving to excell others induced some "unthrifty apice 1/10 fave- young men to the like diffhonour. Now Vitellius upon the coming of his brother, no, quoi ca no and certain School-masters of tyrannie creeping into the Court, waxing prouder and fiercer, commanded Dolabella, whom as before we remembred, Otho had conbuxunia projetit. fined to Aquinum, upon this occasion to be flain. Dolabella, hearing that Otho was dead, was returned to Rome: whereof Plautius Varus once Prætor, one of Dolabellaes most inward friends, accused him before Flavius Sabinus the Provostof the City, as if he had broken prison, to the end to make offer of himself for a head to the conquered faction: adding moreover, that to that purpose he had felt thecohort, which was in garrifon at Oftia: but having no one proof of any of these so great crimes, he began to repent of his wicked deed, and fought pardon, but too late, after the fact. As Flavius Sabinus was in doubt how to proceed in a matter of that weight, Triaria the wife of Lucius Vitellius, fierce and cruell above the ordinary of that fex, terrified him, warning him not to affect the commendation of clemea-

cy by the perill of his prince. Sabinus, a man of his own nature of a milde disposi-

because Dolabella had taken Petronia to wife straight upon her divorce from him, called him by letters unto him: and commanding to avoid the beaten Flaminian way, and carry him by Interamna, he gave commission to murder him there. That feemed too long to him that had the commission: and therefore in an Inne by the way, as Dolabella refted himselfe on the ground, he cut his throat, to the great infamy of the new government, whereof this was the first proof. This kinde of behaviour of Triaria was the more odious, by fetting against it the modesty of her next neighbour Galeria the Emperours wife, heaping not forrows upon the forrowfull, and the rare vertue of Sextilia his mother, a woman of the ancient fort: who is also reported to have faid at the reading of her fonnes first letters, that a Vitellius was borne by her and not a Germanicus: neither did she afterwards through any allurements of fortune, or courting of the City, participate any thing else of her sonnes estate, save onely the smarts of her house when it fell.

The Aftrologers were) The fubfiance of the edict was, ut intra Kal. Offobr unbe Italianue Mathematici excederent. The night following the Attrologers fet up, faith & Suetonius, another edict inhec wirba BON VM FACTVM, a cap. 14. w Viellius Germanicus istra enndem kalendarum diem ufquam ne effet, which how it was verified in him that lived til the hart end of December following, I would gladly have the Aftrologers themselves to calculate unto us: especially being an example whereof all their books are full; And to say the truth, Zonaras seemeth to give some patronage wtheerroue, and Xiphilin alfo, who faith the edict was published after Vitellius coming to Rome, whereas by Trans it should feem rather to be fent from Lions. His words be thefe, ini and plus if the configuupa in of it istanopus dinam (being otherwite very superstitionsly given himselfe, onousme wordpor, when it is before optioner ทองครั้ง That is, being a follower of Southfuers, and doing never fo finall a matter without their advise , (faith Zoniras) องคลพา อรูว์กาง ล่าวิธ าลีธ วิจริ มุน์จุน (ตานีน์ พาน านีวิน) นี้ อักนีกระ าลีธ โกณโน, วนตุลาม, หู สบางโยนยายางนาริส สาของพิธีการกรุงสุ้น genarmouseurin sennar strumarstudies en re sie einde ries equipae in nitronsorvor. That is , Being come to Rome be published an edict wherein he existed the Astrologers, charging them before such a day, (naming the time) to depart out of Italy, and they to rewere him in the night feafon fee up their Cattell denouncing to him that he should before such a day depart out of this life, as in

XXI. Vitellius voyage from Lions into Italy by Turin, Pavia, Cremona. Bebriacum, and (o to Bononia, and the actions which happened in the mean way.

S Vitellius was departed from Lions, Marcus Cluvius Rufus leaving his charge in Spaine overtaketh him, carrying joy and gratulation in counte-A charge in opanic eventual transfer in his heart, knowing that he had been shot at, and matter put up against him. Hilgrius the Emperours Freed-man had articled against him, that hearing of Vitellius and Othoes contention for the Empire, he had endevoured to erect a foveraigntie of his own, and affure to himselfe the possession of Spaine: and therefore had named in the beginning of his * Commission no Prince: * Diplomata; certaine points also of his Orations he picked out, and conftrued as tending to the granted and defacing of Vitellius, and making himfelfe popular. But the credit of Cluvius pre- icaled by the vailed to far, that Vitellius contrarily commanded his man, to be punished, and af-Governours of funed Clavius into his traine; suffering him withall to injoy Spaine, which he go-the Provinces, remed ftill notwithstanding his absence, according to the precedent of Lucius Ar-was as from runtius, whom Tiberius Casar retained for feare, but Vitellius kept Cluvius upon the Prince, and nofach je loufie. Trebellius Maximus had not the like favour: he fled out of Bri-name were the tanny, because the souldiers were incensed against him; and Vectius Volanus was Commissions lent in his place.

Of all matter present that vexed Vitellius most, to see the vanquished Legions retain their ftomachs unvanquished: being dispersed through Italy together with the winners, in all speech they shewed themselves affected as enemies, and namely the fourteenth Legion; which carried the greatest stomach of them all, denying that

Tac. 4. Ann-

tion, but when he was put in feare easie to be changed, and fearing to make another mans danger his own left he should seeme to have helped him up, as he was falling pussied him forward. Vitellius, partly upon feare and partly upon an old grudge,

o Sustanius I". ::##.c.10 reporreth the fame and no Description on Co. d dia, but the bus fetendis, For fome

to tent home

againe into

Pannonia: for

or again an the

beginning of

the revolt of illyricum from

Pitellius.

· Tempeflivis

Clantur, convi-

the longer are

the ordinary

f Reade Suct.

ever they were overcome: that in the battell at Bebriacum the Vexillatics onely were put to flight, the strength of the Legion being not present. Wherefore it was thought expedient to fend them back into Britanny, from whence they were called by Nero; and in the meane time, that they and the cohorts of Batavians should quarter together, by reason of the ancient jarring between them. Neither could they, having both weapons in hand and hating each other fo deadly, agree long together. At Turin as one of the Batavians quarelled with an Artificer, as having coufened him, and a Legionary fouldier took his part, and defended him as being his Hoaft, their companions forting themselves each to their fellow, from bitter words puffed to blows: and a bloudy battel had been fought, had not two Pretorian cohorts taken the Legionaries part, and so much increased their strength, that the Bitavians were forced for feare to give over. Upon which accident Vitellius commanded to unite to his traine the Batavians, as well-willers to the cause, and to fend the Legion away and conduct it over the Graian Alpes, by the way that miffed Vienna: for they of Vienna also were had in a jealousie. That night the Legion re. moved, fires being left here and there negligently unput out, part of Turin was between Strain burnt: which damage, as many other bad effects of that warre, greater calamities of other Cities did utterly blot and put out of remembrance. The Legion having passed the Alpes, some of the most seditious among them carried their ensignesto. wandelended ward Vienna: but by the confent of the better fort they were staied; and so the Legion was transported into Britanny. The next feare that Vitellius had, was of the minute charts Practorian Cohorts. And first they were separated: then in good fort and countewas also dif- oufly cassed, with commandement to deliver up their armour to the Tribunes, and mind and mind of they remained untill fuch time as the war was begun by Vespasian: then they remia, sha ker fumed armes and were the strength of the Flavian side. Of the other Legions the saining, min fir first furnamed Classica was fent into Spaine, that by peace and rest it might was ex (hippordis cor tractable: the eleventh and seventh were returned to their standing Campes: the thirteenth fet da work to build Amphitheaters: for Cæcina at Cremona, and Vathe needlare, lens at Bononia made preparation to fet forth a shew of Fencers; Vitellius being hartestate after never so attentively addicted to serious affaires, that he would forget his pastimes ording to be said and pleasures. And thus with good moderation he put them as under. In the winning fide a mutiny arose upon a sporting beginning, but that the number of them which were flaine made it a matter of earnest, and the whole warre more odious. E.or: time, and Vitellius was in Ticinum at a banquet, and with him Verginius. The Lieutenants and Tribunes are frugalle or riotous, according to the Princes dispositions: in like fort the fouldiers fevere or diffolute: in Vitellius traine all was diforderly and full enere we finde of drunkennesse, more like to 'Wakes and feasts of Bacchus, then to a Campe where discipline should be. It happened that two fouldiers one of the fift Legion, another a French Auxiliary, upon a jolity challenged one another to wrestle: and when as the Legionary was thrown, the Frenchman infulting over him, and they willookt on divided themselves into sides, the Legionary souldiers taking themconvisits dele- selves to their weapons made havock of the Auxiliaries, and slew two Cohorts of them. The remedy of this tumult was another tumult: Dust and glistering of Arthose, which to mour was feen afarre off: and suddenly it was notifed in the Army, that the fourmake the work teenth Legion was returned with intention to fight: but it was their own rereward; which being perceived, that care was ended. In the mean feafon, as one of begun before Verginius servants by chance came by, the souldiers charge and accuse him, that he was fetto kill Vitellius, and rush thereupon into the banquetting place requiring the death of Verginius. No man doubted of Verginius innocency, no not Vitellius himfelfe,

himfelfe, although otherwise very suspicious and fearfull, and notwithstanding they demanded the death of so honourable a personage, and one which had once been their Generall, yet were they hardly appealed. Neither was there any man fo oft shot at as Verginius in all seditions and mutinous assemblies: the admiration and fame of the man remained among ft them; but they hated him deadly, because he had contemned their offer. The day following Vitellius gave audience to the Senats Embassage, which he willed there to attend him; and going from thence to the Campe, he spake to the souldiers, commending their dutifull disposition, and tender carefulnesse over his person: but the Auxiliaries fretted and sumed to see the Legionaries grown to that height of infolencie, and no punishment inflicted upon them. Whereupon the Cohorts of Batavians, left they should attempt some deperate act, were fent back againinto Germany, the course of affaires fatally ten- Rayled by ding to minister matter, as well sto a forrein war, as to a civill. The French Auxi-Comits and the liaries also were turned home to their countreys; an excessive number, and straight Edataviants, and by at the first revolt assumed by Vitellius into the cause, for an idle complement of the the rebellion arthefirst revoltaniumed by viceinus into the caure, for an one competition of the French, warre. Now to the end that the treasure and revenues of the Empire, though mini- of the French. hed and wasted, might suffice for his excessive and prodigall donations, he commandeth to leffen the number of fouldiers in the Legions and Aides, forbidding technat in the Supplies to be made, and offering disinissions indifferently: which action of his provedpernicious to the State, and unpleasant to the souldiers. For sewer now bare the both sides 4000s fame burthens; and perils and labours came thicker about; and their ftrength was men were wasted with riotous life by reason of such abundance, contrary to the ancient disci-lowing the pline and using of our forefathers, under whom the Roman estate was governed and precept of Sa. thood, by vertue better then money. From thence Vitellius turned to Cremona: and lugh. never or more feldome when he had feen Cæcinaes plaies, he was defirous to go to Bebriacum and view fetteth down the place with his eyes of the late victory. The spectacle was ugly and grifly to be-the number. figures of horses and men putrified, the ground imbrued with corruption and bloud, princes, if \$400. the Countrey miserably wasted, the Trees and Corne trodden down and spoiled decrive nor in that also was a point of inhumanitie that they of Cremona had strowed the way onne iter dexira (2) with Roses and Bay, erected Altars, and facrificed thereon as the manner is to similar ager oppi-Kingspassing by: which things, albeit they pleased them prosently, turned after-dain vittime wards to their ruine. Cacina and Valens were by, and shewed the places of the suctonius priconflict: from this place the Legions went out and charged: from hence the horfe-tellio, e. 10 adconflict: from this place the Legions went out and charged from the Cap deth firther, menarole, from thence the Auxilians closed about. Now the Tribunes and Cap deth firther, menarole, troin thence the Auxilians closed about. taines extolling each his own prowesse, with many a lie mingled some truths, or quibus pugna. made of the truth more then it was. The common fouldiers also with clamour and tum of adit, py flept out of the way calling to remembrance the ground they had traversed, behold and wonder at the heapes of armour and bodies: and some there were whom veram tabem, hold and wonder at the neapes of armour and bodies: and formet the fact with the changeable fortune of humane affaires moved to pity and teares. But Vitelli desfabilitions and confirme an usas a man without all compassion turned not away his eies, nor had knot in hor-fus est, sprime the gods of the place. After these things Fabius Valens at Bononia maketh a shew of 13, Hill of Fa-Pencers: to the fetting out whereof, furniture was fetched from Rome: & the nearer bias Valens. Vicellius came to the City, the more diffolute and corrupt was he and his Compacantilinum. ay, Stage-plaiers affociating themselves to the traine, 1 and droves of Eunuchs, fladomingue and the reft of the Buffons of Neroes Court. For Vitellius was an admirer also of agmine. Nero himselfe, and was wont to attend m and sollow him as he did sing, not by c. 4. compulfion

fome indeed were ftr ken our but every one, is it may feem, accom-See the anno-

compulsions as many a good man, but felling his honour to nourish his riot and feed orum co-sulation, his belly, to which he had wholly enthralled himselfe. Now that Valens and Can cina might obtaine some void months that yeare to be Consuls in, certaine others were abridged of their time: M.Macer was passed over because he had beene Captaine of Othoes fide: Valerius Marinus whom Galbaappointed was put over to another time, not upon any dislike, but because he was of a soft nature, and would punta nisor gently putup a wrong. Pedanius Costa was omitted being disliked of the Prince, two months. because he had attempted against Nero, pricked Verginius forward: but Vitellius alleadged other causes; and according to the servile custome of that time great the first book. thanks were given him beside.

> 1 Wakes and feafts of Bacchus] Perviglia, wakes and folemnities by night, in honor of fome god, during fome times for many nights cogether, in which indeed was practited all kinde of diffolutenes and infolency. (4m vinumes nox, & miss seminis mares, cetatis tenera majoribus discrimen omne pudoris extinxissent, as Livie speaketh. Of which hade in the Common-weales of Greece were many, and many abules growing thereof, as may well are account the common weales of Greece were many, and many abules growing thereof, as may well are account to Comedies of those times and Plantus Aululana, Ego me injurian feeffe faton file use, Cereit visitis per visual eque impuls adolifientie, and yet those of Ceres f.cm of all other to have been the most fober, and therefore thought fit to be retained by Tully, 2. de legibus Nocturna sucrificia mulierum, nesunto prater olla que pro populo rite ficat neve quem insianto, nifi, utaffolet, Ceren, Greeo facto Vitellius faith Suct. cap. 10. In Appennini quidem jugit etiam pervugitum egit; 10 which act of his Tacitus peradventure here alludeth, Now Bacchanalia were, as I think, nothing elfe burgeri. gilea in honour of Bacchus, of all other the most destolute, corrupt and desperate, of whole beginnings, increase, and destruction in the Roman state, read Livylib. 38 and Tully lib. 2. delegibes.

> 2. With Roles and Bay, creeted Altars] upon the coming of Kings and great personages, the custome was to fram the ways with flowers. Herodianus lib 4. at Caracallaesentry into Alexandria : de Profess no si of a faith mean the ways with nowers. Heromanus no a at Catalantee truly into the property of fivers, and the is at the coming of figure its βασιλέα. Teat is Thybinometal the Frepring with truthes and fixed figure of fivers, and the is at the coming of Commodus to * operate manufacture truly from the factor of the fiver is the first truly for the first truly from the factor of the fiver is the factor of the fiver is the first truly for the first truly ्र नकंत्रच जीता हांद्रिका वादित कंत्रच वेशम्बद्रिकाचा कंद में प्रकृतिक होकर कि कारण के किया है जा कि approched mare the ing, at the S. nate, and generally as many as dwelt in Reme same forth and met him every man as far off from the city as pollicly testald. bearing bayes and bringing all forts of flowers then in frason. Claudianus Panegyr. 2 de Stilicone.

Spectabunt cupide matres, fp.ag ntur & omnes

3. To the gods of the place In that religion every wood and field had his locall gods, without whose 200d in vour no humane action could in that place have any happy successe. So Æneas in Virg. 1,7, at his entry into Italy,

- geniumque loci primamque deorum Tellurem, symphasque, & adhue ignota precatur
Flumina—and Orestes in Sophocles Electradin' & sunfa 75, Stoir in 202000

שנים של השוני של של השוני של היו של השוני של היו In Xenophon 1. 34th. Cambyles and Cyres p affing out of Perfia, secretary 3 tole s, teger rice & epoilte the splices in the state of th And entring into Media, @2000/2010 audis Diese wife und in your street, there is duplete stylical and not the to to receive the favourably and with good (peed.

> XXII. One Geta a bond-man counterfaiting himselfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and affociating others unto him, was taken, brought to Vitellius and hanged.

Bout the same time a certaine fable, beleeved at the first, and running with out controlment at the beginning, ended within few dayes. A certaine man counterfaited himselfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and that he had lienin Neroes time for feare secret in Histria, because there the vassals and possessions of the old Craffi and the affection toward the name did remaine. So certain lewd perfons being affumed to furnish the play, the credulous common people, and some of the fouldiers, upon ignorance of the truth, or elle desirous of troubles, began to associat themselves unto him apace: but their Captain was intrapped anon and brought before Vitellius, and being examined what manner of man he was, when as they

found no truth in his answers, and that he was owned by his master by name and qualitie Geta a fugitive bond-man, he was executed after the manner of flaves.

> XXIII. Vespasian sweareth to Vitellius: then taketh upon him-(elfethe Empire in lewry.

1T is scarcely credible how greatly Vitellius grew in pride and slothfulnesse, when as the fouldiers fent for that purpose brought word out of Syria and Jewry, that the East had sworne allegeance unto him. For Vespasian, albeit onely upon a flying report without any certain author, was in every mans mouth, and commonly fooken of, and oftentimes as he was named Vitellius would startle. Then he and his Army, as being without any concurrent in crueltie, in lust, in oppression, brake out into barbarous and forrein behaviour. But Vespasian in the meane season laying his plot for the war, entred into confideration of the forces both neare and farre off. His own fouldiers, were fo ready in his behalfe, that when he began them the oath and wished all prosperitie to Vitellius, the souldiers answered with silence, without either good wish or good word. Mutianus was not aliene from Vespasian, and toward Titus very well affected. Alexander the governour of Egypt had entred into the confederacie. The third Legion, because it was transferred out of Syria into Mœlia, Vespasian reckoned as his own: and the rest of the Illyrian Legions it was hoped would follow. For the infolent behaviour of the fouldiers which came from Vitellius, with their proud gestures and looks, and rude speeches, despising all others as base and inferiours, had wonderfully offended all the armies beside. But to enterinto so weighty a war was a point not so quickly resolved upon: and Vespasianalbeit he hoped the best, forecast sometimes the worst in his minde: what a day would that be for him, in the which he should commit to the mercy of the war himfelf of three score yeares of age, and his two sons in the flower of their youth? that inprivate attempts a man might proceed and stop where he listed; but to them which defired the Empire there was no middle course, between the state of a Prince' and the death of a Traitour. Furthermore he laied before him the puissance of the German army; a matter well known unto him being a martiall man; that his Legi-'Viro williai, onshad never made triall of themselves in a civill war, whereas they of Vitellius had before he was been conquerours therein: and the conquered party abounded more in complaints fent into Jewthen in forces and strength. Moreover that in civill diffensions the faith of the foul-ry had been Licutenant of diers was fleeting: and that there was perill to be feared from every particular man. a Legion in For what would Cohorts and Wings availe, if one or two, to attaine the reward Germanie, then proposed by the other side, would desperately venture to kill him? so Scribonianus in Britanie, where he was flain under Claudius, and so his murderer Volaginius of a common souldier was fought to batpreferred to the highest places of service. That it was a more easie matter to incite tels, took aallingenerall, then to beware of every one in particular. As he feemed to waver towns, and "moved with these feares, both the other Lieutenants with the rest of his friends adjoyned the "fought to confirme him, and Mutianus after many and fecret conferences, now le of Wight "also in open councell spake to him in this wife. All men, which are to enter into ente of the great and important actions, ought to weigh with themselves, whether that which Roman Em-"isundertaken be profitable to the Commonwealth, honorable for themselves, and pire, whereup-"easie to be effected, or at lest not greatly difficult: withall the party that perswadeth triumphalia or-"unto it is to be considered, whether beside bare words and advise he adjoyne his **amenta. Suct. "own perill thereto, yea or no: and if fortune do favour the attempt to whom the Velp. cap. 4. principall glory accrueth. I call you Velpalian to the taking of the Empire, a matter as much

ter: it is more near a difgrace then a praise to be chosen after Vitellius. We rise nor "against Augustus, a man of that deep in fight, not against the wary old age of Tibe. "rins, nor against the house of Caius, or Claudius, or Nero rooted by so many de. "fcents in the Empire: you gave place also to the ancientnesse of Galbaes house:to "fleep any longer and abandon the State to be in this fort polluted and ruined were "a floth and cowardife, yea although to live in that flavery were as fafe for you as it "is dishonourable, which indeed is not so. The time is already gone and fore-past was feelium of when you might feem to have for ambition defired the Empire: the Empire must sensus que for "now be your fanctuary and refuge. Have you forgotten how Corbulo was murde. fes videri concuofficential red? a man of greater linage then we are, I grant: and fo was Nero likewise then dury of ad in "Vitellius, He that is feared is alwayes noble enough in his conceit that doth feare: "and that a Prince may be made by the fouldiers abroad, Vitellius himselse hath "shewed the way; a man otherwise which never served in field, never attained to any "military renown, but preferred onely upon a diflike of Galba, and now fo difliked "himself, that Otho, whom he overcame, not by stratageme or strength, but by his "own haftie casting away of himself, is become a notable Prince and much wished "for:whereas Vitellius in the mean time disperseth the Legions, disarmeth the Co-"horts, and ministreth daily new matter of war. His own fouldier if he had any cou-"rage or edge, it is dulled and worn away in tipling and brotheling houses, and fol-"lowing the Princes example. You have out of Jewry, Syria, and Egypt ninecom. "pleat Legions in readines, not wasted by war, nor corrupted with mutinies; but a Fouldier confirmed with practife and use, and hartned with happy exploits against "forrein enemies. We have Navies, wings and Cohorts to strengthen our cause, "and Kings befide most faithfull unto us: and that which is above all, your ownex-"perience and skill. Of my felf I will not fay much: this onely that I am not inferi-"our to Cæcina and Valens: disdain not Mutianus for a helper, because you have "him not a competitor: I prefer my felf before Vitellius, and you before me. Your "house is beautified with triumphall ornaments, & adorned with two goodly yong About tween. "men, the one already b capable of the Empire, and in his first service renowned ty feven yeares of among the armies of Germany also: it were absurd for me not to yeeld up the Em-"pire to him, whose some I would furely adopt if my self were Emperour. Nowas concerning the reward and the perill, they shall not be equally parted between us. "For if we do overcome, I shall have that honour which you will affoord me: the "danger and perill shall be alike to us both, or as it is better, rule you these Armies "here, and commit over to me the war and uncertain events of the field. The con-"quered side liveth this day under better discipline, then the conquerours; anger " & hatred, & defire of revenge inflaming them to valor, whereas the other through "pride and breach of discipline wax dullish and blunt: whose secret and swelling "wounds the war of it felf will open and disclose: neither do I repose my selfmore

"upon your vigilant, frugalland discreet dealing, then upon the sluggish, doltish,

"and cruell proceeding of Vitellius. And befide all this our cause is more justifiable

"in war then in peace: for they which deliberate to rebell, have rebelled. After the

Oration of Mutianus the rest came more boldly about him, exhorting and perswa-

ding him, and laying before him the Oracles and Prophecies, and the favourable

aspects of the heavens: neither was Vespasian void of that kinde of superstition. For

afterward when he was Emperour, he had openly about him one Scleucus an Aftro-

loger, to foretell and direct his affaires. Moreover certain old and ominous pre-

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"much for the fafegard of the Common-wealth, as for your own honour. Next af.

"ter the gods it is in your hand to attain it: and fear not as though I faid it to flar-

fages came to his remembrance. A notable 'tall Cypref-tree was in his ground, 'Sun Vehillawhich fuddenly fell down, and the day following rose up againe upon the same no. cap. 5. root and flourished, growing higher and better spread then before. That then by the confent of the Haruspices fore shewed great and prosperous matters: who assured him, when he was very young, of most high and honourable preferment. But atthe first the Consulship, and triumphall ornaments, and the glory of the Jewish & Quem gession victory feemed to have fulfilled the prophecy: when he had attained to them, he be- faith Suet, per victory reemed to have infinited the propriety; when he had attained to them, he deduos voriginos
leeved then the Empire was portended thereby. Between Jewry and Syria lieththe anni mentis a-Mount Carmelus, and fo the god alfo is called, to whom according to the custome bout the latter anciently received an Altar is erected, and all devoutnesse and rexerence shewed, time. but without either image or Temple. As Vespasian sacrificed there, fraught with fecret hopes in his head, Basilides the Priest often viewing and marking the enrailes . What soever it is, quoth he, ô Vespasian, which thou intendest, whether it sues, resp. r. s. hetobuild a house, or to inlarge thy possessions, or to increase the number of ser- apud Judann beto build a houle, or to intarge thy ponemons, or to increase the number of let
earmed decreases wants, it shall be effected: the gods do grant thee a great roome, large limits and culum confidenmany men. These dark speeches were straight-waies noted and published, and now tem (Vespasiaby the common voice of the people applyed and construed: neither was there any num) it a confirmation of the people applyed and construed: thing more vulgar in every mans mouth, and especially in his own audience; as to quiequid copilathem which depend upon hopes, fuch kindes of speeches are most used. From this ret volveretique conference they departed with full resolution, Mutianus to Antiochia, and Vespalibet magnum, id funto Cæfaria, the one being the head towne of Syria, the other of Judwa. The effe perventurum mitto Cararia, the one original tradition and support at Alexandria by Tibe. politeconium matterwas first published, and Vespassan named Emperour at Alexandria by Tibe. politeconium in Alexander, who made the most haste, and ministred the souldiers their oath sith the materials. upon the first day of July, which day afterward was reputed and celebrated as the terwas first fift day of his reigne, although his own Army of Jewry began not before the *third broched and of the fame moneth: and then in his presence they sware with such affection and illigition army. heate, that they did not attend the coming of Titus his sonne out of Syria, who * 5. to Nonas, was a messenger of all matters between Mutianus and his father. The Eviolence Such & to Idam, which is the of the fouldier over-ruled the whole action: for no affembly being called; the Le-eleventh day. gions not met together, the time and place not agreed of, nor the man determined The fouldiers gions not mer together; the time and place not agreed of the first word: hope affection toand feare, reason and chance, diversly distracted their mindes. Matters standing and the maninthese tearmes, as Vespasian came out of his chamber, a tew souldiers after the ner and cirwonted manner stood on a row, as to salute their Generall, but they saluted him his assuming Emperour: then the reft ran too, and heaped upon him the names of Cæfar and Au-the Empire, gullus, and all titles of fovereigne power. His conceits rose from apprehension of a cwell fer gullus, and all titles of fovereigne power. feare to the confideration of his fortune, notwithstanding there appeared in him phus axxx. 4.c. notoken of pride and arrogancy, nor change in fo great a change; but being ama- 36 (who was red at the fudden fight of fo great a multitude, affoon ashe had recovered his fpi-action) with titshe spake unto them souldier-like: and being received with a joyfull applause, he some particufent word to Mutianus of his successe. Mutianus at Antiochia receiving the mef-larmis not age which he looked for, called the fouldiers to the oath for Vespasian, which they Tacitus here, most willingly accepted. Then he went to the . Theatre, where the manner of that noted by Egetowne is to meet and consult: and made a speech unto them, as they flocked and speech and speech unto them, as they flocked and speech unto them, as they flocked and speech unto them. fawned about him, in their own language, as he was a man competently eloquent the ancient E. in the Greek tongue also; and one that had the art to make the most shew of what- graphus, and foever he spake or did. But above all, that incensed principally both the Province extract of Joand the Army, which Mutianus affirmed, that Vitellius had determined to trans- feeling, ferre the Germane Legions into Syria, a rich and quiet service; and of the Con-

h He came out of lewry with Titus when he was fent by his father to Galba: returned back again from Corinth, Agrippa ing, faith Iofeundir conditions a'aixเลือน อีกราก gefippus, lib.4.

2 (42.8.

trary fide to remove the Syrian Legions into Germany, a hard and cold Countrey and a place of great paines: for both they of the Province liked well of the fouldiers company, to whom they were enured, and with whom many of them were linked in affinity and kindred; and the fouldiers likewife loved the place of their fetled Campes, as their own homes, being grown familiar with them, by reason of their tanter to data and the string long fervice there. Before the fifteenth of July all Syria had received the fame oath, and data the string long fervice there. Before the fifteenth of July all Syria had received the fame oath, and data the Moreover Sohemus with his Kingdomes adjoyned himselfe to the cause, a man of stringed back. good forces; and Antiochus of wealth of long gathering, and of all the fubiest Kings the richeft. Agrippa also, upon secret advertisments from his friends, departed from Rome unawares to Vitellius, and failed haftily home: and likewise the Queene Berenice with all her might furthered the fide, a Queene in the flower of cos; των μπυβο. One of the with and well beloved of the old Vespasian also, in respect of the great and rich gifts which she gave. All the Provinces which bordered on the Sea. as far as Asia and Achaia, and all the inlands to Pontus and Armenia, received the out common He oath: but the Lieutenants thereof were without Armies, for as yet 2 Cappadocia had no Legions affigned.

> 1 The Theatre, where the manner of that towne is to meet and confult] For fo all the Græcian Cities aled to doe, as appeareth both by the Greeke Orators and Historiographers; a thing noted also by Ausonius Ludo feptem fapientem, Prologo.

Quid crubescis tu tozate Romule? Scenam qued introibunt tam c'ariviri? Nobis pudendum eft hoc, non & Atticis Quibus th'atrum curie prebet vicem? Nostris regoties sua loca sortito data. Campus comitiis, ut conferiptis curia. Forum atque roltra separat jus civium. Vna eft Athenis, atque in omni Grecia Ad confulendum publics fedes lo: i.

2 Cappadocia had no legious] Vespalian being setled in state Cappadocie, saith . Suctonius, propter assiduo barbarreumineursus legiones addidit, consularemque rectorem imposuit pro equite Romano, yet by Tacitus it may seemethate was some power. Cappadicia Pontufque & quicquid castrorum Arminis pretenditur.

XXIIII. The preparation of Vessislan and his side for the warre.

DERYTUS was elected for the place of their principall confultations. Thither Mutianus with the Lieutenants and Tribunes repaired, and the chiefest of the Centurions and fouldiers, and certaine choise persons out of the Jewish Army. So many footmen and horsemen together, and so great preparations of Kings striving to exceed one another made a fnew of a Princes estate. The first provision for warre was to levy more men, and revoke the old fouldiers which were discharged: certaine strong Cities were appointed out to make Armour therein: at Antioch gold and filver was coyned: and in all these severall workes great speed and diligence used by the means of good over-seers. Vespasian also would go in his own person and encourage them, inciting the good by praise, the slow by example rather then correction, more ready to conceale the vices of his friends then the vertues: many he rewarded with Captaines and Procuratours places, many he advanced to be Senatours, excellent men and of great vertue, and which afterwards attained to highest degrees, although in some, Fortune supplied the want of good qualities. As for donatives to the fouldier, neither did Mutianus in his first oration make any mention but sparingly thereof, nor Vespasian make any offer of greater in civil warre, then others were wonted in peace; a man notable and firme against these lavishings to fouldiers, and therefore having his Army better in order. Moreover Embaffadours were fent to the kings of Parthia and Armenia to conclude a furceafance of armes, left whileft the Legions were intentive upon the civill war, those na- gypti. 70 (pplus, nons should affault the frontiers behinde. It was agreed that Titus should prosecute state 1,4.6.37. the lewish warre, and Vespasian should put himself in possession of the aftrength of Openeth this Egypt. Against Vitellius it was thought sufficient to send a part of the hoste, and of the necession. Mutianus to lead them, and the name of Vespasian, and the favour of fate, which ty of the counfindeth or maketh a way through all lets. Then letters were written to all the Lieu-trey to the virenants and armies, and order given out to invite the Prætorian fouldiers, which raly, of the hated Vitellius, upon promife of restitution to their places. Mutianus with an army strength on ca notencombred with carriage, bearing himself rather as the Emperours fellow then hardnesse of as a fervant 2 marched forward, not very froutly, left he should seeme for feare to access either galervant a marched forward, not very neutry, but he had to to grow; know by land or by delay, nor yet very haftily, but gave time for the fame of the action to grow; know by land or by Sca, and effective to the fame of the action to grow; know by land or by Sca, and effective to the fame of the action to grow; know by land or by Sca, and effective to the fame of the action to grow; know by land or by Sca, and effective to the fame of the action to grow; know by land or by Sca, and effective to the fame of the action to grow; know by land or by Sca, and effective to the fame of the action to grow; know by land or by Sca, and effective to grow to the fame of the action to grow; know by land or by Sca, and effective to grow to grow the fame of the action to grow; know by land or by Sca, and effective to grow to grow the fame of the action to grow to grow the fame of the action to grow to grow the fame of the action to grow to grow the fame of the action to grow the act ingthat his strength was not much, and that men beleeve alwayes greater matters cially of the of things which are absent: but there followed a great troupe, the fixth Legion, and dangerousness thinteene thousand Vexillaries. The fleet he commanded to passe out of Pontus of the haven and meet him at Byzantium, being half in a minde to leave Moessia, 3 and with his a very partihorsemen and footmen directly to go to Dyrrhachium, and with all with his ships of cular descripware to shut up the sea toward Italy, leaving Achaia and Asia behinde him in safe-thelesse Willetie, which, unlesse they were guarded with sufficient power, being without armies san, after this would lye open to Vitellius, and that by that means Vitellius himself would stand in confultation doubt what part of Italy to protect, if at one instant Brundusium and Tarentum, and cording to for the coafts of Lucania and Calabria should be infested by enemies sleets. Thus the sphus ca. 4.

brovinces were bussly occupied in provision of ships, men, and armour; but the went to ships. greatest difficultie was to get money: which Mutianus affirming to be the sinews of went into Ecivill warre, respected not law or equitie in judgements, but only what way to pro-gypt.

Cure masses of money. Crimes were daily devised against men of most wealth, forward Musiand they spoiled: which manner of dealing being of it self grievous and intolera-anus in his ble, but in some fort excusable by the necessitie of the warre, remained also in peace way, here he afterward. For Vespasian himself, albeit at the beginning of his Empire he was not going to talke hobstinately bent to attain unreasonable matters, yet upon his continual prospe- of the prepantie, and taught by ill mafters, he took forth a bad leffon, and used it boldly. With what diforderbisown pursuals Mutianus furthered the warre, conferring privately that, which ly, and peradhe would in more ample measure repay himself out of the common. The rest fol-venture to lowing his example in contributing of money, few or none had the grace to re-faving of Muceive it again with the like vantage. tianus . Pecu-

1 Berytus By the circumftances in the flory of Josephus it may seeme that here at Berytus was the field meeting of Velpasian and Mucianus, and that before all was dealt between them by the mediation of Titus, whom we finde in Tactus absent with Mucianus in Syria, which had not needed if they had met before, and the matter been condukdupon. Surely in Tacitus of their first meeting no place is fet downe, and it may feeme strange how two Dimenants General could come perfonally together before the warre was openly undertaken. But they not come group the process their open declaration in armes, there had been no place left for that good oration, which Taoms meant howfoever to bellow on Mucianus: although for the trueth of the flory, and the circumstances of matters which passed in Jewry, and Syria, Iam content to beleeve Josephusbetter, who as I have faid, was an eyewitnesse of the whole action.

2 Marched forward] Josephus dads. 4.cap. 40. ் நியயான் சிய மீ க்கம்மில் அயித்து சிர்கள் கில், சுரி மிம் நகால் நீத சில radicises, 2) operios. That is, Mutianus fearing to commit himselfe to the sea because it was the deep of winter, brought his army hand thorow Cappadocia and Phrygia. How it could be MINO dared, the deepe of winter, when as without queltion thewarre was begun fometime in July, or at the furthest in the beginning of August, I cannot imagine.

3 To leave Motha and with his horlemen] It appeareth in the processe of the story; that he took the way of Mohas of whose whole journey from Syria, till we finde him in the third book fighting with the Dacians, we have not one word fee down by Tacicus; as likewife after that action; till his entry into Rome, in the fourth book: points in myjudgement very materiall in a good ftory, and greatly to the fatisfaction of the Reader.

XXV. The

nias ese belli ci-

vilis nervos.

XXV. The armies in Massia, Pannonia and Dalmatia adhere to Vespasian.

legions, but ncoully.

Annal.

He affaires of Vespasian were in the meane season hastened forward by the Illyrian armies affection toward the fide. The third Legion gave example to the other two Legions of Moesia: the seventh surnamed Claudiana, and the eight being wellwillers of Otho, albeit they were not present at the battell. but Suer, Vely, c.6, onely come forward to Aquileia; at which place miluting the meffengers that writeth that brought word of Othoes overthrow, and tearing the banners wherein Vitellius name was inscribed, and lastly taking a summe of money by violence and parting it actions, out 200.out of the amongst them, they shewed themselves open enemies to the cause. Whereupon three Legions they feared displeasure, and upon feare devised, that this kinde of dealing, which to to Aquilius: Vitellius must have needed a long and solemne excuse, might to Vespassian be setun no doubterro- and reckoned as a favour and benefit. So the three Moefian Legions, thus concurring in one, by letters invited the Pannonian army to the cause, or if they refused. prepared to force them. In that tumult Aponius Saturninus Lientenant generallof Moessia endeavoured to commit a most wicked act, sending a Centurion to murder Tertius Julianus Lieutenant of the seventh Legion, upon private grudges, pretending the publike cause of the sides. Julianus understanding of the danger, and takino guides skilfull in the countrey, fled by the deferts of Moesia, beyond the mount Hemus, and afterward was not present in the civill warre of the one side or other: protracting the journey he tooke to Vefpafian by divers delayes, and as the cccur. rences were, making leffe speed or more. But in l'annonia the thirteenth Legion. and seventh surnamed Galbiana, retaining the anger and griefe of the losse at Bebrincum, without any flay joyned themselves to Vespasian, at the incite mentorincipally of Antonius Primus, a man attainted in law, and in Neroestime beconvided of forgery, but among other miseries of warre and a troubled state he recovered his place in the Senate, and by Galba was made Lieutenant of the feventh Legion. He was supposed to have written divers letters to Otho, offering his service for Captaine to the fide; of whom being not regarded, he was not that warre in any employment: but when as Vitellius estate began to decay, following Vespasian headded great waight to the cause, being a valiant man of his hands, of a ready utterance, a cunning craftsmafter to make other odious, in diffensions and mutinies powerable, a violent spoyler, a wastfull spender, in time of peace and quiet government insupportable, in warre not to be contemned. The Modian and Pannonian armies, being thus joyned together, drew anon the Dalmatian fouldier, albeitthe Lieutenants generall sturred nothing at all. Titus Flavianus was Generall of Pannonia, and Pompeius Sullanus of Dalmatia, two wealthy old men: but there was in the countrey Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator, a man in the principall strength of his age, and of noble birth; who in his first yeeres upon desire of ease, had renounced his place in Senate, and afterward being Captaine of his colonic in favour of Galba, by that meanes attained a Procuratorship. This man, entring into the cause of Vespasian, became a principall firebrand of the warre, seeming to delight not so much in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themselves, and in stead of certainties wherewith he was anciently endued, chusing new and doubtfull uncertainties. So he affayeth to shake and stirre up what soever there was any were discontested, writing into Britanny to the foureteenth Legion, into Spaine to the first, because they both had ftood against Vitellius for Otho: letters also were sent abroad into

France: and so in one moment there brake a great and mightie warre out the Illvrian armies thus plainly revolting, and the rest inclining to follow, where fortune hould favour.

1 Illyrianarmies Some learned men charge this narration here, and generally the flory of the Actions between Viellins and Vespatian, of great insufficiencies, imperf. ctions, and consustons, whereof I doe in my judgement most electely acquirit. Illyricum was divided into three provinces; Macsia, whereof at this time Aponius Saturmus was Præfident or Lieutenant generall; Pannonia, whereof T. Ampius Flavianus was prefident, and Dalmatia, whereof l'oppœus Silvanus, or Pompeius Sullanus (for in both names we finde difference of writing) was prefith, market a spread of the Legions, terria Gallica, oftava Augulta, and feptima Claudiana led by three legal legions. Dillius Aponianus of the third, bith. 3. Numifius Lupus of the eight, hith. 3. and mms, Leatenants Capenar American Applications of the three man who was also Lieutenant in the last warre, 3, his and 2. In Diluratia there was none but onely one Legion, namely undecima Claudiana (the foureteenth being transported into Britanny) whose Lieutenant was Annius Bastus, 3. hist, the premisses considered, which are all expressed by Tacisus, I fee not what can be required more to the perfection of this narration here, it feeming to me one of the belland most fusticien: in this book: and so likewise in the whole story of Tacitus, of all great actions I take that between Vitellius and Vespasian to be generally the most fully, and best set down, as the other between Otho and Vitellius the worth. Now for the time when Illyricum began to revolt from Vitellius, as in noting of times Tacimis alwayes to feant, Suctonius Vitellio fomewhat releevethus, Ottavo imperii menfe descriverunt ab eo exercitus a Cap. 15. Mefaran alque Pannonie: fo that it feemeth to have been begun in August, or perchance toward the latter end

XXVI. Vitellius maketh his entry into Rome.

Hilest these things were a working in the provinces, by Vespasian and his adherents, Vitellius growing every day more centemptible and flouthfull. Staying upon every place of pleasure in towne and country with his troublesome traine marched toward the citie. , Threescore thousand armed men were in the company licentiously given, of lackeyes and horsekeepers a greater number with infinite victuallers and followers of the camp, the most dissolute of all others: beside the traines of so many Lieutenants and so many friends, out of all compasse of obedience, yea although the governours had been men of great auferitie and strictnesse. Moreover the Senatours and gentlemen charged the train, who came out of the citie to meet him, fome for feare, fome for flattery, the rest and so all one after another for company, lest they should seeme to stay behinde when other did goe. Thither reforted also of the baser sort certaine well knowne to Vitellius by reason of unhonest services, which in time past they had done him, asbuffons, stage-players and charet drivers; with which kinde of reprochfullacquaintance he was delighted wonderfully. Neither were the colonies onely or free townes impoverished by purveying of victuals for so huge a company; but the husbandmen themselves, and sields, the corn being now ripe, were spoyled and wafed as an enemy countrey. Many and cruell murders were committed by the fouldiers among themselves, by reason of the jarring which continued betweene the Legions and Aydes, ever fince the stirre at Ticinum: against the Peosants, or any third partie they agreed but too well: but the greatest slaughter was seven miles from the citie. At that place Vitellius distributed to his souldiers, according to the falhion of 2 Fencers diet, to every of them meat already dreffed; and the common People, that came out of the citie to fee it, had difperfed themfelves throughout the whole campe. As the fouldiers gave no heed to fuch matters, certaine peafants, afterakinde of homely jefting, cut away fecretly their belts, & spoyled them thereof; aking in jybing maner, whether they were girded or no. The fouldiers ftomach, not used to beare words of disgrace, could not digest that scorn: but with their swords

feemeth to

Fofephus 4.

1) de cap. 25.

this entry.

deferibeth also

94 revenged themselves upon the people which was without weapon: among others the father of one of the fouldiers was flaine as he accompanied his fonne: upon which accident perceived and noised abroad they refrained from shedding of innocent blood. Notwithstanding in Rome the terrour was great, by reason of the fouldiers running and gadding thither before. The place of common affembly they repaired specially to, coveting to behold the place where Galba was slaine: when as they themselves were a spectacle no lesse horrible, with hides of wilde beasts about their backs, and huge maffie javelins in their hands, falling to quarelling, and from quarelling to blowes and their weapon, when as through their owne lacke of skill they did not avoide the presse of the people, or chanced to fall by means of the flippery stones, or justling of others. The Tribunes also and other Captains in terrible fort, with multitudes of armed men, went squaring and jetting the streets. Vitellius himselse riding from the Milvian bridge upon a goodly courser with his coate armour on backe, and girded fouldierlike, putting the Senate and people he-* Suctionities C. 11 forehim, had wellnigh made his entry as into a town taken by force but being adwifed otherwife by his friends he laid afide his military attire, and taking his robes ne did to three manner. The 3 Standards of four Legions, were ad Eighton in marched with his men in peaceable manner. The 3 Standards of four Legions, were troit, polithers marshalled in front, and so many banners about them out of other Legions, then foreigne facility the enfigues of twelve wings; next to whom were the ranks of footmen, and behinde them the horse, and lastly four and thirtie cohorts distinguished according Gas bater figna to the names of the nations they were of, or kindes of weapons they used. Before Cazalaris cometi the Standerd marched the Camp-mafters and Tribunes and principall Centurions bus ac detectis in white garments, the other Centurions each with his own band gliftering allinar. committenum mour, and goodly gifts won by their fervice: the chains also of the common soularmis, for this nave been the minner of en diers and horse furniture shone: abrave and beautifull shew, and an army worthy tring a town of a better Prince then Vitellius. After this manner entring the Capitoll, and there taken by force, embracing his mother, he honoured her with the name and style of Augusta.

> Threefcore thousand armed men] Valenshad out of Germany fortici housand armed men, beside high stable. and eight cohorts of Batavians, &c Carcina thretie thousand, beliefe Ala Syllana, &c. Vitellius tota mole is lifetingrm, forth Tacitus, 1, hift, and in this booke, reliquas Germanice executios vines trabebat, elide eight choud and e Release to detalu, of all which number we finde in Tacitus none funt away, but the cohous of Batavians, and yet have have but threefcore thousand armed men.

> 2 Fencers diet, Gladiau r.a [agina] Gladiatoro & Athicie in old time were most daintily dieted and ll sil-fed, ask were: the known phrases of Atheneus kabinus, and G'adiatoria fagina, importing no left. Cic. Cumgui awate at corperis fi mitate. Cyprianus: Impletur in fuccum cibis factioribus corpus, & arvina affilia inidoris moles memberum robali:

> pingu feit, ut faginatus in pænam carius percat. Tie Handerds of four legions] The tight Legions, which feeme here, and eliewhere, to be noted of Vitilius fide, were Italica, and the feven Lections of Germany, albeit none completely but Rayax, in all the reflored the men being left behinde, and the whole names attributed alike to both parts.

XXVII. The actions of Vitellius at Rome after his entry.

➡He day following,as though he had fpoken before the Senate and peopleof a strange city, he made a glorious speech of himself, extolling his own induftriousnesse and temperancy, when as they which heard him of their own knowledge were witneffes of his lewd actions, and all Italy befide, thorow which he marched for drowfinesse and riot notoriously infamous: notwithstanding the common people which is voyd of cares, and learned in one lesson onely, without difference of trueth and fallhood to flatter them in authoritie; with showts and words gave their applause; and when he denyed the name of Augustus they constrained him to take it by force, as vainly as before he had vainely refused it. By vertue of

his High-prieftship he published his edict of ceremonies upon the eighteenth of Suct. Vitel c. his High: which thing in a citie which construed all things was taken for an ill signe, humanoque jure the day being of ancient time i counted unlucky, by reason of the overthrowes mention alliens at Cremera and Allia: foignorant he was of all law humane and divine, and foneg-die pontificatum ligent were his friends & fervants, as that he feemed to have none but drunken perforsabout him. Notwithstanding in the 2 election of Consuls he carryed himself inakinde of equalitie, seriously affecting in the Theatre as a spectatour, in the Race asapartaker, the favour of the meanest fort; things acceptable indeed populary, if they had sprung from a vertuous root; but the memory of his former life made them esteemed base and dishonourable. He came often into the Senate, even when fmall matters were handled; and as once by fortune Helvidius Priscus Prætor elect had opened against a matter which Vitellius affected, he was in choler at the first. but proceeded no further, but only to pray aid at the Tribunes of the people against the contempt of his authority. Whereupon Helvidius friends, who feared a deeper impression of anger in his minde, going about to mitigate and make up the matter, heanswered that it was no new thing to see two Senatours in the Common-wealth disagree in judgement: that he was also wont sometimes to diffent from Thrasea. Many derided the impudency of the comparison: others liked it well, that he had nicked out not one of the powerable favorits in court, but Thrasea rather for a pattern of true glory. 3 P. Sabinus and Julius Priscus were constituted captains of the Guard: Priscus by Valens preferment, and Sabinus by Cæcinaes. For Cæcinaand Valens disposed of all the affaires of the Empire, leaving between them little authontie or none at all to Vitellius, and yet jarring and disagreeing together, anciently enemies one to the other: but the warre and the camp covered the rancour so so for a feasion, which now brake out and was greatly increased by the perverse behaviour of friends, and living together in a city fo fruitfull to breed and nourish dislikes; whilest they contend together, and are compared by others in multitude of suiters and followers, and greatnesse of train; Vitellius diversly favouring sometimes the one, sometime the other: as powerablenes is never sure where it is too excessive. As for Vitellius, knowing him to be fuddenly mutable upon every offence or flattery. they contemned and feared him withall: nevertheleffe whileft the time was they ferred themselves, and gat houses, gardens, and the riches of the Empire into their hands, when as the lamentable and indigent multitude of Noblemen, whom Galba with their children restored to their country, was not any way relieved by the princosliberalitie. Only he granted them their former right 4 over their freed men: apoint acceptable to the chiefe men of the citie, and not disallowed even of the meane fort: but those servile natures marred altogether the benefit thereof, hiding their money in secret corners, or in great mens coffers, and some of them passed to the service of the Prince, and became of more might then their masters. Now as touching the fouldiers, when as the Prætorian camp was replenished, the remainderwhich was very great, lodged in porches and temples scattered up and down the whole town forgatto know their enfignes, to keepe watch and ward, to hardeuthemselves with labour and travell: but drowned in the pleasures of the citie, and filthinesse not to be named, weakned their bodies with idlenesse, & their minde with incontinent living: and laftly without any care at all of their own health, many quartered in the pestilent places of the Vatican, wherupon the death of many commonpersons ensued: and the Germans and Frenchmen lying by the Tiber, and being otherwise subject to diseases, utterly overthrew the state of their body, with too much swimming in the river, and impatience of heat. Moreover the citie souldiery

Princes, under

foureurbane were enrolled, containing a thousand men a piece. In preferring to those roomes Valens presumed to beare greater stroak, as being the worthier man and having redeemed Cacina himself out of perill: and in truth by his coming the fide was revived, and with so happy a battell he cancelled the hard opinion of his flow coming forward: and all the fouldiers of low Germany followed Valens and depended wholly upon him: upon which causes it is supposed that Cacinaes faith began first to be fleeting. Notwithstanding Vitellius yeelded not so much to the Captains, but that he veelded much more to the fouldiers pleasures: every one chose his owne place of service: were he never sounworthy, if he liked it better he was deputed to the citie service: again those which were fit were suffered, if they listed to remain in their former estate among the Legionaries or Auxiliary souldiers: which divers were willing to do being molefted with ficknesses, and not able to endure the heat of the countrey. Notwithstanding the Legions and Aides were drawn of their principall strength, and the beautie of the Prætorian camp blemis. ed, by this confusion rather then choice of twentie thousand out of the wholear. my. As Vitellius was making a folemne speech, the fouldiers required Asiaticus and Flavius, and Rufinus, captains of France to be executed, because they had ta. ken armes in Vindex behalfe, neither did Vitellius restraine such speeches, besides that he was a man of weak refistance by nature, knowing also that the day of his do. native was at hand, and the money wanting. Wherefore he granted liberally allother requests to the souldier: and to supply that defect the freedmen of the former Princes were commanded to contribute, according to the number of their bond. men: whereas Vitellius without other care, fave onely to waste and consume, build. ing up stables for charet-drivers, filled the Race with spectacles of sencers and wild beafts, and as in greatest abundance cast money most idlely away. Furthermore Cæcina and Valens with great preparation, and fuch as before that time was never feene, celebrated the birth day of Vitellius, with shews "of Fencers in every street b Surrection throughout the whole citie. One thing much grieved the good, as it cheered the eu ausuns jorce quod exemplar re- bad, that Vitellius erected altars in Campus Martius, and there celebrated solemngenda reip, digo ly the bexequies of Nero, the beafts for the facrifice were publikely flain and burnt: Marie, Allibria The Augustales pur to the fire: which order of Priests Tiberius Cæsar consecradatum frequenties ted to the Julian family, as Romulus did another the like to king Tatius. It was not yetfully foure moneths fince the victory, and Afiaticus Vitellius freedmanhad c Read Sur. Vi- fully done as much harme, as ever had any Polycletus, or Patrobius, or whatloever rdivica), 1. Individuole as much natine, assert in adaly 1 feet as a control of the state of the tions, seen mil- or ablenesse: the only way to credit was with prodigall banquets, and sumptuous lions thirtie one cheere to satiate the unsatiable appetites of Vitellius; who contenting himself to hundred and fif- injoy the prefent, and caring not any further, is thought in fo few moneths, to have ing wasted in ine hundred millions of sesterces: a great and miserable citie, whichin but, a greatora- the same yeere supported an Otho and a Vitellius; and that which is more insuptor, an instrutor, an instr portable, a Vinius, a Fabius, and Icelus, and Afiaticus, in great varietie of most ignoagainst Torafea minious forts, untill such time as Mutianus and Marcellus, and rather other men generally in fa-then other manners succeeded in place.

whom he have as a smoother of t Accounted unlucky] Livius lib. 6. I. Tum de dichus religiosis agitari catum diemque ad 1 f. Kalen. Sexilles dupki their actions. clade infignem, quo die ad creme am Fabu casi, quo deinde Alliam cum exitio urbus fade pugnatum, à posseriore clade. Allianunen mennen eune unggevan, genome an ereme um zeun erze, quo arema nuam enum enum unen genomen, a poperaren eune Antoniere et al Lai Chai, (pm appelarunt, sulfgemman null ver public et privatingua agreta ferrente. Dio. lib. 9, de elemental; trà discher tellem et al Lai Chai, (pm appelarunt, sulfgemman null ver public et privatingua agreta ferrente. Dio. lib. 9, de elemental; tra en en elemental de element wife discussive. That is , The day in which this calamitic befell them, the people of Rome accounts difmall and unlucky; milled

will they on it begin any serious matter, in respect of the ill fortune that had happened that day to the citie. In the election of Confuls: Comitia Confulum cum candidatis civiliter celebrans] What by Comitia Confulum should hemeant in this place, the people being at this time excluded from all voyce in elections, either I doe not conceive, or elle comitiz consulum civiliter celebrare, is but as much, as munera a cand duis consulatus edita (whether it were himfelle or anyother) civilier cel brare. In the free flate the fuiters for offices, to win the peoples favour and good will, inte or anyoung from the branch of the first three purpose enacted, forbidden, and brought within the compasse of anyoung a law, expressly by Tully to that purpose enacted, forbidden, and brought within the compasse of ambitus. Cicero in Vatinium: Ego legem de ambitus ex S. C. tuli, que dil cide votat bienino quo quis petat primarufve fit, gladiatores dave miliex testamento. But after they had attained their fuit, it was then not lawfull only, but necessarily incident to most offices to exhibite to the people all forts of games and playes, and accordingly they performed it with all magnificence and coft. Vnder the Emperours, albeit no part of the election of any officer depended upon the peoples favour, yet both candidati, and designati, and actuall officers continued to minister to the prople their accustomed pleasures of gladiatores, circenf.s, &c. contending therein by all possible means to winne the good will of the people. In the time of Alex. Mam. Quessores candidate munera populo d. derunt. In Neroes time. Quefloribus designatis gladiatores ed indi accessi as erat, saith Tac. Conful designatus est & munus edidit. Marcel. Jure conf 1. 36. Now to be present at these shows was accounted great popularitie in the Prince, Xiph. de Oth. els re Hara cuir Xi hinning Somelar re maises. That is, He used much the theaves to win the hearts of the multitude. Sucton. de Aug. 19se (in- a cap. 15. unfa spetiabat spetiaculo plurimas horas, aliquando totos di saderat. Tacit 1. Ann. de codem. Civile rebatur mis. 11 voluptailous vulgi, as contrarily to come seldome thither was distiked as a signe of a proud, melancholike, and sowre nainte ; whereof Julianus acculeth himfelfe in Milopogone ; สิงผมเหลือง เกตาช อยูเล่า, เลือกรุง ค่ สุดผมเลาส อัตุภามอาการ เกิดสายอย่า anducar els dutos paros, &c. That is, I almosycs hate and shun the horse race, as they which are indetted to the places of publishe affembly, therefore I go feldome to them, or to come thither and not to be attentive, or alind agere, as Cxfar. qui vulgo reprehafu eft, faith Suctonius, qued inter fectandum epiflolis libellique legendis ac referibendis vacaret. But Vitellius here feemthnot onely to have frequented the flews, which candidati Confulatus, or designati did exhibit, but also to have taken part for example, with the Mirmylones against the Thraces in theatro, or with the Penets against the Prafini in circo, and therein omnem insimme plebis rumorem aff. daffe: in those dayes accounted a point of moit great popularitie: Suet. Tito: Quin & fludium armature Thracum (ne quid popularitatis prætermitteret) præ feferens, fæpe cum populo & voce & b cap. 8. gfu, ut fautor cavillatus eft Tiers, verum mijestate falva.

P. Sabinus 7 Not Vespasians brother, as some learned men against all circumstances of story have written. This Sabinus was cast in prison ob amicitiam Cacine: 3. Hist. Vespasians brother was Prafectus urbis, and at good libenie, till he was besieged and taken in the Capitoll.

4 Right over their freed men: Jura Libertorum] The Libertus was bound to maintaine his patrone, if by any meanes he fell in decay at his death: by the old conflitutions to leave his patrone heire of the ha fe of his goods, which if it were any wayes embezeled, the law awarded the patrone omnum benorum possessionem etiam contratabulas: and in the fetwo points, befide fome other fervices and duties called in the law opera, confided almost the whole just Bertatum, as appeareth lib. 28. Digett. Now whereas Vitellius revifis ab exilio jura libertorum concessit by grace, it fetmeth in latter times to have be longed to them by common right. Vipian. Dig. 38. tit. de box's l'bertorum L.3. Si dematus parronus restitutu fits, liber s contra tabulas bonorum possessionem accipere potest, and againe in the same title, L. 4. Paullus, Si deportatus pationes fit, filio ejus cum petit bonorum poffessio in bonis liberti, nec impedimento eft et ta ispatronus, qui demontui loco habetur.

The Augustales] Tac. 1. Ann. Idem annus rovus ceremonias accept, addito sedalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quonlum Titus Tatius retinendis Sabinorum ficeis sodales Tit os institucrat, fonte duelle e primoribus civitatis unus & vigints, Tibein, Drufufque & Claudius, & Germanicus adjiciuntar. Where we fee Tacitus attribute that to Tatius himfelfe, which here he attributeth to Romulus,

XXVIII. The preparation of Vitellius against Vespasian.

He revolt of the third Legion was first of all other certified to Vitellius by letters, written by Aponius Saturninus, before that he also associated himfelf to Vespasians side. But neither did Aponius write all, as a man affrighted with the suddennesse thereof, and beside the friends of Vitellius flatteringly sought to extenuate and lessen the matter: that it was but a mutinie of one Legion alone; a matter of no moment, seeing all other armies remained in obedience. After the same style Vitellius also spake to the souldiers, inveying against the lately cassed Prætorians, by whom he affirmed false rumours were spred, and that there was no danger of civil warre, suppressing the name of Vespasian, and setting under hand fouldiers abroad in the town to restrain the speeches of the common people: which thing was a principall means to nourish the fame. Neverthelesse he sent for Aydes out of Germany and Britanny, and the Spains, coldly and diffembling the necessity: the Lieutenants and provinces on their parts used the like coldnesse againe. Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant of Germany suspecting already the revolt of Batavia,

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had a war of his own to care and provide for. Vectius Bolanus governed in Britanny. a countrey never fo in quiet, that he could conveniently spare any number of souldiers: and befide neither of them were greatly fast to the fide. Out of the Spains also fmall haste was made: at that time there was no Lieutenant generall there, but only the Lieutenants of three Legions of equall authority; who as in Vitellius profperitie they would have contended who should have been foremost, so now in his declining estate they equally drew backe. In Africkethe legion and cohorts levied by Clodius Macer, and straightwaies dismissed by Galba, began by Vitellius commandment to refume their fervice againe: and withall the whole youth of the province voluntarily gave in their names to be fouldiers: for Vitellius had governed as a Proconfull there with good integritie and liking, Vespasian with as much infamie and hatred of the countrey; and accordingly our allies prefumed, they would carry themselves in the Empire: but the triall was otherwise. And at the beginning Va. lerius Festus the Lieutenant furthered faithfully the endevours of those of the province: but anon he faultred, in letters and edicts openly pretending Vitellius. and with fecret messages intertaining Vespasian, meaning to defend the one side or the other, according as they should happen to prosper. Some Centurions and souldiers were taken in Rhoetia and France with letters and edicts of Vespasian about them, and being fent to Vitellius were flain: but more escaped passing undiscover. ed by the secretnesse of friends, or by their own shifting. So the preparations of Vitellius were known abroad: Vespasians purposes were for the most part unknown. partly thorow the negligence of Vitellius, and partly because the Pannonian Alpes were kept with garrison, which stayed all messengers: and at the sea the Etesians blew, a good winde to faile Eastward, and contrary from thence.

a Olympiodorus feemeth to have r Vitellius had governed as Procontull] In administranda provincia (Africa) singularem innocentiam profitits (Vitellius) faith Suctonius Vitellio cap. 5. agreeing with Tacitus : but in Vespasian he disagreeth verily. Tacitus laith read the place of here, famofum intifumque proconfillatum in Africa Vefpafianus egerat. Suctonius Vefpafiano cap. 4. Exin fortius Africa Aristotle thus : (Velpafianus) integerime necfine magna dignatione administravit.

The Etefians | Etefie according to Ariftotle 2. Meteor. ad Theophraft. de ventis, Bopia (a) eld ver intentions we role Decede Sande up munde Farronder. That is, are northernly winds blowing after the fummer Solftminm, and riging of the dayee Jiar. Kunde Smrond, according to Pliny, lib. 2. cap. 47. fell in that time upon the eighteenth of July, & poff bidaumexorthe faith the fame Pliny Etelie diebus quadragiota perflent, nec ulli venterum magis flati fant : fo that Etelie dured ordinarily from the twentieth of July till the end of August. And the following afficum being just twente dayes before रूरामीरंडतक) 28. και γετινής from the twentieth of July till the end of August. And the joshium messicum being julk twentied ayes before marketh it exist. And the joshium messicum being julk twentied ayes before marketh it exist. dayes, deceived and twentieth of June from which day the too great length of the Julian yeer hath in our age drawn it back eleven dayes, deceived an extraction of the state o c ror to the man. Nilus to be these Etchan winds, of dynamicorns raise calendar to community and down of Sulvanus of Section of the book. That is, de mundo ad A- Which blowing directly against the mouth of the rever hinder the water from falling into the fea.

XXIX. The setting forth of Cacina against the Illyrian armie, and the beginnings of his treason.

T length Vitellius terrified with the breaking in of the enemies upon the frontiers of Italy, and fearefull messages from every quarter, commandeth Cæcina and Valens to make ready for the warre. Cæcina was fent before, Cacina and Valens to make ready for the warre. Cacina was sent before, gas was sentile advising a but Valens stayed behinde by reason of his weakenesse of body, being lately recoout, gowing far vered of a dangerous ficknesse. Now the German army going out of the citie made terminal fair the cities made terminal fair and fair to other shew then it did at the entry. No quicknesse appeared in their bodies, or the cities and the cities are the cities and cities are the cities and cities are the cities are the cities and cities are the citi no courage in their mindes; marching flowly and thinly: the armour decayed, the horses unlasty: the souldier impatient of the sunne, the dust, and the weather; and the more dull to fustain travell, the apter to mutin. And beside, the qualities of Cacina wrought no small prejudice to the cause: his ambitious and popular proceeding, an old fault of his, a fluggish and dull disposition, lately sprung up: whether it were that too much favour of fortune turned his edge, and caused him to degenerate to riotous life, or that intending even then treason in his minde, he thought it good policy by that means to weaken the valour and force of the army. Many have helieved that Circinaes minde was shaken and altered first by a practile of a Flavius a Brother to Sabinus, Rubrius Gillus carrying the meffage betweene them, and promifing that Velpafian and Samues, Economic distribution in the language of the control of the provoit of Rome. he was put in remembrance of the hatred and emulation between Valens and him, and that feeing he had not like part in Vitellius, he should do wisely to purchase creditand might with the new Prince. Cacinataking his leave of Vitellius, and difmifsed from his presence with great honour, sent part of his horsemen before to put themselves in Cremona. Straight after the Vexillaries followed of the bourteenth b Read Establishment and of the fixteenth Legion: then the fifth Legion and the eighteenth Legion: teenth, one of and lastly the one and twentieth surnamed Rapax, and the first called Italica with one of lower the Vexillaries of the three British legions, and the choise of the Aides. When Germany, for the vexitaines of the tinee bittining gents, and the choice of the Media was gone, Fabius Valens wrote to the army, which before belonged to his the 14 was Cacina was gone, Fabius Valens wrote to the army, which before belonged to his the 14 was charge, to stay for him in the way: that so it was agreed between him and Cacina: Eritanny, as who being prefent, and therefore of greater authoritie, falfly alleadged, that upon themy to Pilatter advise that purpose was changed, to the end that resistance might be made tellus cause. with the whole forces united against the enemies coming. So the Legions were commanded to make speed to Cremona, and part to goe to Hostilia. Cæcina himself turned out of the way to Ravenna, upon pretence to give direction to the navy: and foto Padova, where fecretly the treason was contrived between Lucilius Baffus and him. For Lucius Baffus after the Captainship of a wing, being made Admirall of both the fleets at Ravenna and Mifenum, because he was not by and by created Captain of the Guard, revenged his unjust anger with wicked disloyaltie: neither can it be certainly known, whether he drew Cacina into the action, or the fame vile minde induced them both, as it happeneth often lewd persons to be of like conditions. The histories written of this warre, under Vespasian and his children, have delivered false and flattering causes, as that delive of peace and love of the Commonwealth moved them thereto. To me it seemeth, beside the inconfunt disposition of the men, and the small account of their faith, which once being falled to Gilba, afterward they never respected; that upon emulation and envy that others should goe before them in the Princes savour, they compassed the destruction of the Prince himself. When Cacina had overtaken the Legions, he sought by fundry fubtle practifes to weaken the good wills of the Centurions, and of the fouldiers which were obstinately bent for Vitellius; Bassus attempting the like found not the like opposition, the navy being easily induced to change their loyaltie, up-

on the memory of their late service for Otho.

99

THE

rily scattered Vitellius troupes, albeit the maine battell went against us. Two wings of Pannonia and Moefia were able at that time to breake thorow the enemy: now the enfignes of fixteene wings united together, with their itamping and found, and the very dust of their feet, will doubtlesse beable to cover and overwhelme

both the horses and horsemen of our enemies, who have now almost forgotten

and fierce shrill voice, that he might be heard further (for some of the Centurions, and of the fouldiers also had intruded themselves into the councell) and the speech

moved greatly even the wariest amongst them and doubtfullest to enter into danger. But the common fouldier and the rest magnified him, as the onely man of cou-

rige, and the onely Captaine; despising the cold and sluggish proceedings of the

other. This good opinion he first wan through a speech he made in the assembly

when Vespasians letters were first openly read, in the which he did not (as the most

of the rest) deliver his minde in doubtfull and ambiguous termes with a meaning

tointerpret them afterward as he should see best for his purpose, but seemed directlyand resolutely to enter into the cause, & therfore was a great deale better liked of

the fouldiers, as one that made his fortune common with theirs both in the danger

and honour of the attempt. Next after him Cornelius Fuscus the Procuratour was

of chief authority among ft them. For he likewife was wont to invey bitterly against

Vitellius, and thereby had left to himself no hope of pardon if the enterprise failed.

affinitie with Vitellius: and because he had withdrawn himself out of the camp

when the Legions began first to revolt, and afterward came again of his own accord, it was thought he did it to feek fome opportunitie of treason. For indeed Fla-

vianus had once relinquished his province of Pannonia, and retired himselfe out of danger into Italy; and afterward by defire of noveltie was brought to take upon him

hisgovernment again, and become a medler in civill wars, through the perfwafion principally of Cornelius Fuscus; not that there was any great need of Flavianus a-

bilities: but that the name and countenance of a Lieutenant generall might give re-

putation to the fide, that was then but in rifing. Then letters were written to Aponi-

us Saturnius Licutenant generall of Moefia, to make hafte, and back their paffage in-

to Italy with his army. And left the provinces, by this removing away of the Legi-

ons, might lye open to the spoile of the barbarous nations confining, the principall

men of the Sarmatæ Jazyges, and heads of the countrey were affumed into the fer-

vice, who made offer also of the common fort, & great troupes of horsemen, which istheir fole strength, but the offer wasnot accepted, lest amidst our diffentions they

should attempt any thing prejudiciall to the state of the Empire, or else upon better

wages, without respect of honour or faith, passe to the enemy. Sido and Italicus

anciently devoted to the Romane name, kings of the Suevians, a nation both more

faithfull and more obedient, were drawn to the party. Garrisons also were layed on the fide against Rhoetia which held for Vitellius, being governed by Portius Septi-

mus the Procurator, a most faithfull fervant unto him. So Sextilius Felix was fent

HISTORY

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. The consultation of the Flavian Captains, at Petovio in Pannonia, concerning the manner of proceeding in warre. Sextilius Felix (ent into Noricum.

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fore li 1. Dein-

de Pannonise Alpes prafidiis

inteffic nuntios

far as to flav

an army of

* Theatram

Cochess.

nien.

they were stopped beIth better fortune and faith the Flavian captains conducted their war-

come forward; or else were it more manfull and resolutely done to march on and fight for the winning of Italy. They which perswaded to stay for more succour and protract the warre, amplifyed the fame and force of the German legions, and fur. uneps mantion ther, that Vitellius had also brought with him the flower and strength of the army perhaps it was of Britanny: that their own Legions were both fewer in number, and lately beaten. and though they spake bigly, yet the partie overcome retained the lesse courage. the posts from But in the meane while if the Alpes were possessed Mutianus would shortly come on with the power of the East: and Vespasian beside had at will sea and navies. and way, not to gard it against the good will of the provinces, sufficient furniture for a new warre if need were: so by staying a little this advantage would grow, that new forces would come, and the old not diminish. To this hAntonius Primus (who was the chiefest inciter of the of the seventh warre) replyed; That speed was the thing that might most helpe them, and most Legion furna- hinder Vitellius. As for the victory they lately obtained, they were growne more in carelesse sloth, then courage thereby: not keeping in camps as men of warre fiercer they were before, now giving themselves the more greedily over to enjoy their unaccustomed pleasures. Moreover the * theatres and places of sports, and other delights of the citie, had effeminated their mindes, or difeafes utterly wasted ers be reckoned rather then the names of Legions, our fide hath more strength and much leffe diforder; and the very shame of the late overthrow hath greatly amend-

like affaires, affembling in councell at Petovio, the standing campe of the thirteenth Legion. There it was debated, whether it were faler to ftand upon their defence, and fortifie themselves by a ftopping the pasfage of the Pannonian Alpes, untill their whole forces behinde were alwayes ready to fight, but lying in the good townes of Italy, loytring and disporting themselves, seared of none save onely their hosts: and the hardlier kept and their bodies: but if respite were given, through warlike exercises they would recover their strength: and besides, Germany was not farre off, from whence they might be supplied with new forces, and Britanny but a small step beyond: France and Spaine were hard at hand to furnish them of men, horses, and money: beside Italy it felfe, and the wealth of the world in Rome, all wholly at their disposition. And if they lift to begin and affaile us, they have (quoth he) at commandment two navies, and the whole Illyrian fea free: what will it then profit us to keep the straits of the mountains? or what can it avayle us to deferre the warre till another summer? and whence shall we have money and victualls in the meane time? nay rather why take we not this opportunitie prefent, fince the Pannonian Legions, thinking themselves rather beguiled then beaten, are so instant and earnest to have their revenge, and the armies of Moessia are yet entire & unfoiled? if the number of souldito fight. For my part (if I may be permitted) as I am the first to give the advise. 10 I will be the first to execute the same. You, whose conditions gives you free choise of either, lye still and keepe your Legions at home: some few "light cohorts " Favoritie coshall serve my turne: as soone as the warre is begun, you shall heare that Vitellins harre, that is, flate will decline, and then you will take pleasure to follow and tread in the step of without carrimyvictory. This and more to the like purpose Antonius uttered with burning eyes pedimentis.

Titus Apius Flavianus, both by nature and by reason of his age being slow in pro- Lieutenant ceeding, gave occasion unto the fouldiers of suspition, as if he had respected his generall of

with the Aurian wing, and eight cohorts, and the youth of the countrey of Nori. cum, to plant himself against him along the banke of the river Enus which divi deth Rhoetia and Noricum afunder: where they remained skirmishing one with another, whilest in the meane time the maine matter was decided elsewhere.

And left the provinces] All from these words in the Latine copy as ne incrmes provincise, &c. to these siplatern Galbe principatus, inclusive, should be placed before, quasitum unde que sedes bello legerentur &c. and so the words Gaine principains, mangue, anound of piacea octors, quaginim tima quasticus returnes even egeratuit or, and to the words in impound exercitim Massiam celebrare cohere with the presimplere justes. Which distorder, by reason the lines and letteres almost between quasilium inde and Massiam inde are equal to the lines between a are intrins and of the Principains, may seeme to have growne sist by the meer tradsposition of a leafe in the copy, from whence all curs

> II. Antonius Primus marcheth forward, and having taken Aquileia. Opitergium, Altinum, Padova, Este, settleth his maine camp at Verona.

TOw 1 Antonius taking with him certaine Vexillaries out of the cohorts. and part of the horsemen, marched on toward Italy, accompanied with Arrius Varusa valiant warrier, rather then a vertuous man: which glorv he gained by his fervice and good fucceffe in Armenia under Corbulo: whom norwithstanding he was supposed secretly to have discredited with Nero. Whereupon by such finister means growing in favour he attained a principall Centurions place: which though ill gotten was at the present to his great contentation, but afterward turned to his ruine. Antonius and Varus in paffing tooke Aquileia, and the countrey thereabouts, and proceeding forward were at Opitergium and Altinum joyfully received. At Altinum a garrifon was left against the fleet of Ravenna. of the revolt whereof they had not as yet received any intelligence: and marching forward they adjoyned Padova and Efte to the fide. Where advertisement was given that three Vitellian cohorts and the Scribonian wing lay at Forum Alieni, having there made a bridge over the river. It was concluded to take the occasion, and to set upon them, as they lay negligently and carelesly; for that circumstance also was certified: and so accordingly they came upon them at the dawning of the day, and surprized them being for the most part unarmed. They were willed beforehand, that after some flaughter at the beginning they should seek to induce the rest with feare to change their allegeance; and some there were which yeelded themselves at the first: but the greater part fled over the river, and breaking the bridge cut off the passage from the enemy pursuing. This victory being divulged, and the first attempts of the Flavianists having succeeded so prosperously, two Legions, the seventh surnamed Galbiana, and the thirteenth called Gemina with Vedius A-Ampius Flavi- quila a Lieutenant thereof, came to Padova cheerefully, and full of courage. There fome few dayes was spent in reposing the army, and Minucius Justus camp-master of the seventh Legion was saved from the fury of the souldier, and sent to Vespalian, because his government was straiter and more severe, then the nature of a civill warre would support. At what time also Antonius supposing it a plausible action, and for the credit of the fide, if Galbaes government should seeme to be liked, gave commandment thorowout all the free townes, that the images of Galba; which upon change of times and diffention of state, had been broken down, should be restored a new: a thing very long and greatly defired, and therefore interpreted, gloriously in the highest degree. Then was it proposed and disputed, what place were best to be chosen, for seat as it were of the warre. Verona seemed fittest, the countrey about it being champion, and commodious for horsemen, wherein con-

anus Lieutenant generall of Pannonia.

fifted their principall strength: and beside to dispossesses Vitellius of a Town of such wealth and importance, would both be commodious and bring reputation to the cause. In the passage thitherward they took Vicenza a thing of it selfe not greatly materiall, as being a town of small forces; howbeit because Cæcina was born there itseemed a matter of consequence; when men began to recount, how that the Generall of the contrary part had loft his own countrey and home: but the getting of Verona was worth the paines taking. For both the fide was releeved with their wealth, and the example was a good precedent to others : and the army lying there opportunely in the way, between Germany and Vitellius powers, did shut up the Rhoetian and Julian Alpes, and cut offall hope of passage for the Germans that way. All which proceeding was either unknown to Vespasian, or expressely forbidden by him: his commandement was to march no further then Aquileia, and there to expect Mutianus, adding also a reason thereof, that seeing Egypt, the garners of the City, the revenewes and tributes of the richest Provinces were in his hands, Vitellius army might through lack of pay and victuall be constrained to yeeld. To the same purpose also Mutianus advised them often by letters, alleadging what aclory it would be to obtaine a victory without bloud, and whereof no mourning ensued, with such other pretences; whereas he did it indeed upon ambition, and covering to referve the whole renown of the warre for himselfe: but by reason of the great distances counsels came after the facts. Antonius having thus seated himselfe in Verona issued forth on the sudden, and gave the Alarme to the enemie, where trying their man-hood together in a light skirmish they departed on even hand. Anon Cacina encamped himselfe between Hostilia, a village of the territory of Verona and the marishes of the river Tartarus, in a safe and defensible place; his back being guarded with the river, and the flanks, with marishes: who if he had meant truth, having all his mafters power under his hand, might with great facility either have surprized two simple Legions (the Army of Moessia as yet being not joyned) or at least beaten them back, and forced them to flee, and with shame forfake Italy. But Cacina omitted traiteroufly all advantages, which at the first were offered, spending the time in trifling delayes, and rebuking them by epiftles, whom with like facility he might have repulfed with armes: untill by messengers passing between the bargaine was driven, and the covenants for his treason agreed upon. In the incane time Aponius Saturninus came with the feventh Legion furnamed Claudiana: the Legion was governed by Vipfanius Messala Tribune, a man nobly descended, and of noble qualities himselfe, the only vertuous man and withoutnote, that entred into that action. To this army, nothing comparable to his own (for as yet there were but three legions) Cæcina sent letters, blaming their rafineise, that being once overcome they durst put themselves againe into armes: and withall he extolled the valour of the German army; of Vitellius making small mention and in common tearmes only, without any reprochfull word against Vespasian at all in summe writing nothing that might either corrupt the enemy or terrifie him. The Captaines of the Flavian army, omitting to speak of their former misfortune, returned answer concerning Vespasian in haughty and glorious tearms, shewing themselves very consident in their cause and secure of the event; reviling Vitellius as enemies, and bragging of the Moesian army, as being hitherto never overthrown; feeking * morcover to weaken the faith, and winne the good will of * Prafumple. the contrary side, by putting the Centurions and Tribunes in hope of retaining to parties, their places, and favours which Vitellius had bestowed upon them, and exhorting Cæcina himselse in plaine tearmes to revolt. Both the letters were solemnely

read to the Flavian fouldiers: which thing increased not a little their courage and confidence, feeing Cæcina to write humbly, as fearing to offend Vefpafian, and their Generals contemptuoufly, as it were, infulting over Vitellius.

Antonius taking with him certaine &c.] The Legions their Captaines, and marching with all necessary circomflances in a manner, are in this war fully and plainly feedown by our Authour, incomparably better then either in the last between Vitellius and Otho, or in the next between Civilis and the Romans in Germany. Here Antonius Lieutenant of feptimana Galbiana marcheth first, about the latter end of August, or beginning of September, with vexiliais 2 cohorabus, and part of the horfe, making up no doubt a convenient power, albeit there was not any entire Legion. With him went Arrius Varus, of no higher degree at that time, as I think, then a Primus Pilus, of what Legion I cannot tell: but lib.4 Tertia Legio is called familiaris Arrio Varo miles: afterward as it appeareth Hift. 4. he obtained the Captaine ship of the Guard, and Pratoria insignia, and being put by Mutianus from the Captainthip of the Guard, was made Prefettus annone. At Paravium or thereabout the two Legions of Pannonia overteek Antonius, namely septima Galbiana, whose Lieutenant was Antonius himselfe, and tertiadecima Gemina with Vedius Aquila Lieutenant thereof, the Lieutenant generall alfo T. Ampius Flavianus, asit may be prefumed, coming withall: for we finde him anon in the mutinie. At Verona Aponius Saturniaus Prefident of Macfia with feptima Classiana, Vipfanus Meshillabeing Lieutenant thereof, overtook them. And anon afterward at Verona or thereabout the other two Legions of Maclia, tettia Gallica, with Dillius Aponianus, and off ava Augusta with Numifius Lupus, And this was all the power that was prefent of the Flavian fide at the battel of Cremona, certain bands of old Pratoriasaving that for an fouldiers excepted, whereof we finde mention both in that field and elfewhere; but when and where they came to the fide, is no where as it ought, exprelly fet down. Of Vitellius part there were present in the action of Cremoquartadecima, 15 na two complete Legions, una & vicesima Ripax, which came out of Germany with Cacina, and Italica taken written by error away from Lions by Valens; and fix unperfect Legions out of Germany: to wit, quarta and of ava decima alias dua decima alias dua Legion was quite & vicelina out of high Germany; prima, quinta, quantul cima, and fextadecima out of low Germany. Whereof fix fent away into benamed 2. Hift. A little before the joyning all the eight are fet down particularly, and by name, And Alixanie before before be eight Legions there were of that fide wexiltanii out of the three Brittish Legions, feunda Angulla, was, had three ta- before the eight Legions there were of that hot Vicellius brought out of Germany & Britannico diletta, Tacius 1. ken before at A- vicelius Vicellius brought out of Germany illustrated the before at A- vicelius 1. Which are proported by the charge of Carcina. After the battel at Cremona vicile Legiones per Illyrium diriminium, some Hill, 3. and all his power under the charge of Cacina. After the battel at Cremona villa Legiones per Myrican di-(pofe, Tac. 3. Hift, the five conquering Legions, being increased by undesima Clandsana, and fix thousand men befide our of Dalmaria, under the leading of Popparus Silvanus Lieutenant Generall of that country, and Annius Bassus left with Vitelling out of Daimaua, under the leading of Poppeus suivainus Lecuciain General of max country, and Amino Balling as a Rome, and guizenfant of the eleventh Legions marchines are Rome, and guizenfant of the eleventh Legions marchines are remarked of Caroling Forums. They fill the Architecture of the Caroling of the Caroling Marchines and Edit & Legions marchines are the Caroling of t er all, and in Vi- Cohorts with the Brittish Wing, which were taken by Cornelius Fuseus at Arminium. Then he sent both the Catenus time, when they were praintes of his Guard with 6 fourteen Prætorian Cohorts and certain Wings of Horfe men, and a Legion e deficie different from Adjutrix Claffica (which then was in Spaine) and belike newly enrolled. And this in effect was the power of both fides imployed in this action.

> III. A mutiny of the Pannonian souldier against Flavianus their Generall, and another of the Mæsian against Saturnius likewise theirs.

C Hortly afterward the third and eighth Legion came; the one commanded by Dillius Aponianus, the other by Numifius Lupus: whereupon they began to make shew of their forces, and determined to cast up a*militarie Trench about the Town of Verona. By chance it fell to the Galbian Legion to work in the forepart of the Trench toward the enemy, and some of their own horse-men appearing in fight a far off caused a vain feare, as if it had been the Vitellian power. By and by they layed hold on their weapons, and their bloud being ftirred fought to discharge their choler and rage upon Flavianus, accusing him of treason without either proof cularities are or probability: but the man was before odious unto them, and therefore his death was now violently required. They cried out against him that he was allied with Vitelon they ought lius, that he had been a traitour a to Otho, and intercepted their donative. No anto have been, swer would be heard, albeit he befought them holding up his hands in most humble mauner; lying for the most part prostrate upon the ground, with his garments rent, weeping and fobbing pitifully: which kinde of behaviour provoked their rage the more, as if this his over great feare had certainly argued a guilty conscience. Saturninus endeavouring to speak in his defence was still interrupted by the fouldiers out-cries: out-cries: and the rest likewise were rejected with noise and clamour: onely to Anronius they were content to give care; for he was both eloquent and skilful to pleafe amultitude, and befide, of most authority among them. When the sedition waxed hot, and passed from words and ill speeches to weapons and blowes, he commanded Flavianus to be laid in chaines. The fouldier perceived the I fleight, and break- So Viellius ing through those that guarded the Tribunall, they were at the point to have flaine laved Julius bardo, 1. History Flavianus: but Antonius opposed himselfe with his sword drawn, protesting that if and out of client they would not defift, he would either die by their hand, or by his own; and withall defired the affiftance by name of all that he knew, or were of note otherwise for their degrees and places in fervice. Then turning himfelfe to the enfigues and gods * convertus ad of warre, hee befought them to fend fuch fury, fuch difcord, into the mindes of figure to the flow of their enemies rather: till at length the fedition growing cold, and the day being is, ad figna, fpent, the fouldiers flipped away each to his lodging. Flavianus departed away which the Rothe fame night and meeting with letters from Vespasian was delivered from danadored as 90ds ger; but the Legions, as it were tainted with a contagious infection, stayed not there, but banded themselves in like mutinous manner against Aponius Saturnius, Lieutenant generall of the Moessan Army, upon the coming abroad of certaine letters, which he was supposed to have written to Vitellius: and their fury was so much the more hard to appeale, because it began, not as the former toward the eveming, when they were tired before with labouring, but at the noon time of the day. Asin times past fouldiers strove to passe one another in modesty and vertue, so then the contention was to excell in unrulinesse and infolency; the Moesian souldier beingloath to use lesse violence in seeking the death of Saturnius their generall, then the Pannonian were of Flavianus before: the Moesian fouldiers alleadged that they hadhelpt the Pannonians to profecute their revenge; and the Pannonian fouldier as ithe fedition of others would acquit them, were glad to fee the like fault commitredagaine. So agreeing together in this determination they went to the Gardens where Saturnius lodged. It was neither Antonius, nor Aponianus, nor Meffalla, that fired him out of their fury though they did what they could, but the fecretnesse of theplace where he was hid, lying close in the furnaces of certaine Bathes, which by chance were unoccupied; and so privily he conveyed himselfe to Padova, putting away his fergeants, and living a private person. The Lieutenant generall being thus removed, Antonius had the whole government and direction of both the Armies; his companions the Lieutenants of the Legions eafily yeelding to him, and the fouldiers fancying him above others: and fome were of opinion, that both the mutinies were raifed by his procurement, to the end that he alone might enjoy the whole benefit of the warre.

t Flavianus departed away? It had been well Tacitus had made us acquainted with the contents of these letthis, which met him to marvelloutly game in ungane, That is, Tanquam ex machina, as if Velpalian in Jury two months before had forefeen, that has good friend Flavianus thould have been suspected and mitused by his fouldiers at Veman, and thereupon directed letters in his favour. Then where the letters fo luckily met him, or at all whither he went is not specified; but furely whither soever it was, being once out of the souldiers singers, he was, as I presume, out of all danger, at least any fuch as Vespatians letters could exempt him from.

IIII. The revolt of Lucilius Bassus the Admirall, and of the fleet at Ravenna. The treason of Cecina Generall of the Army by land.

FVitellius side also matters were no lesse disquier, the dissension being more dangerous, as proceeding not of fouldiers jealouties, but of the treafon of the Generals. Lucilius Bassus, Admirall of the Navy at Ravenna, had wonne to the

xvij. besides o. most, but xvj. Tac. 2. Hift.

* Vallum militare in opposition to vallum rusticum, or foffa agreftis.

. Thefe partiin the former Rory: feeing here they are thought wor-

thy the re-

the Flavian fide the mindes of his fouldiers, being fomewhat inclinable thereto of themselves, the most of them were of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which Countrevs held for Vespasian. The time for accomplishing the treason was appointed in the night, that whilest the rest knew nothing of the matter, they only of the conspiracy might affemble themselves in the Principia. Baffus either for shaine, or doubt what would be the iffue, kept himselfe within his house. The Captaines of the Galliesin the meane time with great tumult brake downe Vitellius images: and some few web refifted being put to the fword, the rest of the multitude upon defire of change was eafily induced to favor Vespasian. Then Lucilius coming abroad avowed the whole fact as done by his authority, and the Navy in his place made choise of Cornelius Fuscus for Admirall; who came with speed thither: and Bassus was conveied by ship to Hadria, as it were under honourable arrest, and by Mennius Rusinus Captain of a wing being in Garrison there put in bands; but soon after enlarged ar the coming of Hormus Velpafians freed man, who was also in this warre counted among the Generals of that fide. Now Cæcina, affoone as the revolt of the Navv was published abroad, affembled*the chief of the Centurions, and some of the soul-"Trus rev dr diers, the rest being dispersed and busied in their ordinary militarie duties, intothe feribed in the Principia, purposely chusing the most fecret corner of the Camp. There he greatly like minner extolled the valour of Verpafian, and the strength of the side, declaring also that the by Josephan, W. Navy was already revolted, the only support of Vitellius provision: that France and Spaine were turned against him: that in the city there was nothing to be trusted unto; and generally aggravating all to the worst against the person and state of Vitellius. Whereupon some that were privie to the plot beginning to sweareto Vefpatian, the rest amazed at the strangenesse of the matter followed the example: immediately Vitellius images were broken down, and messengers sent to Antoniusto declare what had paffed. But affoon as this revolt was bruited throughout the camp and the fouldiers coming into the Principia faw Vespasians name set up, and Vitellius images caft under foot, they were mute at the first, then all at once they brake out with indignation. Is then the glory and fame of the German Armies now come to this? that without battell or any blow stricken, they should thus binde their own hands, and yeeld up their weapons? for elfe what power was there of the other fide to compell them? onely the Legions which before they had overcome, and yet the flower and ftrength of them absent, to wit, the first and fourteenth, which yet they had likewife overthrown in the same field with the rest: and all belike to this end, that fo many thousands of valiant fouldiers should afterwards, like a drove of bondflaves, be bestowed as a present upon Antonius an*exiled person: as though eight Legions were to be the dependance of one Navy. But so was the pleasure of Bassus eius 2.43 faif and Cæcina, after they had robbed the Prince of his houses and gardens, and treafure, to bereave him also of his fouldiers, albeit never touched nor wounded, and so to make them contemptible and vile, even to the Plavianists also. For what could they say being required an account of their prosperity and adversity? To this effect every one by himselfe and all together crying out, as griefe and anger wroughtin their mindes, the fift legion being most forward they fet up Vitellius images again, and laying hold upon Cacina put him in fetters, and appointed Fabius Fabiulus Lieutenant of the fift legion and Cassius Longus the camp-master Generals in his place; killing certain Gally-fouldiers which by chance arrived there in an ill houre though * 1890 Hofeliam utterly ignorant and innocent of that which had paffed. Then leaving their * camp palacite Tar- and breaking the bridge they returned to Hostilia, and from thence to Cremonato joyne with the first Legion called Italica, and the one and twentieth surnamed Ra-

pax, which Cacina had fent before, with part of his horse-men, to put themselves in Cremona.

Baffus was conveyed J Whyrem find he not flill in the charge? why was he committed, about at were taffee and bond and the subject of the subj were articulous of parameters and a factory, way touries at continuo communication, who way reparams and and then became of him? when, by whem, and wherefore was Mennius Rufinus put therein Garaffont I hele gette cit camflances or fome good part, had, in my opinion, been needfary in this place for the full fatisfication part of the fatisfication of the fatisficati

V. The skirmish of the Flavian and Vitellian horse-men between Bebriacum and Cremona.

Hen Antonius had understanding thereof, he determined whilest the enemies were at diffenfion, and their forces not joined together, touse his advantage and affayle them, before either the Generals could ground their authority, or the fouldiers frame themselves to a new obedience, or the Legions recover courage by uniting together. He gueffed that Fabius Valens was already come out of Rome, and would make great hafte, affoone as he heard of Cæcinaestreason: and Fabius was known to be a man faithfull to Vitellius, and not unskilfull in service: besides a great power of Germans was seared by the way of Rhætia, and Vitellius had fent for aides out of Britanny, France and Spain: enough to have maintained a mighty and puissant war, had not Antonius upon doubt thereof hastened the battel, and before hand obtained the victory. So with his whole hoste he removed from Verona, and the second night sate downe at Bebriacum. The next day imploying his Legions in fortifying the Campe, he fent out his Auxiliary Cohorts into the territory of Cremona, to the end that the fouldiers, under colour of providing necessaries, might be enured and fleshed in civill spoile. He to . That is, in fafe conduct the Forragers advanced himself with foure thousand horse eight miles spoile growing forward from Bebriacum: and the skowts in the meane time, as the manner is, pric-byreaton of ked on further. About the fift houre of the day one came riding in poste, to give in- b That is, as we telligence that the enemies were hard at hand, that some few marched before, but account, eletemgence that the enemies were hard at hand, that to the hard to be heard, ven of the thenoise and trampling of the whole army on every fide was clearly to be heard, ven of the thenoise and trampling of the whole army on every fide was clearly to be heard. Whilest Antonius was deliberating what was to be done, Arius Varus, desirous to about. dosome piece of service, brake out with certain of the forwardest horse-men, and made the Vitellianists recule, and slew some few: for by and by more of their fellowes coming to helpe, fortune changed, and they that were most forward beforein pursuing, were now left last in the flight. This haste was against Antonius wil, who supposed the event would be such as it was: but seeing it could not be undone he incouraged his men to fight valiantly: and dividing his troups in two parts, left alane in the middle to receive in Varus with his horsemen, word also was sent back to the Legions to arme, and the alarme was given to those that were for raging abroad, that every man should leave off spoiling, and repaire with all speed the next way to the fight. Now by this time Varus in a great feare was retired within his own Troupes, and induced thither a generall terror, the wounded and unwounded were beaten in together, and greatly distressed through their own seare, and the fraitnesse of the waies. In all which confusion and tumult Antonius omitted no part either of a refolute Generall, or valiant fouldier, encouraging those that were difmayed, staying them that shrunk; where most need was; whence any hope appearted, there bufying himfelfe, with direction, hand and speech, in the view of the

ma fent meo Spaine, and Quariadisima into hatamay. * Tempora Noronis, faith 1adamnains, and fo perhaps

enemy, in the fight of his own men, growing at the last to that heat, that with his Lance he ran through a Guidon-bearer who was fleeing away, and taking his guidon turned it against the face of the enemie : whereat for very shame there staieda. bout an hundred horse. That which principally helped was the quality of the place. * Artime illie the * way being there somewhat narrow, and the bridge broken of the River that whose unknown channell and steepe bankes stopped their fur-little before he ran behinde them, whose unknown channell and steepe bankes stopped their furntite before ne faith, Angufiii ther flight. That constraint or chance recovered the field that well nigh was lost, For knitting themselves strongly together, with thick and close rankes, they received the Vitellian fouldiers coming on loofely without any order. Which thing the leffe it was looked for, amazed them the more. Whereupon Antonius finding them yeelding pressed the more instantly upon them overthrowing all that came in his way: and with all the rest as their inclinations were, some fell to spoiling and catching, fome to take armour and horses: even they which before were broken and scattered abroad in the fields, hearing the joyfull crie of their fellowes, returned then backto take part of the victory. About foure miles from Cremona, the enfignes of two Legions, Rapax and Italica appeared, having marched fo farre upon the successe of their horsemen at the beginning: but when fortune turned, they were so far to seek as that they neither did open their rankes, and receive their distressed fellows within them, nor yet went forward to affaile the enemie tired already with fighting and following fofar. Thus being by chance overcome, they found in advertity the lack of a Leader, which in their jolity they cared not for. As the Legions stood wavering in termes of breaking, the Flavian horse-men charged upon them: Vipsanius Mesfalla the Tribune was at their heeles with the Mccsian Aides, who in militarie renown, albeit lately enrolled, were nothing inferior to the Legionary fouldiers. So horse-men and foot-men mingled together did easily break the Vitellian Legions, and the town of Cremona lying so neare gave them lesse minde to resist, and more hope to escape: neither did Antonius presse any further, considering the travell and wounds, which both his horse-men and horses had taken, in so dangerous a skirmish, albeit the end went on his side. Toward the shutting in of the evening the whole power of the Flavian army arrived: who affoon as they trode among the heapes of dead bodies, in the fresh steps of so late a slaughter, as if the whole warre had been ended, cried to lead on out of hand to Cremona, and take by furrender or force those conquered persons. These gay speeches were in their mouthes and openly pretended, but secretly every one cast thus with himselse; That a Townseated in the plaine might be won eafily at a push; that their courage would as well ferve them to enter in the night, and their liberty to spoile would then be much greater: but if they attended till day, then would there come supplications and intreaties for peace, and fo for their labour and hurts they should carry away the vaine fmokes of clemency and glory, and fuch other titularie matters, but the wealth and riches of the Town would cleave to the Captaines and Lieutenants fingers: that the spoile of a City taken by force fell to the souldiers, but of a City surrendred alwaies to the Captaines alone. Hereupon the perswasions of the Tribunes and Centurions, as persons suspect, were rejected: and because no mans speech should be heard, they ratled their weapons, threatning if no man would lead them belide, to guide and conduct themselves. Then Antonius infinuating himselfe among the common fouldiers, after he had with the fight of his person, and reverence of his place, procured filence, protested unto them, that his meaning was not in any sort to defi aud so well deserving souldiers, either of honour or reward. Notwithstanding the captains & fouldiers duties were of different nature: a fouldier ought to be fierce

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and defirous to fight, but in Captains a wary fore-fight and deliberate kinde of proceeding is rather commended: and more oftentimes profiteth and helpeth he by protracting, then venturing rashly. For his part as he had to his power with weapons and hand furthered the victory, so would he likewise helpe now with direction and counsell, peculiar qualities to a Generall, and the place he sustained. And surely if they lift but a little confider, the dangerousnes of the enterprise was very apparent. Ir was now night, the fituation of the town was unknown, within nothing but enemies, and every corner fit for an ambush: nay if the gates were wide open, yet were ir not fafe for to enter, no not in the day time, but upon good discovery before hand. and affurance that all coasts were cleare. What? would they begin an affault when they could not discerne the best place of approach, nor the height of the wals, whether it were best to attempt them by discharging of shot a farre off, or by engines at hand, or by mine? then turning himself to particular persons he demanded of them feverally, whether they had brought their * Hatchets and Axes with them, and all * feares & other tooles necessary for an affault: and when they denied, What, quoth he then, dolating. are any mens hands in the world of that force, and strength to break down walls with lavelins and swords? What if it fall out that we must of necessity raise mounts, cover our selves with hurdles and frames of boord? Shall we not then be forced to standlike good fillie fools gazing and gaping at the height of their Towers and the frength of their fortifications? Nay rather let us stay for one night, and fetch hither in the meane time our engines and instruments of battery, and so carry the victory furely before. And herewith he dispatched the * fervants and followers of the * calones of camp, and the freshest of his horsemen to Bebriacum, to bring victuals from thence lixe. and all other necessary provision.

VI. The great battel at Cremona between the Flavianists and the Vitellianists. Cremona sacked and burnt.

He fouldier discontented thereat and repining, was growing toward a mutinie, when as their horse men having scowred to the very walls of Cremona took certain stragglers of the Town, by whose confession it was understood that fix Vitellian Legions, and the whole power that lay at Hostilia, hearing of the defeat of their fellowes, had marched thirty miles that very day, and prepared themselves to fight, and would by and by be upon them. That terrour opened their mindes, which before were closed against all their Generals good counsel, and so he commanded the third Legion to make stand upon the "Caw sey of the Posthu-" or ridge. mian way: fast by it on the left hand stood the feventh surnamed Galbiana in a plaine field : then the feventh called Claudiana having before it a * common ditch * agressis fosta. for a kinde of defence, as the place chanced to yeeld: on the right hand stood the eight Legion in an open ground: then the thirteenth in a thicket somewhat disunited by reason of bushes and shrubs. In this fort stood the standards and ensignes of the Legions, but the fouldiers were blended together, as it chanced in the dark. The band of Pretorians ftood next to the third Legion, the auxiliary Cohorts were placed in the wings, and the horsemen guarded the flanks, and reareward: Sido and Italicus the Suevians with the choise of their Country men served in the foreward. On the other side, the Vitellian Army, whose best course doubtlesse had been to have taken some rest at Cremona, and refreshed themselves with food and fleep, and so the next day to have given the on-set upon their enemies, starved with hunger and cold, for lack of a leader and want of direction, about the third

* in deriva cornu

houre of the night dashed themselves upon the Flavian Armie, who stood now in array ftrongly prepared to receive them. The order and ftanding of the Vitellian Army I dare not for certain avouch, being doubtleffe disordered through anger and darkneffe. Some affirme that the fourth Legion called Macedonica ftood in the right wing: the fift and the fifteenth Legions, with certain companies out of three British Legions, the ninth, second, and twentieth filled up the middle battel, the left wing confifting of the tenth Legion, the two and twentieth and the first: the fouldiers of Rapax and Italica dispersed themselves throughout all: the horsemen and Aides chole their own standing. The fight continued all night very doubtfull and cruell, with great mortality fometimes on the one side, and sometime on the other: courage or strength availed little in the dark, where the eye could not difcerne a friend from an enemy. On both fides was the fame kinde of armour and wea. pons: by many mutuall questions each knew others watch-word: the banners also were mingled together, as it happed a band to take any from the enemy and carrie them to and fro. The feventh Legion lately levied by Galbawas preffed most hardly: fix of her principall Centurions were flain, and fome enfignes taken away, the Standerdit selse was hardly defended by Attilius Verus the chief Centurion; who with great flaughter of the enemy, and his own death in the end, not with standing faved his charge. The Flavianist thus going to the worse, Antonius re-inforced and ftrengthened the battel by fending of the Prætorian fouldiers, who affoon as they undertook the fight repulsed the enemy at the first, and anon were repulsed themfelves. For the Vitellianists had brought their engines of war, which before were dispersed and discharged against bushes and trees, without any hurt to the enemie. and placed them upon the cawfies of the high-way to have an open passage and free Palita, finh fcope to shoot out; among the rest a Balista of a wonderfull greatnesse, belonging to the fixteenth Legion, shooting cut huge and mighty stones galled them fore, was cloudique and had made aforre greater havock among them, had not two fouldiers undertaken an honourable exploit, and taking up Targets among the dead bodies gone quality 1700 x 1800 unknown, and cut the cords and weights of the engine: whereupon they were by bueil, two for and by cut in pieces and so their names are not known; of the fact there is no queftion. Now the battel continued doubtfull, and Fortune indifferent to both sides, instantini me till at farre in the night the (1) Moon rose and discovered the Armies, though inde-Conversions ceitfull fort, and more in favour of the Flavian fide, because she was at their backs: by meanes whereof both the shadows of the men and horses stretched along toward bus, qui monfa- the enemies, and so the Arrowes and Darts of the Vitellianists, being falfly beflowed upon shadows, fell short of the bodies; whereas contrarily, by reason of the Moone shining against them, the Vitellian souldiers were easily hit unawares guadanname pr- with the blowes of the other, discharging as it were out of a covert. Antonius afcufferit, the fall foone as he could discerne his own Company, and be likewise discerned of them, began to inflame them severally, some with shame and rebuke, others with praise a great part of and encouragements, all with hope and large promifes: demanding of the Pannonian Legions for what purpose they had now resumed Armes? If to wipe away the wall of the the blot of their late ignominy, here was the field where they might reintegrate themselves in their honour again. Then turning to the Moesian souldiers, he challenged them as authours and beginners of the warre, adding that in vaine they had dared the Vitellianists with words and threates, if now they durst not abide their hands and looks. And after this and the like fort he spake to all whom he met: but most at large to those of the third Legion, putting them in remembrance both of their late and ancient victories; how 2 under the conduct of Marcus

Antonius they had overthrown the Parthians, under Corbulo the Armenians, and of late the Sarmatians. Then directing his speech to the Prætorians in great anger: As for you difgraded fouldiers (quoth he) if you win not here, what other Generall, or what other Campeshill receive you? Yonder loe, there be your ensignes and weapons, and present death if you leefe, for you have spent already your shame. Great crying and noyfe there was on every fide, when as the third Legion, as the manner in Syria is, with a great shout faluted the Sunnerising: upon which accident, or by the Generals policy, a generall rumour was spread through the Hoste, that Mutianus was come, and the Armies had met and faluted each other. Whereupon as supplied with new forces, they pressed forward and gave a fresh on-ser, the Vitellian ranks growing now thinner, as being without all direction, and banding together or disbanding as their owne courage or feare did induce them. When Antonius felt them weake in the shock, and yeelding under his hand, with a Company firmely compacted he charged and difordered them. The ranks once loofed, brake, and could not be reunited by reason of the Carriages and engines which hindered the matter. The conquerours hotly purfuing the chase dispersed themselves along the Highway. The slaughter was the more samous, because in the fame it happened the fonne to kill his own father: the thing and the names of the persons I will set down, as Vipsanus Messalla hath reported it. Julius Mansuetus borne in Spaine, and called to ferve in the Legion furnamed Rapax, left a fonne at home under yeares, who growing afterwards to mans estate, and being enrolled by Galiza into the seventh Legion, by meere misfortune here met and encountred with his own father; and having wounded him deadly, going about to rifle him, came into knowledge of him, and was likewise known by him again. Whereupon embracing the corpes, which now was without sense or life, with teares and lamentable voice he belought his fathers ghoft, not to impute this impiety unto him, nor abhorre and detest him as a parricide: that it was the publick act of the cause: and what a small portion was one fouldier of these civill warres? And withall he took up the body, made a pit in the ground, and performed his last duty toward his father. This was perceived by them which were next, and then by more also: in the end the fame of this strange chance went through the whole Army, and much complaining there was, and detestation of so cruell, and wicked a warre: and yet they continued nothing the lesse to kill and to spoile both kinsmen and friends, and even their brethren also. They talk what a wicked fact was committed, and in the meane time commit it themselves. When as they came to Cremona, there appeared a new and no fmall piece of work yet behinde. For in the warre against Otho the German souldiers had cast their Campe about the walls of Cremona, and about their Campe Rampires and Trenches, which they had now lately augmented. At the fight whereof the Flavianists were at a stop, the Generals being doubtfull what to appoint. To begin the affault the Army being tyred with the travell both of the day and the night, were a difficult matter & having no place of retiring at hand dangerous too: to returne to Bebriacum were intolerable pain, the way being so long, and besides, all they had done would be lost, and the victory made voide: to fit down and intrench, that also were a thing full of danger, and to be feared, left the enemies being to neare should fally out, and breed some disorder as they were dispersed, and busie at their work. But above all these respects the Generals stood in most feare of their own fouldiers, who would sooner abide any danger, then any delay: all that tended to fafety was unfavoury; in precipitation was their hope; the greedy defire of the spoile made all killing, wounding, shedding

Linn ches ante collegizatednigath, penetrat of a Balifla drew with it

Campaga

Tremma.

· Galblana. · Lands. 6 Padice. * Faller M. get 40.45.14 unco prafixa jam, with to d buthers perchance is

their bloud to be matters of nothing. To this resolution therefore Antonius smally inclining, commanded to environ the trenches with fouldiers round about. And first they fought aloofe with arrows and stones on both sides but with disadvantage to the Flavian part, upon whom the enemy discharged from above: then approching neare he distributed to the Legions the trenches and gates, appointing to each their feverall quarter, to the end the labour being thus divided the difference between the valiant and the coward might be perceived, and mutuall emulation of honour should excite them to vertue. The third and seventh Legion were affigued the quarter next to the way, which leades from Bebriacum: the eighth and feventh furnamed Claudiana took up the trenches on the right hand: the thirteenth was carried wih a fury to the gate toward Brescia. After this they pawfed a while, till they had fetched out of the fields thereabout, some of them spades and daxes, some or thers hooks and ladders. Then with a ftrong Target-fenceover their heads they came under the walls, and were received by those that understood that kinde of fer-File, hilly ad-vice, as having been trained up in the fame schoole, who rowled down huge stones uponit, and forced the frame to stagger and fleet, then followed and searched into pens, or no more recognitive it with javelins and spears, till the connexion of Targets being dissolved and broken. they slew or maimed the men. Upon so great slaughter the Flavianists were almost at allay, had not the Captaines perceiving the fouldiers to be tired, and all other common hook encouragements prevaile but a little, shewed unto them the town of Cremons, as the price of their victory. Whether this was Hormus devise, as Messalla reporteth. or Caius Plinius be rather to be beleeved, who cafteth the fault upon Amorius, I cannot eafily determine; this only that whether Antonius or Flormus were Author of this most bad part, it was not unsutable to neither of their former infamous lives. and behaviours. But hereupon no danger of limme or life could flay the Flavian fouldiers from breaking down the Trenches, and beating open the gates, even with their shoulders, and some climbing up by a double Target-sence took hold on their enemies weapons, and caught them by the armes: fo the wounded and not wounded, the halfe dead and dying, came down tumbling together, and perified fome after one falhion, and fome after another, reprefenting all divertities of deaths. The feventh and third Legion fought most bravely, and gave the sharpest assault, and Antonius the Generall himfelfe, with the chofen men of the Auxiliary fouldiers, had bended his forces that way. The Vitellianists perceiving themselves not able to sustaine any longer the force, and fury of men so obstinately bent, and that whatfoever they cast down upon them slid away upon the Target-fence, without doing any harme, refolved to rowle down at the last a great * engine upon them as they approched: which indeed for the prefent overwhelmed those that were under, but withallin falling it drew the battlements with it, and uppermost part of the rampier: and at the same time a Tower adjoyning being battered with stones fell down. At which breach as the feventh Legion affaied to enter in a pointed battell, the third Legion in the meane feafon brake down the gate with their fwords and axes. It is agreed upon by all writers, that the first man which entred the trench was Caius Volufius, a fouldier of the third Legion, who prefently going to the Rampire tumbled down all that refifted, and advancing himselfe in light proclaimed the Campe was taken: and as the Vitellianists were now beginning to faint, and leape down from the Rampire, the reft brake in. All the space between the trenches and the town was filled with dead bodies. And there againe appeared a new work, and another labour: the walls of the city were high, the Towers all of itone, the barres of the gates of iron, the fouldier ready with weapon in hand on the walls,

the Townes men many and fure to Vitellius; befide a great number of strangers afsembled out of all places of Italy thither, by occasion of a Faire usually holden there at that time. But that as it was a help to the defendants in respect of the multitude, fowas it a provocation to the affailants in respect of the spoil. Antonius commanded to take fire and burne certain most goodly buildings, standing without the walls, if peradventure the Towns-men upon the losse of their substance would be induced to yeeld. The houses that were neare to the walls, and exceeded them in height he replenished with the valiantest fouldiers he had; who with blocks of timher, and tiles, and fire-brands, beat away the defendants from the walls: by this time also, the Legions had cast themselves into a Target-sence, and others shot flones, and arrows against them on the walls. Then the Vitellianists hearts began by little and little to faile them, and every man as he was first in degree was likewise the first to yeeld unto fortune, lest if Cremona also should be taken there would be no hope of pardon remaining, the whole wrath of the winners being like to turn not upon the poore and beggarly fouldier, but upon the Tribunes and Centurions, hy whose death some gaine might be gotten: contrarily the common-souldier not fearching into sequels, and in lesse danger by reason of his basenesse, persisted still for Vitellius: and wandring in the streets, or hiding themselves in houses would not fue for peace, even then when as they had left off to make war. So the principall men ofdegree in the army razed Vitellius names, and defaced his images, and loofing Cacina, who then was in bands, defired him to become interceffour in their behalf. Ashe made dainty to doe it, and bare himself proudly against them, they befought him instantly even with teares (a misery of all miseries, so many valiant men to imploretheaide (4) of a disdainefull traitour) and then hung out over the walls their facred veles and infules, in figne of submiffion. Whereupon Antonius comman. * Velamenta & ding his men to furcease all hostilitie, they brought out their ensignes and standards: the Vitellian Legions followed; a heavie company, unarmed, and casting their eies to the ground. The Flavianists closed about them, and first outraged them inspeeches, and seemed to threaten violence unto them: but when they saw them not moved thereat, but patiently to endure all indignities, according to the circumstance of their present fortune, they began to call to remembrance, that even those were the selfe same men, that had a little before at Bebriacum used their vistorie moderately. But when Cacina came forth as a Confull in his robes with his fergeants before him making way through the preffe, the conquering fouldiers loft all maner of patience, objecting unto him his pride, and his cruelty, yea and his treafontoo: so hatefull are vices even where they are profitable. But Antonius interposed himselfe and sent him safely garded away to Vespasian. In the mean season the people of the town, among fo many armed men, were greatly annoyed, and they scaped nearely of a generall massacre, had not the Captaines intreated, and somewhat appealed the fouldiers wrath. Antonius calling a full affembly made a folemne oration, speaking in glorious tearms to the souldiers of his own side, and in curteous to those of the other, concerning Cremona ambiguously. The Army was doubtlesse earnestly bent to the destruction and sack of the city beside a natural I desire of spoil, upon an old conceived displeasure against them: for in the warre of Otho also they were thought to have bested & helped Vitellius side, and afterwards the thirteenth Legion being left there to build an Amphitheatre (as commonly those Towns-men are naturally malapert) they had jested and scoffed at them. Many other circumstances made their case also the harder, as that Cæcina had in that Town exhibited his shew of "Fencers in honour of Vitellius victory: that it was chosen now the se- "Gladiatores,

114. cond time for the feat-towne of the warre: that they had helped the Vitellian army with victuals: that some women were found slain, which for extreame love to the fide had come out to the battell: and not least because the faire time had filled the towne, being otherwise wealthie, with shew of more wealth. And thus stood the fouldiers for their part affected. As concerning the Commanders, the behaviours of the rest were not much marked: Antonius by reason of his fortune and his same was principally eied: who affoone as he entred the Towne went prefently to the Bath to wash of the bloud, and finding it somewhat too coole, let fall a word which was quickly taken up, that ere long it would be made hotter. This base jest turned the whole blame upon him, as if he had given thereby a watch-word to fet Cremona on fire, which to fay the truth was burning already. Forty thousand armed menwere broken in, and of servants and followers of the Camp both a greater number, and a great deale more difordered in all kinde of licentious and crueli demeanour: neither age, nor honourable calling could warrant any from violence, but without respect of either they abused their bodies in villanous manner, and slew them indifferently. Aged men and old women, nought worth to be fold, they haled in a jolitie for pastime and sport: if any maide of competent yeares, or beautifull young man fellamongst them, in striving who should carry them away, they pulled them asinder and tare them in pieces; and thereupon growing in choler turned to kill one another. When as any had gotten and carried away for himselfe money, or the gold and jewels out of the Temples, being met by a stronger, he left behinde him both his life and his booty: fome contemning that which they found ready and open, compelled the Owners with tortures and itripes, to confesse and yeeld up their hidden riches, and treasures buried under the ground. The fouldiers walked with firebrands in their hands, which affoone as they had emptied the goods, they harled in a sport and wantonnesse into the void houses, and empty Temples. And as in an Army diverse in language and manners, compounded of Romans, confederates, and ftrangers, their lufts and defires were diverfe, and fomething held lawfull by one, fomething by another, and nothing unlawfull to all. Foure whole dayes Cremona ministred matter to fack and to burne: and all things befides both holy and prophane being confumed into ashes, the Temple of * Mephitis without the wallsremained untouched, either because it stood out of the way, or by reason of some divine vertue of the goddeffe. 5 This end had the City of Cremona, two hundreth eighty and fix yeares after the foundation. It was built in the * yeare that Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius were Confuls, when Hanniball was about to come into Italy, for a Bul warke against the Frenchmen beyond the Po, and if any other power should break in by the Alpes. So by reason of the number of inhabitants, commodity of Rivers, fertility of the foile annexed, and affinities contracted with other people, it grew up and flourished, in forrein warres untouched, unfortunate in civill. Antonius ashamed of this foule act, which daily grew more and more odicus, made proclamation, that no man should keep any Citizen of Cremona as his lawfull prisoner, and Italie with one generall consent refusing to buy any of them for flaves marred the fouldiers market: who thereupon began to murder their prisoners. Which being once known, their friends and kinsfolkes secretly came and ransomed them. In short time after the rest of the people returned to Cremona. The publick places and Temples were reedified to the charges of the Townesmen, and upon Vespasians speciall encouragement. For the present, the ground being infected with the noy somnesse of the dead carcasses, suffered not the Flavian Army to dwell long upon the ruines of the razed City. So they removed three miles off, and there reduced the Vitellianifts, being disbanded, and trembling for feare, every fouldfer under his colours, and anon afterward fent them away into Illyricum, left during the time of the troubles they should fortune to work innovarion. Into Britanny and Spaine messengers were sent with the news of the successe: and for a proofe of their victory, into France they fent Julius Calenus a Tribune, and into Germanie Alpinus Montanus captain of a cohort, because Alpinus was of Triers, and Calenus an Æduan, and both had followed Vitellius fide: and withall they kept and fortified the passages of the Alpes with garrisons, fearing the descent of the Germane that way in favour of Vitellius.

The moone role] The very time effects fell out upon the like caule, in the night battell between Pompey and Mithridates deferihed by Plutarch, and Dio. But the Epitome of Dio, setteth this here down somewhat otherwise Mannatus actionated by Francicia, and 1910. Due the Experience of 2010 francisco and new above 10 mewhat other the Tactus τω 3 περεχω επόφειες κ σιρώνε στο μυκούς εκλικώστα, έχτα κ έκπικόση (καίτοι στο δομοκεμβρίοι κή τω τοιαύτα φέλεν in and on s singuidate is utrana anan and Moura esteen source a on. That is, The moone being eclipfed that night increalidthe allow hours, not formuch because the was darkened (although in such as are office had such things also firthe a terrour) but because the seconed blondy and black fit, and streaming out some other fearefull colours.

2 Vader the conduct of M. Antonius | Some three or foure yeares above an hundreth yeares before : fo that no one man, that ferved with Antonius, could in possibility now be here in this service : but we are to understand of one man, materieu with Antonius, toniu in pointing now of the construct : one we are to undertained to a Legion, is the lawyer faith of a flip, that being repaired by piecemeale, albeit in proceedio of time there be no one flick remaining the fame yet doubit continue fill the fame flip, although the Philosophers, Lith Plutarch, are not yet juilty agreed of the point, We have now only if it is a down, We have down, the philosopher system. That is, Some defined up it to remaine

the lam flip fiell, fome dinying it. Thefeo.

3. Target-fence] Testudo. The maner of Testudo and the utilitie is very well declared by Livy lib. 44. in these words. Quadrate agmine facto feutis super capita densatis stantibus primis, secundis summissionibus sertiis magis 🗢 quartis,pofumis cliain genu nixis falligiatam funt telta adificiorum funt, tellitud nem faciebant, ut alitarmati fuperfiantes propugnatoribus mui fassigio altitudinis aquaremun. Soli tamen in fronte extrema 🕁 ex lateribus non habebant super capita elata suita, ne nudanatcopora, sed protenta pognantium more : ita vic i fos tela ex muyo missa subcunveis loserunt. & testudini injesta imbris in uedum luorito fust gio innoxia ad imum Isbebantur. Plut neh. Απιοπίο. οί θυμαφόςοι καθήττις δίε μου Φεδαίκεντο 60 θυμείς, δε θ ιπθηνιστίμηχον χυτθύ τα ότηχα, καλείναν εμιοίκε ίττε 5ε το 5 χώμα σφαπηλάστου έφιλει μυτομέρου όλευτο Θεατεκεύν οπαίοχει, κ. τέν σευθυλαwhen regard man's 65 and coor of sole Sant Buirovres. That is, the target bearers, hearling on their knees hold before them their twells, those which n at follow cover them with thems, and others them againe, the fiame is very like the covering of a house, smerbat also resembling a theatre, and of all other defences is most fure against arrornes stiding downe upon it. Now in case one Telluco would not ferve to feetheir armed men high enough to match them on the trenches or wals, they made al thinke, a double Tefludo, one upon another. Tacitus in the words following furer iteratam tefludirem scanden-#: albeit those words may receive also another construction. The strength of targets so compacted together is teclared by Arrianu, and do. 1. Whereas Alexander had to afcend the mount Hamus, the top whereof was occupied by the enemies, who turned down mighty great carres upon his army, he willed fuch as could not open their tanks, and only pullage to they! lence, functionant is morned in negligible of double, "ti", and do file pullage to they! lence, functionant is morned in negligible of double, "ti", and do file to the state and fall to fine the state and the state and the state and fall to the ground, that the carres coming downs upon and carried over them amaine as it was likely, with their owne force might paffe a-

any without aboug harme, and as Alexandr guiffed, so it came to passe.

4. Of a disdainefull traitour] Xiphilinus seemeth to say that upon hanging out of their velamenta and infulæ phisyning not pardon they looked Czecina, and fent him in his Confular robes, લેવકે instructes; તે કે પાઝૂક જેમ amonda. Thair, To intrease for them; and by his meanes obtained merg. Josephus 4 200, cap, 41. faith that Antonius loofed Carina after his entry into the cowne. By Tacitus heere it thould feem he went not to Antonius rill after the

fouldiers had veelded.

in. This end had Cremona] In thi battell, faith Josephus 24. 4. cap. 41. were flaine of Vitellius fide thirty shouland and two hundreth. Xiphilinus faith that in futurona, with those which were flaine in the field, died fift thouland persons. The Time was about the latter und of October, about which time also, it appeareth by Tacitus, the newes were brought to Rome of Cacinaes

VII. Fabius Valens setteth forward. Vitellius blockish behaviour. The death of Lunius Bla [us.

Ut Vitellius, having within few dayes after Cæcinaes departure fet forth Fabius Valens also to the war, as if nothing else were now to be done, laid aside all care of affaires, and betook himselfe to his riotous life. He made no provifion of armour, confirmed not the fouldiers with comfortable speeches, or military exercifes :

* The god-defle of ili favours.

* In the years of the City 536. and the firth yeare of the facond Panick war.

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* In amplifying the great in all respects fo unworthy as Cecina, they griefe, that fo lewd a perion fhould be fo highly preferred, and yet fremed to complaine in Vitellius behalfe. b Of whom that jest of Tully is remembred, Quam vglan tem habemus confulem,qui toto confu!a!us fuitempore som num oculis non

The third Book of the History exercifes; he conversed not in publike in the face of the people (like those sluggish creatures, which if you supply with food lye carelesly stretched along) lurking in arbours and places of pleasure, he had cast off all memory alike, of past, present, and to come. Thus wallowing in floth, and languishing in the groves of Aricia, the heavie newes came unto him of the treason of Lucilius Bassus, and of the revolt of the navie at Ravenna: soone after the forrowfull tidings mixed with some joy concerning Cæcina came, both that he had revolted, and that he was put in bands by the armie. His blockish and dull disposition apprehended more the joy then the care. infomuch that with great triumph he made his returne unto the city, and there in a folemne affembly commended, & highly extolled the dutifull affection of the foul. diers. Then he commanded Publius Sabinus captain of the Guard, because he was inward with Cæcina, to be committed, substituting Alphenus Varus in his roome: immediately going to the Senate he made there a stately and magnificall oration unto them, and was required of them againe with all kinde of exquifite flatteries. Then proceeded a heavie fentence against Cæcina, a pronounced first by Lucins Vitellius, and so by the rest of the Senate in order; who was in the Princes behalfe of Vitellius to-That the Confull should betray the comon-wealth, a Generall his soveraign Lord, and a man so greatly advanced in riches and honour his sole advancer and maker: without any touchat all or injurious speech against any of the Flavian Captaines. uttered indeed but onely blaming the errour, and overfight of the armies: and for Vespasians proceedings, with great caution touching that ftring, and alwaies sparing his name. Then Roscius Regulus presented a petition, & by humble suite obtained, a ridiculous thing both to give and to take, the Confulship for one only day which remained behinde of Cæcinaestime, & so the last day of October he entred and resigned his Office. It was observed by men skilfull that way, that never before was there any fuch substitution seene, but either upon errour in the creation, or an expresse law for that purpose enacted. For b Caninius Rebilus had likewise beene Consull for one day alone, at that time when Caius Cæfar was Dictatour "and the service of many in the civill warre required much speed in rewarding. About the same time the death of Junius Bloesus was openly knowne and much talkt of abroad: the circumstances whereof, as we have received them are these. Vitellius lying sick of a grievous disease in the Servilian gardens, chanced to espie in a turret not farreoff manylights burning in the night feason, and demanding the cause, they about him made answer that in Cæcina Tuscus house there was a solemne feast, and much company met, whereof Junius Bloesus was the principall guest; amplifying the "Or, who be- fumptuousnesse of the entertainment, and the mirth, & the wanton solacing theming beholding selves, and such other matters farre above truth: yea and some stuck not directly to many to plea- accuse Tuscus himselfe and others; but aggravated most against Blocsus that had fo good leifure and lust in the Princes ficknes, to banquet and passe the time so merrily away. When they found Vitellius humour once sharpned, and it was cleare to them, that see deeply into Princes dislikes, that Bloesus might be overthrowne, the promoting and profecuting against him was committed to Lucius Vitellius: who upon a finister emulation malicing Bloesus (because he was so famous a man, and himselse by desert so infamous) entred into the Emperours chamber, and taking his little sonne in his armes fell downe at his feete. When his brother demanded the cause of this his confusion, I come not (quoth he) for any seare or care of mine own, but my humble fuit is, and these teares are shed in your owne behalfe, and your childrens. In vaine do we stand in searce of Vespasian, whom so many Legions as we

have of our fide, so many provinces of valour and trust, and so great and infinite distance by Sea and land doth withhold and keepe off: we had more neede to take heede of an enemy at home in our bosome, who vaunts of the Junii and Antonii . By reason for his progenitours, and maketh all demonstrations of curteste and bountifulnesse of both which forms progenitours, and makernan demontrations of current and bound that way all mens makernan demontrations of current and bound that way all mens might daine mindes beginne now to bend: whilest your majesty in the meane time, carelesse of to be lineally theestate both of your friends and foes, nourisheth a concurrent, that taketh delight descended of out of his banketting house to behold his Princes sicknesse and griefes. Vouchiate, to augusts Thefeech you, for his unfeafonable mirth, to render him a fad and forrowfull night, cafa, as by whereby he may both know and feele, that Vitellius liveth and ruleth, and if ought their pedegree should be fall him but good, hath a sonne to leave in his place. Vitellius standing in dread between the feare of differring, and the open avowing of so wicked a fact, left the one might breed his destruction, the other procure great envy and slander, finally refolved to attempt it by poison: the suspition wherof was strongly confirmed, by his going in great joy to vifit Bloefus as he lay a dying; and moreover a most favage speech of his was overheard, wherein he vaunted (for I will report his owne very words) that he had fed his eies in beholding his enemies death. Bloefus befides hishonorable death and courtly conditions, was loyall and fast to Vitellius. For before Vespasian put up, when as matters were yet entire, being solicited by Cæcina and the chiefest of the fide, who began now to wax weary of Vitellius, he stifly refifted; a man of upright conversation, not turbulent, nor desirous of hasty rising, and so far from ambitious aspiring to the Empire, that in many mens opinions he was efteemed not worthy of it.

VIII. The proceedings of Fabius Valens, and his taking.

TN the meane feafon Fabius Valens marching forward, more flowly then was convenient in going to warre, with a great and effeminate traine of concubines Land cunuches, was advertised in post of the treason of Lucillius Bassus, with the losse of the navy at Ravenna: and if he had followed with expedition his purposed journey, he might either have prevented Cæcinaes falling away, or overtaken the Legions before the battellwas given. And some perswading him to take a few of his truftiest friends, & so avoiding Ravenna by secret by-waies to go in all speed to Hostilia, or Cremona: others were of opinion to fend for the Prætorian cohorts out of the City, and fo by ftrong hand to make passage. But Valens using delay, to the great hurt of the cause, spent the times of action in consultation: and then rejecting both the advises, and taking a middle course, which in cases of danger and doubt ofall is the worlt, he neither was venturous enough with the one, nor provident mough with the other, but only wrote letters to Vitellius for some supply. Wherupon three "cohorts were fent with the British wing, a number neither fit to passe of Presonions secret with all, nor sufficient to break thorow by force. But Valens eventhen, a-it should seem midft fo great danger, abstained not from his old untemperate living; but was de-finde 14. more famed, and noted to take by force his lewd pleasures, and pollute his hosts houses, Praetorian, and wherefoever he came, with adulteries, and other unlawfull lufts: he had both might there were bus and money, great meanes to induce; and the last lusts fortune beginning to fall, now 2. Hists at the farewell shewed themselves most outragious. When the horsemen and sootmenwere come, then appeared the weaknesse and fault of that counsell. For neither could he with fo small a company, though he had beene most trusty, passe thorow the enemies, neither yet were they fall and trusty indeed: but for a while

5 Belikein

nenfi.

Gilla Narbo-

Meant as I

difmiffed by

tion is made

shame, and the reverence of their Generall being present, restrained them, bonds of no long continuance with men 2 greedy of dangers, and carelesse of credit: upon feare whereof Valens fending the cohorts before to Arminium, and appointing the wing to guard them behinde, with a few in his company, whom adversitie had not altered, turned afide into Umbria, and from thence to Etruria. Where understand. ing the event of the battell at Cremona, he entered into a notable determination. and if it had fucceeded, of great confequence; to betake himselfe to the sea, and setting on land in some part of the province of Narbon, to raise France and the nations of Germany, and so stirre up a new war. Assoone as Valens was gone, Cornelius Fus. cus came with an army upon them at Arminium, and bestowing his ships not farre from the towne forced the fouldier for feare to yould, and made himselfe maker of the plaine of Umbria, and the countrey of Picenum all along the fea fide: and fo all Italy on the one fide of the Apennine mountaines was under the fubjection of Vespasian, and on the other fide under Vitellius. Valens having imbarked himselfe in the bay of Pifa was driven by the violence of the fea, or contrary windes, into the port of Hercules Monœcus. Not farre from thence Marcus Maturus Procuratour of the fea Alpes remained, a man very faithfull and constant in Vitellius cause, norwithstanding all thereabout had declared themselves for the contrary side; who in. tertaining Valens with all kinde of courtefie, and warning him, not rashly to enter into the province of Narbon, with this admonition stroke a terrour into his minde. and withall the rest of the company began to faint for seare, and stagger in their allegeance. For Valerius Paulinus a b Procuratour, a valiant fouldier, and a friend of Velpafians before his advancement, had fworne the cities round about unto him: and gathering all those, which being disfinished by Vitellius of their owne accord refumed armes, kept the colony of Forum Julii, being the key of the fea, with a gartikeit of Orison: his dealing therein carrying the more credit, because he was borne in that Donald Pretorica fouldiers towne, and was highly esteemed among the Prætorian fouldiers, whose Tribune onely, other fometimes he had beene; and the townesmen also upon favour to their countrey-Fit Has I build man, and hope of greatnesse hereafter, endevoured to further the side. This strong noticand menpreparation being reported in the amplest fort to the Vitellianists, who already were wavering in minde, Fabius Valens retired in all speed to the ships, accompanied only with foure "Spearenien, three of his friends, and as many Centurions: Manu-Expansatores rus and the rest were at their liberty to stay behinde, if it liked them, and sware to Vespasian. But as the sea was safer to Valens then the shoare, or towne, so floating thereon unrefolved, and feeing rather what to flun then what to follow, he was at the length by contrary weather cast upon the Stoechades Hands, upon the coast of Marseils; from whence Paulinus sending out of his ships setched him in.

1 A middle course] It may seeme that Valens for his partresolved upon the first opinion, that was assitis in inthe cobortious valida manu persumpere, but the fault was in Vitellius who had fent no more.

2 Mengreedy of danger] Apud as idos periculorum. So be the words in our copies, the meaning I know not; and the narration following I finde in my concert to be somewhat unperfect, as wherefore Valens did send the power rather to Arminium into the enemies mouth, then back to Vitellius, if he meant not to follow then himlelfeupon what intent and purpose he went unto Vmbria and Etruria, and what he would have done, if he had not had advertifement of the battel at Cremona, unleffe it were to take the fecret way now, which before he refuled, toward Hostilia and Cremona. Which circumstance furely would not have been comitted,

IX. The estate of the Provinces abroad upon the troubles in Italy.

Sfoone as Valens was taken, all the provinces turned themselves to Vespa-A fians fide, the matter beginning in Spaine at the first Legion surnamed Adiutrix; which upon the memory of Otho was enemy to Vitellius, and drew with it the tenth and fixth Legion also. Neither did the provinces of France make any flay. And for Britanny, the great favour and reputation in warlike affairs, that Vespasian had gotten being Lieutenant thereof the second Legion under Claudius, did eafily win that Legion unto him, albeit not without fome fturren f the rest, whereof many Centurions and souldiers, who had been advanced by Vitellius, were unwilling to change the Prince, whom they had proved already. By meanes of which diffention and continuall rumours of civill warres, the Britains took heart and rebelled, through the procurement of Venusius; who beside a natural stierce. Juganum co nesse of courage, and hatred of the Romane name, was incensed particularly, by a nat. private unkindnesse between him and the Queene Carthismandua. Carthismandua was Queene of the Brigantines, of high and noble linage, who upon the delivervof King Caratacus, whom she took by traud, and fent to furnish and set out the 12. 4nnat triumph of Claudius, wan favor with the Romans, & greatly increased her strength: whereupon enfued wealth, and of wealth and prosperity riotous and incontinent life: infomuch that casting off Venusius, who was her husband, she joyned her selfe inmarriage with Volocatus her harnish-bearer, and crowned him King: which fact was the overthrow immediately of her house. The good will of the countrey went generally upon the lawfull husband: but the Queens untemperate affections were peremptory and violent in maintaining her minion. Whereupon Venusius by the helpe of his other friends, and the revolt of the Brigantines, made warre upon Carthismandua, and brought her into great extremities: then praying aid at our hands, our cohorts and wings were fent to defend her, which after fundry skirmishes with diverse event, delivered her person out of peril, but the kingdome remained to Venufius, and the war unto us. About the same time our affaires in Germany through the infufficiency of our captains, and feditionfnesse of our Legions, forreine force affilling us, and our allyes betraying us, were reduced to those desperate tearmes, that we stood in danger of leesing the countrey: but that warre together with the causes, and particular events thereof (for it continued long) I will hereafter de-clb. 4. clare. The Dacians also stirred, a nation never loving us, and as then our army being withdrawne out of Moessia, not fearing us neither. When the first alterations and troubles began, they held themselves quiet, & looked but on: but when as they perceived Italy to be all in armes, and between the fides every where open hostilitic, forcing the standing camps of the cohorts and wings, they put themselves in possession of both the banks of Danubius, and were now at the point to have razed the camps of the Legions, had not Mutianus, having knowledge before of the victory at Cremona, opposed the fixth Legionagainst them, lest two forrein powers should have broken in at one time, the Germanes and Dacians, from two diverse coasts. As often heretofore, so now especially fortune was favourable to the Romanes, bringing Mutianus with the power of the East to arrive there at that inflant; and that in the meane time the matter was so dispatched at Cremona. Mutianus departing away left Fonteius Agrippa, who had been one yeare Proconfull of Asia, Lieutenant Generall in Mocha; assigning him sufficient forces out of the Vitellian

1 X.The

d In Naroes

morrae Jorduna. Strabouth. 11.

1 Lib. \$ 1.

Vitellian Legions, whom it was thought a point both of policy and peace to difperse abroad in the provinces, and keep occupied in forreine war. Neither were other nations at quiet. In Pontus a barbarous bondman, which fometime had been Admirall of the Kings navy, raifed up a fudden warre in the countrey: his name was Anicetus a freedman of the late King Polemo, sometime of great credit and power. and now fince the kingdome was dreduced into a province displeased and grieved with the charge. Whereupon having affociated unto him in Vitellius name the nations that dwell upon Pontus, alluring the poore and needieft fort with hope of booty and spoile, he became in short time Commander of competent forces, with which he fuddenly invaded & brake into Trapezus, a very ancient city built by the Græcans, in the uttermost borders of Pontus: where a cohort was slaine, which in time past was in the service there of the King, but being afterward made citizens of Rome, had taken enfignes and armour after our manner, retaining the flothfulneffe and diffolute life of the Greeks notwithstanding. He burned also the navy there. doing his pleasure on that sea, which as then was ungarded, by reason that Mutianus had given order for the best of the galleys, and all the souldiers to meete himat Byzantium: upon occasion whereof the barbarous people of the countrey ranged abroad, and robbed without feare of checke or controlment; building them boates on the fudden, weich they call e Cameræ, of narrow fides and broad botstrike based are toms, wrought and joyned together without any braffe or iron, and when the sea go-dry are to the season are the high, as the waves rise they raise also the sides of the vessell with boords, untill armine joyned. They close and cover it above like a house, and so the boats tumble up and downein the middle of the waves, having a prowalike on both fides, and ready to row either Enter way without any danger, as it shall fall out for their purpose. These things moved Vespasian to affigne unto those parts some Vexillary souldiers out of the Legions, and Virdius Geminus for captain, a man of good proofe in service: who setting upon the enemies being in difarray, & dispersed in seeking of spoile, drave them to their boates, and then causing some gallies to be built in haste, pursued and overtooke Anicetus in the mouth of the river Cohibus, being there under the protectio of the king of the Sedochezi, whom he had wor by money and gifts to undertake his defence. And indeed at first the king threatned to protect his suppliant with force of armes: but when as he saw himselfe put to the choyce, to accept either reward for yeelding him, or warre in defending him, as an unconstant and disloyall barbarian, upon composition he surrendered Anicetus to die, and delivered the sugitives, and fo end was made of that fervile warre. Vefpafian being joyfull upon the obtaining of this victory, all things fucceeding unto him above his own wish, was certified some after being in Egypt of the battell at Cremona, which caused him to make the more haste to Alexandria, that seeing Vitellius army was defeated and broken, he might presse also with hunger the city of Rome, standing altogether upon formine provision. For so likewise he made preparation to invade Africk, situate on the fame coaft, both by fea and land, meaning to cut off the two storehouses of come from the enemies and so procure famine, whereof consequently diffention would grow.

X. Antonius

X. Antonius Primus marcheth from Cremona to Fanum Fortuna, His jarring with Mutianus.

7 Hilest in these generall alterations thorowout the whole world, the state thus altered and passed, Antonius Primus leaving Cremona, left also his former care of well carrying himselfe, supposing the warre to be ar an end, and no difficulty in that which remained: or elfe peradventure prosperity; in a man of that disposition, discovered the secret and inward saults of his minde, as covetousnesse, and pride, and other vices that were suppressed before. Italy he harried as a conquered countrey: the Legions with all kinde of courtefie he fought to affure himfelfe: in fumme by all speeches and deeds he made the way to his owne greatnesse. And to give the souldier the more his owne will, and leave him the bridle at large, of his meere motion he granted unto the Legions the choise of Centurions in their roomes that were flaine: by which kinde of election the bufiest and trouble some st fellowes were chosen; and generally the souldier was not governed by the direction of his captaine, but the captaine drawne by the violence of the fouldier. After these points tending to faction and corrupting of discipline, he converted himselfe to the prey, nothing dreading Mutianus at hand, which was a more hainous offence, then to have contemued Vespasian himselfe. Neverthelesse the army marched on, without carriages, because the winter was neer, and the fields overflowne with the Po. The enfignes and standards of the conquering Legions, and the aged or impotent fouldiers, with many found also, were left at Verona. It feemed fufficient, now the warre was in fo good a forwardnesse, to take onely the cohorts and wings, and certaine chosen men out of the Legions. Unto this compamy the eleventh Legion also adjoyned themselves, who at the first had made some delay, but feeing the good fuccesse of their fellowes were forry it was their ill hap to beabsent: with it there came also fix thousand Dalmatians newly levied. Poppæas Silvanus was Lieutenant generall: but the whole directions of matters refted in Annius Baffus Lieutenant of the Legion, who with great industry and quietneffe disposed of all that was to be done, and under colour of obedience governed Silvanus peaceably, being a man of no action in military service, and trifling out the times of doing in talking. To this power were adjoyned the best of the mariners at Ravenna requiring Legionary service, and in their roomes the Dalmatians were sent to serve at sea. At Fanum Fortuna the army and the leaders were at a stop, being in doubt concerning their principall purpose, because they had heard the Prætorian cohorts were already fet forth out of Rome, and prefumed that the paflages of the Apennine hils were fortified and guarded against them. But that which caused most feare was want of provision, in a countrey wasted and comfumed by warre, and the feditious cries of the fouldiers, demanding * Clavarium (which is * Clavarium a the name of a donative) of them who had neither provided money nor corn: and the buy them calitoomuch hafte of the fouldiers hindred greatly, whileft that which in due order gares duri; as might have been taken and served some while, was in a moment spoiled in snatch-calcarium in ing. It is reported by most credible writers, that among the winners there was to buy them such a contempt of common honesty, and such unnaturall dealings against all lawes shoots. humane and divine, that a common fouldier among the horsemen was not ashamed openly to professe, that he had slaine his owne brother in the last battell, and to require recompense for the same at the captaines hands: who neither willing to reward the fact in regard of common humanity, nor daring to punish it in

respect

^{*} Barbarous people also of the country Others as I thinke beside those which slociate themselves with Anicetus: namely the Achæi, Heniochi, and Cercæi dwelling on the other fide of Pontus Buxinus; and according to Strabo aliving as they are here deferibed, by piracy.

* nimius jam

* certiora de

. Antonius.

bauter.

respect of the nature of the present warre, deferred the matter, pretending that he had deferved much more, then they were prefently able to give: how it was ended Ifinde not recorded; notwithstanding in former civill warres I finde the like to have happened. For in the Battell fought against Cinnaat Janiculum, one of Pompeys fouldiers flew his owne brother, and when he faw what he had done, flew himfelfe alfo, as Sifenna reporteth: fo much our ancestors have exceeded us. nor onely in glory of their vertues, but in griefe for their faults. These and the like drawne out of ancient history it shall not be amisse to remember, where the place * exempla recti and matters require to fet down either * example of that which is good, or comaut filatia mali forts for that which is bad. Now Antonius and the Flavian Captaines being at Farum, thought it expedient to fend some horsemen before, and searchall the coast of Umbria, to finde some easie and gentle passage over the Apennine: and withall they determined to fend for the standards and ensignes, and all the souldiers that remained at Verona, and to replenish the Po and the sea with store of provision. There were of the Commanders which fought all meanes to delay: for Antonius was * growne now too intolerable, and * better hope was conceived of Mutianus. who being inwardly vexed that the victory was so speedily gotten, and fearing unlesse he were present at the taking of Rome at the least, he should have no part, nei. ther of the war, nor the honour, wrote unto Primus and Varus ambiguously, some-Autiano speratime perswading to follow with instance, and sometime discoursing of the profita. blenesse of delaying; framing his speech in such fort, that if things fell out ill, hee would clearely disclaime them; if wel, he might take them upon him: but to Plotius Griphus, whom Vespasian had lately made a Senatour and Lieurenant of a Legion, and the rest of his trulty friends he gave plaine direction to stay till his coming: all which persons returned unto him a plautible answer, and greatly blamed the heady proceeding of Primus and Varus. Those Letters Mutianus sent to Vespasian, and so procured that Antonius devises and doings were not accepted according to his expectation. Which thing Antonius tooke very impatiently and imputed the fault thereof unto Mutianus, by whose calumniations he conceived his dangers had growne: neither did he forbeare to use hard speeches against him, as a man of an intemperate tongue, and not a customed to acknowledge any superiour. He wrote also letters to Vespasian in a more hauty and arrogant style, then beseemed a subject to his Prince, with fecret glances and nips at Mutianus: That it was Antonius and no body else, who first put in armes the Legions of Pannonia, and brought them into the field: that by his procurement and working the captaines of Monfia were first stirred up to the warre: by his resolutenesse the Alpes were passed, Italie possessed, and the aide of the Rhoetians and Germane nations cut off: then, that Vitellius Legions being at discord and dispersed the vantage was spied, and they overthrowne first by a furious charge of horsemen, afterward by a power of soctmen for a whole day and a night together; that was indeed the bravest point of the service, and his onely doing: as for the mishap of Cremona, it was a mischance of warre; and that the deciding of other civill diffentions in other ages had cost the Common wealth much dearer, even the subversion of many great towns. That he ferved his Prince not with fending of messages and writing of letters, but with his person and weapon in hand: neither did he envy or hinder their glory, thatin the meane time had quieted Moesia: they regarded the peace of Moesia, and he the conservation and safety of Italy. By his persuasions France and Spaine, the most puissant parts of the Empire, were joyned to the side: but all his paines and travell were in vaine, if they alone should reape the rewards, which had no part in the nerill. Mutianus was advertised of all his proceeding, and thereupon eschewed great enmity, which Antonius profecuted fimply and fouldier like, but Mutianus closely. and therefore the more irreconcileably.

> XI. Vitellius proceedings and behaviour after the loffe at Cremona. The revolt of the navy at Misenum.

Tt Vitellius having received fo great a blow at Cremona, concealing the news, and foolishly diffembling the matter, differred the remedies of his evils, not the evils themselves. For if he would have plainely confessed it, and taken advise thereupon, he had both hope and strength enough and too much remaining: but when as he contrarily fained that all went on his fide, by that untruth he marred his owne case, and cut off from himselse all meanes of recovery. In his presence there was no mention of warre, but a wonderfull filence that way: in the citie all meeches of it were forbidden, which caused the more: and they, which if it had been lawfull would have talked nothing but truth, being restrained gave out much more then it was. The captains also of the Flavian side helped to increase the same, carrying Vitellius spies, as they chanced to take them, round about the campe, to see and view the strength of their Victorious army, & so dismissing them back to their mafter. All which at their returne Vitellius, after fecret examination had, commanded to be made away. But above all other the a constancy and resolutenesse of the a Spetanius O-Centurion Julius Agrestis was most notable; who after much speech tending to those c. 10. Xiincite Vitellius to vertue in vaine, at length obtained that himself might be fent to after him Zyview the forces of the enemy, and fee what had passed at Cremona. For the per-value, reportforming whereof he fought no corners, but addreffed himself directly to Antonius, the his in the and openly profeshing what charge he had from his Prince, and what was his intent, in the former herequired he might be permitted to take a perfect furvey of all things. So fome war, with were fent with him, web shewed him the place where the battel was fought, the ruins time finall giff rence of of Cremona, the conquered Legions. Agrestis went home againe, and making re-circumstancis. lation, when as Vitellius would not believe his report, but charged him with untruth, and further that he was hired thereto: Seeing then (quoth Agreftis) no meane proofe will ferve, and neither my life nor my death can now fland you in any other flead, I will give you an affurance which you may believe; and fo departing from him, he fealed his fayings voluntarily with his bloud. Some write that he was flain by Vitellius comandement, but of his fidelity and conftancy they reported the fame. Now Vitellius being as it were awaked out of fleepe, commanded Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus with foureteen Prætorian cohorts, and all the wings of the horsemen to keep the straits of the Apennine. After them followed a Legion of Seamen; a power both for number and goodnesse of men and horses sufficient (if another had beene Generall) to make war offensive, not onely to stand upon their defence. The rest of the cohorts were committed to Lucius Vitellius his brother to guard the city withall. Himfelfe abating nothing of his wonted riot, and hafty through dittruft, hudled up the election of officers, wherein he declared Confuls for many yeares to come. Moreover new treaties and more gracious were concluded without allyes, and the right of Latium conferred upon frangers. To fome control hereleased their tributes, to others he granted immunities, without all care of po- in decem annos fterity mangling and mayming the Empire. But the common fort accepted thefe ordinavit fique favours that seemed so great, and the foolishest bought them with money, which considers.

the safety of the state. At the last through the instant request of his army lying in

Meyania, with a great traine of Senatours affumed, partly upon fute and most upon feare, he repaired to the campe irrefolute of himfelfe, and obnoxious to unfaithfull counsels. As he was speaking to his fouldiers in publike affembly, it fell out so many unluckie birds to flye over his head (a monstrous matter) that the day wasovercast, as it were with a black cloud: and another no (2) lesse ominous and of evil presage, that a bull which was appointed to be sacrificed, brake away from the altars. overturned the furniture of the ceremonie, and was knocked downe farre off from the accustomed place. But the greatest monster was Vitellius himselfe, a Prince without skill in the profession of armes, and devoide of direction and counsell. demanding eft-foones of others in what order to march, what diligence was requifite in making discoveries, what meane was to be observed in urging or delaying the warre, and upon every flying report apparently fearefull in countenance, and trembling in gate, and beside all this most commonly drunken. At the length growing weary of the campe, and understanding of the revolt of the navy at Misenum, hereturned to Rome, ever fearing most the blow that came last, and carelesse in the meane time of the maine chance. For whereas it had been a course most cleare in reason, & evident in fight, to have passed the Appennine with his army, which then was in heart and ftrength, and fo to have affailed the enemies almost confumed with *Taking fome hunger and cold, he on the other fide fell to * difperfing his forces, and fo abandoned his best and faithfullest fouldiers, whom he left thereby to the enemies mercy. with him to and delivered them as it were into their hands; contrary to the opinion of the most expert Centurions, who difliked greatly the difuniting, and if their advise had been principally in that he fent away with his asked, would have told plainly their minde: but Vitellius inwardeft friends hinderbrother, as -p- ed them from acceffe, the Princes eares being fo framed, that he accounted all fix cohors and fharpe that was wholesome, and liked of nothing, but that which was presently pleatwehunderth fant, and afterwards hurtfull. But the navy at Mifenum (fo much the audaciousnesse even of one fingle man in civill diffentions may worke) was brought to revolt by the meanes of Claudius Faventinus, a Centurion ignominiously cassed by Galba. who counterfeiting letters from Vespasian, with hope of reward induced them to change their allegeance. The Admirall thereof was Claudius Apollinaris, a man that neither constantly kept his fidelitie, nor stoutly maintained his treason: and Apinius Tiro, who had beene Pretor, and was then by chance at Minturea, offered himfelfe a head to them which revolted; by whose meanes the colonies, and free townes were drawne to the fide, the Putcolani shewing themselves most forward that way. But Capua on the other fide, perfifted firme to Vitellius: whereupon there passed under colour of the publike cause, much private choler between the two townes. To the pacification of these troubles Vitellius chose out Claudius Julianus (who had beene late Admirall of the navy at Mifenum, and governed himselse in that charge with great mildnesse) as the meetest man to appeale the "Gladiatores, fouldiers mindes; affigning unto him a power of one city cohort, and the "fencers which were under his charge. As foone as the campes approached the one to the other, Julianus without any great stay turned to Vespasians side, and so joyntly they took Tarracina, a place of great strength in regard of the wals and situation, if the men within had beene faithfull and good. Upon knowledge whereof Vitellius lca-

ving part of his navie at Narnia, with the captaines of his Guard, fent his brother

Lucius Vitellius away with fix cohorts, and five hundred horse, to manage the warre

of Campania. Himselfebeing greatly perplexed in minde was yet somewhat revi-

ved with the earnest good will of the fouldiers, and clamours of the towne people requiring armour and weapons; whom being nought else but a cowardly company. whose boldnesse never went beyond words, he called by the false title of armies and Legions. At the perswasion of his freedmen (for of his friends the greatest men were less trusty) he commanded the tribes to be called, and sware them which gave in their names: too many presenting themselves, he divided the charge of the muster betweene the two Confuls, and affessed the Senatours at a certaine number ofbondmen, and quantitie of filver. The Gentlemen of Rome made offer both of their service and money, even the Libertini requiring of their owne motion they might be admitted to do also the like. This counterfeit forwardnesse made the officesthat were done for feare, be thought to proceed of good will. And indeed mapypitied not so much the man, as the place he sustained: and Vitellius himselfe ceafednot by his countenance, fpeech, teares, to provoke and compassion and pity, promifing largely, and (as the nature is of men in great feare) without measure. Moreover he took then upon him (which he had refused before) the style of dCæ- 3uetonius Pitelfar, upon some superstitious conceit of the name, and because in a time of seare. the line, 8 seemeth far, upon tome superstitious concert of the name, and because in a time of teate, the to say other counsels of wise men, and prattings of the people are heard and respected alike, wise appearance But as all actions entred into upon heat without confideration are strongest in the Germanici delabeginning, and afterward fade and decay, so here the Senatours began by little and time ab noive significant beginning, and the Gentlemen likewise; at the first with some respect and in Augustiality. Vitellius absence, but afterward more openly, being afraide and pensive for the dan. Cesaris in perper ger which was like to ensue, till in the end Vitellius seeing the attempt not feasible, than recuravit, for shame was contented, not to demand that he could not obtaine.

of Cornelius Tacitus.

1 New treaties : Fadera sociis, Latium externis) that is, to our socii their sadera were renewed with a further tinmake of exemptions and priviledges; and to forrainers that priviledge was granted, that those which had borne man of examptions and printinges, and constants that printings was granted that is the main point of just Latit, App, 2-manual office with them floudd by that means become circles (Romani: Ich that is the maine point of just Latit, App, 2-Тарак, тобыт 9 Noteman v Kajara is Annies d'agues (Эт) 40 Артбан abises, div безе маг² этех вруга, јуђуваче Рамајан толица, тоби уд in a Anno. That is, Cefar bad founded the colonie of Novum (somm in the Alpes, and endowed it with fus Latti, fo that moseworn had bome annual effice there, by vertue thereof became citizen of Rome. For so much fus Latti importeth. 2 No lesse ominous fure breaking away of the beast at sarrishee was among Romans an ominous matter. Titus

2. No lette ommons i me breaking away of the beattat latince was among Romans an omnous matter. I tims slute before his death Sahinus petit, lath - Suctionius, Aliquant niffior, youd Jacoffcant logit aging each following his consideration and soft of the Ju - 2 Cap. 10: loc un immobilist adjuggite, but a steme profession and adjusts. And e Galba. Taurus sleavis illu conflexatus respo vime b Cap. 50: also siglatum eius invusit. Feltus. Piezularia vocabant, quad faerificantibus respit proteadebant: cum act bossia ab ara profussif. Cup. 18. ft, aut press ft, musitum deldit, aut in alian parter corporis quan opente decidific. Plin. 11b. Angeaum of visuos ad aras d Cap. 45. bastis bominum allacos non intensificant calcularante, acc sheaa bossia bossia nec trabente se ab aris.

XII. The Flavianists passe over the Appennine. The Vitellianists at Narnia yeeld themfelves. The death of Fabius Valens.

Sthe possessing of Mevania by the Vitellianists had wrought great terror in Italy, seeing another warre as it were sprung up a fresh by that meanes, so of the contrary side the departure of Vitellius in so fearefull manner procured great credit, and good to the Flavian cause. For presently thereupon the Samnites, and Peligni, and Marsi revolted; and upon emulation that Campania had prevented them, to recompense their slacknesse, as men newly come to a new master, hewed extreame diligence in furthering the service. But in passing the Apennine the army by the foulnesse of the winter weather was greatly distressed, and marching with all libertie and quietnesse could hardly wrestle out of the snow, so that it was cleare to be seene, what danger they must needs have sustained, if fortune to

of this army.

Rome, but

which the Flavian Captaines were more often beholding, then to their good guiding and skill, had not turned Vitellius back home againe. In the mountaines Peti. lius Cerealis met them, who in clownish apparell through knowledge of the countrey had escaped Vitellius hands. Cerealis was of neere affinitie with Vepasian, and of some name for matters of warre, and therefore was assumed among the Leaders. Many write that Flavius Sabinus and Domitian might also easily have escaped and certaine it is, that divers meffengers fent by Antonius by fundry cunning fleights came to their speech, pointing the place, and offering them means for their fafety: but Sabinus alleadged that his crazy body was not to undertake a matter of that paines, and fuch an audacious attempt. Domitian would have gladly ventured. but he feared the keepers whom Vitellius had fet about him, although they offered to accompany him in his escape, lest peradventure it had beene a snare to in. trap him: and indeed Vitellius himselfe, in regard of his owne kinsfolkes, intended no crueltie against Domitian. When the Flavian captains were come to Carsula, they staied there a few daies to repose their army; till their Legionary power should overtake them: and the place of the campe in it felfe was delightfull, with a large goodly prospect, and very safe for the provision of victuals, having so many of the wealthiest Cities, as it were storehouses behinde him. And besides they were in fome hope that the Vitellianists, which were not distant above tenne miles would fall to some parle and so from a parle to a revolt: which thing the souldiers could not abide to heare of, but defired an end rather by conquest, then by peace : even their owne Legions they were unwilling to ftay for, louth to have more fellowes in the spoile, when they needed none in the danger. But Antonius calling them pub. likely together, shewed unto them, that Vitellius had yet some forces remaining wavering perhaps and unconstant if they might have time to consult, but of ficree stomachifthey were driven to despaire: that the beginnings of civill warres were to be permitted to fortunes deciding, but the accomplishment of the victory was to be governed by reason and wisdome: that the navy of Mesenum, and the most flourishing countrey of Campania were already revolted, and there remained nothing of all the world unto Vitellius, fave onely fo much as lay between Tarracina and Namia: and furely they had wonne honour fufficient in the Battell at Cremona, and blame too much by destroying the towne. Therefore they should not now desire to take Rome, but rather to save it : their reward would be greater, and their glory most great, if they wrought the safety of the Senat and people of Reme without bloudshed. With these and other like speeches their minds were mollified, and soone after the Legions came. The Vitellian cohorts terrified with the fame of the army fo much increased, began to waver, no man animating them to the warre, but many to revolt, who defired to make a prefent of their bands and cornetsunto the conquerour, to purchase favour hereafter; and gave also advertisement, that fast thereby at Interanna was a garrison of source hundreth harse. Whereupon immediately Varus was difpatched with a band of men lightly appointed, and flew some stew that made resistance: but the most part had downed their weapons and yeelded themselves to his mercy: some fled to the campe at Nama, and filled all there full offeare and terrour, extolling above truth the forces and valour of the enemies; to diminish the inowne dishonour in losing their fort. Neither was there any punishment for offences among the Vitellianitts; on the other ide the rewards, were apparent of those that revoked : fo that from thence forth the contentionwas, who hould be most trainour, and thaily some of the Tribunes, and Centurionsified to the enemy : for the common fouldier was obfinately bent for Vitellius Virellius, untill Priscus and Alphenus Generals forfaking the Campe upon feare. and returning to Vitellius, discharged the rest from all blame of treason. About the fame time Fabius Valens was put to death in the prison at Urbine. His head was onenly shewed to the Vitellian Cohorts to put them out of all hope: for before they beleeved that he was escaped into Germany and putting in arms both old and new fouldiers there: but when they faw he was dead, they began to despaire. The Flavian Army also took a wonderfull conceit as if his death were undoubtedly the end of the warre. Valens was borne at Anagnia, of a gentlemans house, loose in conditions, and not without grace in feeking by wanton jefts the name of a pleafant conceit. In the games of Juvenalia in Neroes time he * plaied a part, first as it were by * Mimos acticompulsion, then voluntarily, with more dexterity then credit. Being created Lieu-tavit. tenant of a Legion he both fought to prefer Verginius to the Empire, and then to discredit him. Fonteius Capito his Lieutenant Generall, either because he was enred into treason, or because he could not induce him to treason, he murdered and made away. A traytour he was no doubt to Galba, and true to Vitellius, a vertue in him so much the more eminent, because so many others were false. Now the Vitellian fouldiers feeing all their hope cut off, going to yeeld themselves to the contrarypart, even in that also had a care of their honour, and came down into the plaine under Narnia under their enfignes and banners displaied; the Flavian army flood armed with their weapons bent, as in battell, in thick ranks along the way fide. So the Vitellianists were received in the middle, and being so inclosed about. Antonius entertained them with comfortable and gracious words, and appointed fome of them to abide at Narnia, and some at Interamna, leaving some of his owne Legious withall, without mole station to them if they were quiet, and yet of force sufficient to represse them if they rebelled.

XIII. Vitellius upon composition with Flavius Sabinus Vesbasians brother. offcreth to resigne up the Empire. Sabinus by the souldiers is driven out into the Capitoll, and there be fieged. The Capitell is burnt : Sabinus taken and flaine.

Uring theirabode at Carfula, Antonius and Varus fent continually messages unto Vitellius, offering him, if he would furcease Armes, and yeeld himfelte and his children to Vespasians mercy, life, money, and what secret place he would chuse of Campania to retire himselfe into: to the same effect Mutianus wrote also unto him: and Vitellius oftentimes gave eare thereunto, entering into speech about the number of his servants, and the choise of the place. So great a senskineffe had poffeffed his minde, that if other men had not remembred, that he had beene once Prince, and therefore was not to look for fecuritie in private estate, hee himselse would have quickly forgotten it. But the principall men at Rome secretly incited Flavius Sabinus being Provost of the City, to put himselse into the cause, and undertake part of the victory and of the honour: making remonstrance unto him, that the City Cohorts was his owne peculiar fouldier, the Cohorts of the Watch-men would questionlesse take his part, and their owne retinue of bond-men hould be at his disposition; beside the fortune of the side, and the easie course of Proceeding they finde, that be in traine of winning: that he should not yeeld the honour of the Action to Antonius and Varus: that Vitellius had but few cohorts in number, and those discouraged and trembling at the evill news that came out of all quarters:

c. 14.Suffritin here out velet Cam, txdio pie. Centium. 💸 imminentium metu,v.nenum a filio imperraffe band fane diffi

128 quarters: the common people was fickle and changeable; and if Sabinus would prefent himselfe for a head, they would use the same fluttering tearmes for Vespasian which now they did to the other: as for Vitellius he was a man not able to governe himselse in prosperitie, much lesse sufficient to weild and winde out of his declining estate: that the honor of finishing the war would be his who first should take posses. fion of the Citie; and so were it fit in all congruity, both for Sabinus to reserve the Empire to his brother, and for Vespasian to esteem of all other mens service secundarily to Sabinus. These warlike speeches made but a sleder impression in his feeble old minde, and some did secretly suspect & charge him that thorow envy and emu. latio he fought rather to hinder his brothers good fortune. For Flavius Sabinus was the elder brother, and exceeded Vespasian both in riches and authoritie, whiles they were both private men, and was thought to have faved his credit and kept him from breaking by lending him money, but taking in morgage his house & lands for repair ment thereof: whereupon albeit in outward shew they continued friends, yet some fecret jelousies were feared between the. But the better interpretation was, that be. ing a milde man he abhorred from flaughter and bloud, and therfore treated divers times with Vitellius of a peaceable copoling of matters upon conditions. And after divers meetings at his house, at the last a capitulation was concluded upon (as the fame went) in the temple of Apollo, only two persons, Cluvius Rufus and Silius Ita-'Salatem fill & licus being witnesses of their words: their countenances were noted afar off by the beholders: Vitellius feemed abject and base, Sabinus not insulting, but pitying ra-Villaging frate ther. And if Vitellius could as eafily have perfunded his friends, as he was ready to yeeld himselfe, Vespasians Army had entred the City without bloud-shed: but the that is, 781250 loyall and faithful fervants of Vitellius flatly rejected all speech of peace and conditions, declaring the danger and dishonor thereof, & that the performance confisted only in the winners good pleafure. Nay faid they, Vefpasian will not be so consident, as to suffer Vitellius to live, though in a private estate: or if he would, yet your very owne fouldiers and friends will not abide it: and fo through their pity your life shall come in danger. You are old, and therefore for your part, as one that hath had his fil of both fortunes, are content to accept of conditions; but what title and state shall your little fon Germanicus have now they offer money, fervants, & the pleafant places of Campania to solace you in, but when Vespasian shal once be settled in the Empire, neither he, nor his friends, nor his fouldiers will think themselves safe, while so great a concurrant doth live. Even Fabius Valens, whom they had in prifon, and rematin fent qua- ferved in store it ought should gowrong, was too heavy for them to endure: much hoge palei leffe are we to think, that Antonius and Fuscus and the chiefe flower of the side Mutianus, will otherwise deale with Vitellius then to make him away. Cassar lest not nune Catta mus. Pompey alive nor Augustus Antonius, unles perhaps Vespasian carry a braver mind, the meanest among many of your fathers followers & clients, when he was fellow oration at part for in office with Claudius the Emperor. Nay rather as it beseemeth you being son of a firmiter active thrice Conful & Cenfor, as it becometh fo many honorable titles of your molt noinfine imperate ble house, let despaire at the least arme you to courage and boldnesse. The souldiers parent extitifit, perfit still for you the good wil of the people continueth yet very fervent: in fumme Alunadost o no greater harme can happen, then that which we run into voluntarily, die we muft, if we be overcome, & die we shal, if we yeeld: the difference only is this, whether we should end our lives vertuously and with honour, or with shame and perpetuall reproch. But Vitellius eares were stopped against all mansfull counsels: his minde was overcome with care and pity, left with too long relifting he should leave the conqueror leffe merciful to his wife and children. A b mother also he had of great years,

but she died some sew daies before, very reasonably not to see the ruine of her houle, having gained nothing by her fons preferment, but forrow & a good name. Upon the eighteenth day of December, hearing of the revolt of the Legion & cohorts at Narnia, he departed out of the Palace in mourning weed, with his fervants all fad and weeping about him, and withall in a fmall* chaire was carried his little young fonne, as it were to his buriall. The people in puffing used their accuflomed flatteries, being as then out of feafon: the fouldier kept filence, but feemed to carry wrath in his countenance: neither was there any man fo fensleffe, or unmindfull of humane inftability, which was not moved with that fight. An Empe- Succomius Virour of Rome, a little before Lord of the whole world, to abandon the feat of his formewhat fate, and thorow the people, the citie to go out of the Empire! The like was never otherwife, seene, never heard of before. Sudden violence oppressed Casfar the Dictator, and secret conspiracie Caius: night and the obscure corner of a countrey house covered Neroes flight: Pifo and Galba died as it were in the field: but Vitellius in the affem. bly of his owne people, amidst his one fouldiers, women also looking out of their windowes, after he had uttered these few speeches agreeable to his present heavineffe, that he gave place in regard of quietneffe, and the good of the weale publike, onely defiring them to retaine some remembrance of him, and take pity of his brother and his wife, and the harmles age of his young children; prefenting withall his forunto them, and recommending him fometimes to particular persons sometime to the general lassembly: at the length overcome with tears he loosed his sword from his fide and offered it unto Cacilius Simplex the Conful that ftood by, surrendring thereby as it were the power of life and death over the citizens. Which when the Confull refused to accept, the whole assembly also clamorously gainfaying it, he departed protesting he would in the temple of Concordia lay down all his regalities, and to as a private man retire himfelfe to his brothers house. Buttherethe multitude began to cry more then before, not suffering him to enter into a private house, but calling him to the Palace stopping up the other passage, and leaving that onely open which let to Via facra. Whereupon not knowing what to do, or whither toturn him, he returned in the end to the Palace again. Now the fame was gone beforethe fact that he had refigned the Empire: and Flavius Sabinus had written to the Tribunes of the cohorts, to keep their foldiers in order. And now as if the whole common wealth were fallen into Vespasians arms, the chiefe of the Senators with many gentlemen, and all the city-fouldiers, and the watchmen flocked to Sabinus house. There they understood of the peoples constant affection toward Vitellius, and the threatnings of the Germane cohorts: but Sabinus had proceeded toofarre now to draw back; and every man upon his owne particular feare urged him being otherwise loath to goe out and take armes, lest the Vitellianists should meete with them afterward when they were fevered, and fo of leffe strength. But as itfals out in such cases, all gave counsell, but sew tooke part of the perill. About Lacus Fundani the armed men of Sabinus were encountred by some of the most resoluteVitellia soldiers: there a smal skirmish was sought, as in a sudden tumult; wherin the Vitellianists had the better. Sabinus seeing his side go down, as the safest way upon the present, seazed upon the Capitol with his souldier, and some Senators and Joseph. White. gentlemen, whose names it is not easie to set downe, because many when Vespasian 116.4.6.42. was prince pretended to have done that service to the side. Some women also retiredinto the Capitol, and there were befieged: amongst whom the most famous was Verulana Gracilia, drawn neither with respect of children, nor kinsfolk, but only because she would be of a party. The Vitellianists having pinned them up, set the sen-

of Cornelius Tacitus.

tinels fo negligently, that about midnight Sabinus fet forth and brought into the Capitol his own children, and Domitian his brothers fon, and dispatched out other messengers to the Flavian captains, shewing them how they were belieged, and unleffe fuccour came, were in great danger, & paffed the whole night in that quietnes without any attempt from the enemy, that he might have eafily escaped without any perill. For the Vitellian fouldiers as they were fierce, and ftout against dangers. fo in labour and watching they were not diligent; and withall a great shower falling on the sudden hindred both their fight and their hearing. When the day appeared, before any act of hostility was begunne by either, Sabinus sent Cornelius Martialis a principall Centurion with instructions to Vitellius, complaying and charging him with breach of covenants and that it was but a colourable matter in him, and a fained shew of resigning the Empire, onely to intrap so many noble perfonages: for if otherwife, why withdrew he himfelfe from the Rostra, into his brothers house standing neer to the Forum, and full in the fight of the world, & not rather to his wives in mount Aventine out of the way; for fo had it been meetest indeed if he had meant to have lived as a private man, & avoided all shew of a Prince: whereas contrarily he returned againe even into the Palace, the very feate of the Empire, and from thence he fent forth a company of armed men, who had polluted the most famous part of the city with the bloud of innocent persons, not sorbearing the Capitollit selfe: for his part he continued unarmed, and lived in all respects as an other Senatour, whiles in the meane time the matter was tried betweene Vespasian and Vitellius by maine battels of Legions, taking of townes, and yeelding of cohorts: yea, when Spaine, Germanie and Britanny were revolted, vet did he being Vespasians brother continue still in allegeance, till Vitellius began first to motion a parle; who furely should finde in the end that peace and composition is indeed for the glory of the conquerours, but for the utility of the conquered or if it repented him of his bargaine, let him not make war against him, whom he had with falshood beguiled, nor against Vespasians young sonne (for what would the death of an old man and one childe availe?) but let him go out and encounter the Legions, and there trie the maine matter: other things would follow the event of that battell. To this charge Vitellius in great feare made answer, with some words in excuse of himselfe, & laying the blame upon his souldiers, whose too much vehemency, his modesty, he saied, was unable to bridle: and withall advised Martialis to convey himselfe out of the house by a privie way lest the souldiers should murder him as a negotiatour of the peace, which they fo greatly detested: and indeed Vitellius was now but a cipher, neither able to commande nor forbid, not Prince in effect, but onely matter of warre. Martialis was fcarce returned into the Capitol, when as the Vitellian fouldiers, in a great fury were also at hand, without any leader or captaine, but every man of his owne head: leaving with speede the Forum and temples upon it behinde them they fet themselves in array and marched up the hill, even to the first gate of the Capitoll. There were in old time certaine open galleries upon the fide of the chiffe, on the right hand as a man goeth up; from the tops whereof the defendants with stones and tiles beate the Vitellianists down, who had in their hands nothing but fwords, and to stay while engines and shot were fetched feemed lost time: wherefore they took firebrands and hurled them into the accermost gallery, and following the fire were at the point to have entred the gate of the Capitoll being halfe burned, had not Sabinus pluckt downe all the images and glorious monuments of our progenitors, and in the entrance of the gate made as it were a countermure of them. Then they affaied to make their entrie on the other

side of the Capitoll by Lucus Afyli, and by the stayres of a hundreth steps, in the ascent to Rupe Tarpeia. At both these places the affault came unlooked for, but 5 Or the lover. the nearer and hotter was that by the Afylinm: neither could they be stopped from fulliments fishing the nearer and hotter was that by the Afylinm: climing up by the buildings that touched together, which as in a time of long peace peradventure were raised to the height of the floore to the Capitoll. Heere it is doubted whether to called, bethe affailers fired those buildings, or (as the more received opinion is) the defen-carved to the dants thereby to repulse them which pressed forward, and where come so farre on : hkenesseof Eabut how soever it was, the fire there beginning, from thence run along the galleries gles.
The foundathat joyned to the Temples: then the Eagles which bare up the "roofe being of tion of it acold drie timber drew and maintained the flame. And so the Capitoll, the gate be-cording to Dioing thut, no man defending it, no man attempting to spoile it, was burned to ashes; li, 4. was the most lamentable mischance, and detestable fact that ever befell the people of rore date and ros Hoge and ros A Rome fince the City was founded; especially no forraine enemy invading, and the study price gods most plentifully powring their benefits upon us, if our owne evill conditions and bellevir li would have permitted us to enjoy them: the feat of the great god Jupiter founded mbis conditions by our ancestors with the approbation of the gods, (1) as a pledge of the Em-611. Scipione & pire, which neither, (2) Porfenna when the City was yeelded, nor the Frenchmen Workshow off: when they took it, could hurt, thus to be destroied by the fury of our owne Princes! Eye, are indicated It was once also burned before in a scivill warre, but by private malice: now it was directed warre, but by private malice. publikely befieged, and publikely burned: and that not in honorable defence of our rolling regions the countrey, which might fome what lighten the loffe, but in the ambitious upholding of partialities & fides. The Capitoll was howed first by king Traquinius Prifcusin to the waraginst the Sabius, (3) who laid also the foundation, rather a cording to the waraginst the Sabius, (3) who laid also the foundation, rather a cording to the control of the sabius, (3) who laid also the proportionable to the present estate of the Ro-vinity states and the sabius of the sa perbus with the spoile, when Suessa Pometia was taken, finished the worke: but the Liosista. honor therof was referved to the time of liberty. For (1) after the kings were driven . Three years out, Horatius Pulvillius in his fecond Confulfhip dedicated it, in that magnificent after, Dianyflus and fumptuous fort, that the excessive wealth of the Romans which afterward this, s.t. 12 file 2. followed, perchance might adorne and beautifie the worke, but did not augment dedication in it. Foure hundreth twentie and five yeares afterward, when Lucius Scipio and the first Con-Caius Norbanus were (k) Consuls it was burned and builded againe upon the same fullip of Hafoundation. Sylla after he had gotten the upper hand tooke the care of it upon him, first year of the yetdid he not dedicate it: this point only he wanted to make him indeed, as he was free flare, conin (1) name perfectly happy: but Lutatius Catulus name remained to bee feene fin and Tacaus among so many workes of the Emperours, even untill Vitellius time. That building beere. then was fired, which difinayed more the defendants then the affailers, for the Vitellian fouldiers lacked neither skill, nor refolution in cases of difficulty: but on the 1000 to deman other fides the fouldier was fearfull, the Captaine without courage, and as a man c. Mariofalicis halfe dittract, had neither the use of his tongue, nor his cares, nor governing himfelfe by the advise of others, & yet not able to resolve of himselfe, but running about 1: Appian .. from one place to another, at every cry of the enemy, forbad that he had commanded, and commanded againe that he had forbidden. Anon, as it happeneth in loft hope and desperate cases, every man was a commander, and no man a putter in executi- sale and the length casting away their weapons, they began to devise how to flee and semant planets. ecape fecretly away. Then the Vitellianitts brake in and killed, burned, and flew ; which is the former few military men that offered to fight were flaine : among whom Cornelius in the control of the c Martialis, Aemilius Pacenfis Casperius Niger, Didius Scava were the most of note. Plavius Sabinus was befet and taken, being neither armed, nor attempting to facing udusts

The third Book of the History flee, and Quintius Atticus the Confull, a man of speciall mark by reason of his of fice, and through his owne vanity and folly, having published edicts in honour of Vespasian, and to the disgrace of Vitellius. The rest made fundry shifts to escape, fome in bondmens apparell, others were hidden by their clients, and conveyed away amongst the stuffe: some there were also that had learned the Vitellianists watch-word, whereby one of them knew another, and fo asking and answering accordingly: used boldnesse in liew of a hole to lurke in. Domitian at their first break. ing in was hid in the fextens house, and there by the policy of his freedman put in a linnen garment, as the ministers of the temple did weare, and so escaped unknown and lay secret at the house of Cornelius Primus, one of his fathers followers, neere to the Velabrum. Afterward when his father came to the state he pulled downethe fextens lodging, and builded there a little chappell in honor of Jupiter his Preferver: and also erected an altar and caused this history to be cut in marble: and when hee came to the Empire himselfe he built a great Temple to Iupiter his Keeper; and confecrated himselfe in the lap of the god. Sabinus and Atticus being loaden with v. rons, and brought to Vitellius, were neither received with ill speech, nor ill counte. nance; whereat they which challenged to kil them, & reward for their fervice, fretted and chafed: and fo the next beginning the cry, the rafcall fort of the people demanded Sabinus death, mingled threats and flatteries together. And as Vitellius presented himselfe upon the stayres of the palace to intreat for his life, they forced him in the end to defift: then they stabbed and mangled him, and cutting off his head trailed the body into Gemoniæ. This was the end of Sabinus, a man furely not to be contemned. He had ferved in publike place thirty five years, and was greatly renowned both for matters of peace and of warre: for integritie and upright dealing no man could touch him: fomewhat he was two full of words; the onely thing blamed in him during the feven years that he ruled in Moefia, and the twelve yeares that he was Provost of the City: in this last act of his life some judged him cowardly, others moderate rather and sparing of his citizens bloud; but of this all men agree that before Vefpasian was Prince, the reputation of the house rested in Sabinus, It was thought that Mutianus was glad of his death: and many were of opinion, that it fell out not ill in respect of quietnesse, all strife and emulation being thereby taken up betweene two, whereof the one was the Emperours brother, and the other carried himselfe as his fellow. But Vitellius when the people required also Atticus the Confuls death plainly withstood them himselse, being somewhat appeafed, and in fome fort to requite him, for that being examined, who had first fired the Capitoll, he took upon him the matter himselfe, and by that confession, whether it was true indeed, or fained onely to serve the present purpose, seemed to take upon him the blame of the fact, and cleere Vitellius and his adherents.

ું 3.Who layd alfo] according to Dionysius * Halic, Tarquinius Priscus did but onely levell the ground: Tar- * Lib.3; quinius superbus layed the foundations and builded most of it up, but did not communicate the works, તેઓ જેવાં જે humanin deportung જેઇ મુદ્ર એ: પ્રદાવ લેક્સમાં કે પ્રદાવભાગ નામે સ્વારાજ્ય કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા. That is, but the Temple was finished under the annuall magistrates, the third yeare after they came in. Read the same Diony siuslib. 4. and lib. 5. But it may seeme that Tacitus took hold of thefe words in Livy lib. 1. Tarquin us Prif us aream ad edem in Capitolio Jovisoccupat fundamights: which notwithstanding is not otherwise meant, but of levelling the ground, and making it ready for the laying of the foundation. For Superbus, as it appeareth by the fame Livy, was the man that layed the foundation. Of Servins Tullius in this building I have not found mention elsewhere to my remembrance.

XIII. Lucius Vitellius taketh Tarracina.

N the meane feafon Lucius Vitellius pitching his campe at Feronia, preffed fore upon Tarracina to take it, having shut into the towne the * fencers & mariners. who durft not come out of the wals, nor hazard themselves in the field. Their captaines as (we have remembred before) were Julianus over the fencers, and Apollinaris over the mariners, men both in a dissolutnes, and insufficiency more like fencers then captains: observing no order in watching and warding, nor repayring the weake parts of the wals, but passing both nights and daies in wantonnesse and melody, upon those pleasant sea shores, and dispersing the fouldiers abroad to make provision for their riot, never talking of war, but in banquet. Apinius Tiro was departed some few daies before, and with his extortions and sharpe dealing in the free townes, purchased more ill will then strength to the side. In the meane time a servant of Verginius Capito fled out of the towne to Lucius Vitellius, promiling him, if he would allow him fufficient men, to deliverfecretly the caftle being unmanned, and accordingly in the dead of the night he brought certaine lightarmed cohorts, into the place standing upon the top of a hill, over the enemies head, From thence the foldiers run down rather to a butchery then a battell, killing fome unarmed, others beginning to arme, fome newly awaked out of fleepe diftracted and confounded with feare, darknesse, and sound of trumpets and noise of enemies. A few of the * fencers made refiftance, and were flaine, albeit they fold their lives * Gladiatores? deare: the rest ran headlong to the ships, where through the like feare all things were in the like confusion; or so much the more because the townesmen were gotten in amongst them, whom the Vitellianists also did kill without any difference. Six ships upon the notice of the surprise escaped, and with them Apollinaris the Admirall of the navie: the reft were either taken upon the shore, or else funk in the sea, being overcharged with the company that leapt into them. Julianus was brought to Lucius Vitellius and scourged, then slaine in his presence. Divers have accused Triaria Lucius Vitellius wife, that girding her selfe with a sword like a souldier, she should have demeaned her selfe cruelly, and insolently amidst the pitifull cries, and lamentable destruction of the poore towne. Lucius himselfe sent a lawrell intoken of victory to his brother, requiring withall his further pleasure, whether he should return presently to Rome, or stay and subdue the rest of Campania: the interpoling of which little time fell out greatly for the good both of Vespasians side, and of the state. For if the fouldiers presently after their victory had directly repaired to Rome, whiles they were in courage and heart, by reason of their late good fuccesse, beside a naturall obstinatenesse in them, the matter would not have beene ended so quickly without much adoe, and the evident destruction of the city. For Lucius Vitellius albeit he were infamous otherwife, yet was he industrious, and powerable not as good men by vertues, but by vices as the worst fort.

XV. The

As a pledge of the Empire' Livius lib. 1. Secutum aliud magnitudinem in peri portendens predigium ell, capt thumanum imegrafacie operienii us fundamenta tempii dicitur aparuisse; qua vosa species haud per ambages accem cam imperitaput-que verum fore potencibat, isque ita cecimre vates quiquein urbe erant quesque ad cam rem consulta idam ex Hetinia accizerat, Dional lib 4. reporteth the words of the answermede to corraine messengers sent from Re the purposity into Esturia Ladper formatol higare wert di auth antirar, ort melgir lingray folden ornadar iraniar rorriner rarer, a cof melgir d Fire. That is, Men of Rome, goe tell your citizens that the gods have accreed, that where this head was found, that place should be the biad of all Italy. Varro lib. 4. de ling. Lat. Capitolium dictum quod bic, cum fundamenta foderentur adis Jovis, caput humanum inventum d citur, hic mont ante Turpejus distus a virgine V stali Tarpeia que ili ab Sabinis n cata armis & sepultatejus nominis nonumentum relictum, quodetiam nune ejus rupes, Tarpeium appellatur faxum And this head to found I take to be that pignus imperii here in Tacitus.

² Porsenna when the city was yeeded] It must be that either Tacitus followed some other tradition in this ftory then we have, as indeed by Livy it appeareth there were other, or elfe had forgorten himself in reporting it. Of holtages given to l'orfenna Dionyfius lib. 5, and Livy lib. 2. make mentions of furrendring the City I finde no word Spoken by any other we have extant fave Tacitus, to my remembrance.

XV. The Flavian army entereth the citie. The Pratorian campe is taken by force. Vitellius is slaine.

Saturnalia begin the 17. of December, and continue till the 24.ef the fame moneth.

7 Hiles these things were a doing of Vitellius side Vespasians armie removed from Narnia to Otriculum, and at good leisure celebrated the ^a Saturnalia there. The cause of this harmefull delay, was to stay for Mutianus: fome imputeit to Antonius, as done with a traiterous intent, upon letters received from Vitellius, wherein he offred unto him the Confulship, and his daugh. ter in marriage with a great dower, if he could revolt, in reward of treason: others affirme, that all this was falfly furmifed, and maliciously spred to please Mutianus withall. Some are of opinion, that it was the purpose of all the Commanders rather to put the City in feare, then to feek to take it by force, feeing the most and principall cohorts had already relinquished Vitellius; and how all the strength being cut off, it was likely he would refigne the Empire without further coaction: but all that course was croffed, first by Sabinus hastel, and then through his cowardlines. who rashly taking armes was not afterward able to keep a fortresse of that strength and which even great armies could not have taken, against three onely cohorts. But the fault cannot well be imputed to one, which was common to all. For both Mutianus was some occasion of stay, by meanes of his doubtfull letters, and Antonius by his preposterous obeying, or in feeking to avoide envy, deserved great blame. and the other Commanders prefuming the warre to be finished, made the end of it more notorious. Neither did Petilius Cerealis (who was fent before with a thoufand horse, to coast through the countrey of the Sabins, and so to enter the City by Via Salaria) make that hafte as the matter required, till in the end the newes of the fiege of the Capitoll made him stirre all at once. Antonius came forward by the Flaminian way to Saxa rubra late in the night, and too late to succour. For there he understood that Sabinus was slaine, the Capitoll burned, the City in great feare, and all things went ill: it was also declared, that the people and bondmen werearming for Vitellius. And befides Petilius Cerealis had received a blow in a skirmish of horfemen, by running headlong and charging rashly upon the enemy, presuming them conquered persons: but the Vitelliamists, with horsemen and sootmen interlaced together, valiantly received the charge. This skirmish was not farre from the City, among the buildings, and gardens, and croffe lanes, wherewith the Vitellianists were well acquainted, the other not; which was an occasion to difinary them the more: and befides all their horfemen were not of one minde and affection, some being of those that having lately yeelded at Narnia kept aloofe, meaning afterward to close with the winner. Tullius Flavianus captaine of a wing was taken prisoner, the rest ranne away dishonourably: but the Vitellianists pursued no further then to Fidenæ. By this successe the affection of the people was greatly augmented, and immediately the townesmentook arms: sew had many military targets, but the most took up what soever weapons came to their hands, and forthwith required the figne of the battell. Vitellius thanked them heartily, and willed them to iffue out with all speed in defence of the city. Then he called a Senate wherein Embassadors were appointed to the army, which as in the name and under the color of a common-weale, should perswade them to peace and agreement. The hap of the Embassadours was not all alike: For they which met with Petilius Cerealis incurred extreme danger, the fouldiers refuting utterly all conditions of peace, & Arulenus Rusticus the Pretor was wounded, which befide the enormity of the fact, in the person of an Embasfadour and a Pretor, was also more hainous, in regard of the worthinesse of the man. Histraine was dispersed, and one of his sergeants next before him slain, for presuming among armed men to make way thorow the prease for his master: and unlesse they had been defended by a band that the Captaine affigned to guard them, the right and priviledge of Embaffadors, reputed facred even amongst strange nations, had through civill furie been violated by murder, even at the very gates and wals of the citie. But they which came to Antonius found more courteous entertainment, not because those soldiers were civiller, but because the General was of greater authority. Into the copany of these Embassadors Musonius Rusus inserted himfelf, a gentleman of Rome addicted to the studie of Philosophie after the way of the Stoicks, who thrusting himselfe among the companies of the souldiers began to discourse of the good of peace, and danger of warre, and to schoole men in armes: at which many (coffed, more grew weary of it, and some forbare not to push and sourne him away, till in the end by the devise of the discreeter fort, and the threats of the other he was perfwaded to defilt from his unfeafonable wifedome. The Veftall Virgins also were lent with letters from Vitellius to Antonius, requesting him to defer the battell for one day: by meanes of that little delay with more case would all points be agreed upon. The virgins were fent home with honour, and answer was made to Vitellius that by the murder of Sabinus, and the burning of the Capitolall pirle of peace was cut off, and all extremity to be looked for: notwithstanding Antonius calling his armie together affaied to pacifie them thus farre, that they would be content to encampe themselves for that present at the Milvian bridge, and not to enter the towne before the next day; the reason of the motion was, left the soul. dier having his bloud heated in skirmish, should afterward spare neither people nor Senate, no not the churches and temples of the gods. But they misliked and suspected all delay as a hinderance to the victory; and withall certaine banners glittering upon the fide of the fills, albeit followed by none but towne people; and men of fervice, made a shew of an army. Whereupon the Flavianists dividing themfelves into three companies, made their approch to the towne: one part as it flood along the Fluminian way, another close by the banke of the Tiber, and the third by Vitfalari toward the gate called Collina. The towne people was immediately broken by the horimen, but the Vitellian fouldier made head, dividing bal-big required made head, dividing fothemselves into three severall bandes. Many skirmishes passed betweene them "11 of malhantes before the town, & with divers event, but more commonly to the advantage of the fifty thousand Flavianists, who had more sufficient men to their Captaines. They onely of that persons if Tofide were diffrested, which turned upon the left hand toward the Salustian gardens, solution say true. through narrow lanes and flipperie waies: where the Vitellianists standing aloft upon the wals of the gardens, with stones & javelins repulsed them, till it was towards the evening, when as the horsementhat in the mean time had entred at Collina were at their backs and furprifed them. In Campus Martius also there were hot skirmishes between them. The Flavianists had the favour of fortune, and the vantage of fo many victories: the Vitellianists ran headlong and furious supported with onely despaire, and albeit they were deseated and broken, yet did they rally themselves againe in the city. The people stood by and looked on as they fought, and asina pattime or game clapped their hands, and encouraged sometime the one, and fometime the other: and when either fide turned their backs, and hid themselves in houses or shops, they cried to have them pluckt out & killed, and so attained themfelves the greatest part of the prey: for whiles the fouldiers minded nothing but flaughter and bloudshed, the spoile fell to the common peoples share. Over all the

citie acruell spectacle and shamefull was to be seene: in one place fighting and wounding, in other tippling and bathing: here streams of bloud, and heapes of dead bodies, & hard by it ftrumpets and ftrumpets fellows: in fum all the licenciousnes of a diffolute and riotous peace, and the mifery of a most cruel captivities so that a man plainly would judge one and the fame town, both extremely furious and raging, and extremely drowned in pleasures. There had afore times puffed great conflicts hetween armed powers in the city, twice when Sylla, and once when Cinna overcame. and the cruelty then was no leffe: but this was an unnatural brutish tecurity, that men for one moment of time would not intermit their accustomed pleasures, but as if this had given them further occasio of joy amidst their festival daies, clapped hands & rejoyced, without care of fides, at the publick calamities. But the greatest difficultie of all was in taking the Prætorian campe, unto the weh the valiantest amongst the Vitellian soldiers had betaken theselves, as to their last refuge; & therefore the Flavianists were the more earnest to assault it, especially the old Prætoria cohorts, employing all means devised for the taking of most fortified towns, as the target-fence engines of battery, mounts, and firebrands, crying aloud that that one work was the accomplishment and perfection of all the travels & dangers, which they in so many battels had paffed; that the city belonged to the Senate and the people, & the temples to the gods, and both were restored to their owners: but the souldiers honour was in the campe, that was his countrey, and his dwelling place, which unlesse they could ftraightwaies recover, they must and would lie all night in their armour. On the other fide the Vitellian foldiers, although inferior both in number and fortune, disturbed the course of the victory, hindring the peace, polluting the houses and altars with bloud, and embracing the last comfort to conquered persons. Many lay gasping and died upon the towers and battlements of the wals. When the gates were broken up, they that remained alive presented themselves to the conquerors, and died all with their faces toward the enemy, and wounded upon their foreparts: fuch care they had, feeing they must die to die in most honorable manner. Vitellius when as the city was taken, conveyed himselfe in a carrying * chaire, by the backgate of the Palace, into his wives house in the mount Aventine, intending if hee could have lyen secret that day, to have fled by night to Tarracina to his brother and the cohorts there. Anon changing his minde, and as it fals out to menina maze, fearing all things, and most dilliking the present, he returned into the Palace againe now vast and desolate, even his basest servants being either fled away, or else purposely shunning his presence. This great solitarinesse, and silence in those places aftonished him: whereupon he affayed to open that which was shut, and was amazed finding all voide. After much pitifull wandring about, being wearied he cast himselse into a 'base corner: whence Julius Placidus Tribune of a cohort pulled him out, and led him along thorow the city with his hands bound behinde him, and his garments all torne, a most ignominious spectacle, many reviling him, and no man pitying his case: the dishonourablenesse of his end had taken away all compaffion. Being led in this maner, one of the Germane fouldiers aimed a blow, whether intending to strike at Vitellius upon some quarell, or because he would sooner rid him from shame, or else at the Tribune, it is uncertain, certaine it is that in striking he cut off the Tribunes eare, and was forthwith flain himfelfe. Then forcing Vitellius with the points of their fwords fometimes to looke up and abide all indignities, fometimes to fee his owne images breaking their necks, and many timesto behold the Roftra, and the place where Galba was flaine, they haled him along, and at the last thrust him into the Gemoniæ, where the body of Flavius Sabinus

* Sellula, Suet. Vitel.c. 16. gestatoria sella.

In Cellulam ianitoris, faith Suetenius. c.16 relizato profori bus cane, litto que & culticris objectis.

of Cornelius Tacitus.

had lien. One word he was heard utter not proceeding from an abject minde, in anfwer to the Tribune who infulted over him: That he had vet sometime been his Prince: and so after many wounds received he fell down dead: and the common people as much without reason rayled upon him when he was dead as they flattered him being alive. He was sonne to Lucius Vitellius: about seven and fifty yeares old when he died: the Confulship and sacerdotall dignities, with a name and place among the chiefest of Nobility, he attained unto, not through any sufficiency of his owne. but by his fathers great fame and renowne: the Empire was conferred upon him by those which knew him not; and yet never man found so constant good will of his fouldiers by vertuous means as this man with all his cowardly floth: notwithflanding there was in him plaine meaning and liberality, which without discreet handling turn often to a mans ruine: faithful friends he deserved rather then found, because he sought them more by great gifts, then vertuous behaviour. It was a fingular benefit to the Common wealth, it cannot be denied, that Vitellius was put downe; but they which betrayed him to Vefpafian b have small reason to reckon it b Especially among their good deeds to the state, being the same men that had also revolted some of them from Galba before. That day the Senate could not be called, because it was already who were afterward traifarre frent, and the Magistrates and Senatours upon feare had withdrawne them-tors to Pepaselves out of the City, or else lay hidden in their Clients houses. Domitian when all san also, as feare of hostility was past, presented himselfe to the Flavian Captaines, whom the name. Suetofouldiers straight-waies saluted Casar, and armed accompanied him to his fathers wins Tilocap. 6. house.

I Seven and fifty yeare old] Vitellius was born, Lith Suctonius, * Druso Cefare & Norbano Flacco Coff. which was * D'it. cap. 2. 1 Septen and htty years only viterius was soring and successing. This septe of succession of the fame moneth. The day in b B clides the which he went out of the Palace with intention to refigne the Empire, was according to Tacitute 18. of Deceme circumflances ber in 2008 822, the day following being the 19. of December the Capitol was burned, the twentieth of Deceme in Tacitus, Jober Antonius entred into the towne, and the death of Vitellius enfued. All which doth appeare plainly by the feph 4. dos. course of the story of Tacitus. So that from his birth to his death we have no more by just account but fifty foure cap. 42. exyeares, and as much as is betweene the seventh or foure and twentieth of September, and the twentieth of presly faith, με μίαν υμίεχν

(of the burning of the C:pitoll) vi@ reit : ulwis ο πιλλαίν.

THE

FOVRTH THE HISTORIE

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. The behaviour of the Flavian souldiers in the City, after the death of Vitellius.

Irellius thus being flaine, the warre was rather ended then peace begun For the conquerors with unplacable harred, purfued the contrary fide kaffes, the Temples and common places embrued with bloud; every onelying flaine, where it was his chance to be overtaken, without di-

flinction of place: and anon licentiousnesse growing, they began to search houses. and fetch forth such as were hid: if they faw any man looke like a fouldier, perfonable of stature and of yeares not disagreeing were he souldier or Citizen they murdred him: fatiating themselves at the first, whilest their malice was fresh, with nothing fave bloud. But anon the heate of their choler affwaging, they converted their cruelty into covetousnesse; suffering no Closet to escape unrisled, no hidden place any where to be fecret, pretending the Vitellianists lay hidden therein: that was the colour to break up mens houses, or if resistance were made, an occasion to flay them. Besides the souldiers, the rascals and beggerly scum of the people, now with the formost, helped to sack and to spoile: and some of the lewdest bond men voluntarily described their wealthy masters: some were detected by their owne friends: every where lamentations and outcries were to be heard, and the miferable state to be seene, and face, as it were, of a City taken by the enemy: infomuch that the infolent and riotous fouldier of Otho & Vitellius, fo much detefted before • Transferring was now in comparison much wished for againe. The commanders of the side were indeed fufficiently able to kindle a civill war, and unable to moderate the victory. For to stirre up dissensions and troubles, the worst man most commonly beares greatest stroke; but peace and quietnesse are not established, but by men of rare gifts, and excellent vertues. Domitian had already possessed himselfe both of the title, and lodging of Casfar: not bending his studies as yet to matters of state, but in badulteries and dissolute demeauour behaving himselfe as an Emperours son. Arrius Varus was captain of the Guard: but the whole power, in effect, and direction of affaires, rested in the hands of Antonius Primus; who at his pleasure tooke money, and fervants out of the Palace, with the like liberty, as if it had been the spoiles of Cremona. The rest, either for modesty or because they were not of name, as in warre they passed unrenowned, so arthistime they went unrewarded.

> II. Lucius Vitellius yeeldoth himfelfe, and his fouldiers to the Flavianists.

He city fearing new troubles, and ready to submit themselves to the present possessor, required that Lucius Vitellius, as he with his Cohorts returned from Tarracina, might be surprised, and so all remnants of civil wars utterly extinguished.

extinguished. Whereupon the horsemen were sent before to Aricia, the Legions going not beyond Bovillæ: but Vitellius incontinently, without further delay, yeelded himselfe and his cohorts to the discretion of the conqueror: his fouldiers likewise threw away their unfortunate weapons upon indignation rather then feare. Then they were marshilled in length and led thorow the city, as it were, in triumph garded with armed men. Not one of them shewed any signe of submissenesse in countenance, but all fad and fterne, not moved with the shoutings, and taunts of the mulritude infulting over them: only fome few, through impatience breaking out, were heaten down by their guard, the rest committed to prison. Not one of them let fall any unfeemly word, but even in the midst of adversity they retained their honor and fame. Then Lucius Vitellius was put to death: a man in vices equall to his brother, howbeit in his brothers reigne the more vigilant man: and not fo much partaker with him in prosperity, as violently carried away with the current of his adversitie.

> III. Lucilius Bassus sent to quiet Campania, the servant of Verginius Capito hanged.

A Bout the fame time Lucilius Baffus, with certain light horse-men, was sent a as His. Copus to quiet the countrey of Campania, where the free cities were at discord rabin afficien ther each against other upon private quarels, then any against the Prince upforts for it on rebellious intent: but at the first sight of the souldiers they were straight wayses before the very appeased. And the lesser colonies escaped unpunished, only a Capua was appointed latter and of Department. to lodge the third Legion that Winter, and some noble samilies by breason there ember, and in the beginning of were afflicted: whereas on the contrary side, the Tarracinenses, who for Vespa- lands, serial logio samilies by the same of the logio samilies. fans sake had endured so much, were no wayes relieved. So much are we proner Arriva vara mito requite injuries then good turnes: for thankfulneffe is a burden, revenge fweet remails, Tuenus and reckoned as a gain. Notwithstanding it was some comfort unto them, that the slike the sorge server of Verginius Capito, who betrayed the Town, as before we have shewed, no place or the one place or the was hanged with the fame rings on his fingers, which he had received from Vitel-other. lius, as a reward of his treason.

IIII. Matters concluded upon in the Senate, after the death of Vitellius.

TOw at Rome, what foever honours and preeminences were usually united to The Emperours person, the Senate a bestowed upon Vespasian, joyfully, and a A fragment of The Emperours perion, the Senate a beltowed upon Velpalian, Joytully, and a A reginent of this forance conceiving affured hope of future tranquillity. For feeing the contagion of Automa is extant civill diffension beginning in France and Spaine, had passed to the German fouldi- a mong the decay-mong the decayers, then taken a course to Illyricum, and lastly infected Egypt, Judæa, and Syria, edantiquities of Rome. infumme, all provinces and armies: they were to prefume reasonably, the whole b In the warre world being thus purged and cleanfed, that the humour was spent, and civill warres vindex against and calamities were at an end. Which hope and gladnesse of theirs was increased by Reva. certaine letters received from Vespasian, endited as if the warre had yet been on man, Dady, foot, for so they shewed at the first sight: notwithstanding he spake in all points as points of their Prince; modestly indeed of his own person, and of the weale-publick mag nifically, howbeit the Senate was not flack in declaring their obedience. To himmically, however the Senate was not have the Confulfhip, to Domitian the Pretorfhip received again felfe with Titus his fonne was awarded the Confulfhip, to Domitian the Pretorfhip received again for the Senate. and Consularie authority. Moreover Mutianus had written letters to the Senate, which thing ministred matter of speech: If he were a private man, why should he write thus in publick to the Senat? he might have spared his pen, and within few

dum juwene Domitiano, & ex paierna fortuna tantumlicentiam uf.itpante.

himfelfe be-

like, e paternis

penatibus, whi-

ther he was

conducted by

the fouldiers,

Agricole, admo

in Palatium. b Tas.ia vita d 2 Hifl. for oth rwife in ten beside.

out of whose fchoole thefe opinions had their beginning. Liert. Zimer ho.7. Cic 10 Para to-

dayes after have uttered the same there in person, as one of the house: likewise his inveying against the Vitellianists was misliked, as coming too late, and carrying no shew of liberty now: but especially that seemed arrogantly spoken against the common weal, and contumelious against the Prince, where he vaunted, that the Empire was in his disposition, and by him was collated upon Vespasian. Neverthelesse covering their disdain in secret, they flattered openly, and in most ample and honourable termes awarded him triumphall ornaments; indeed in respect of his service in the civill war, but an expedition against the Samaritan a was pretended: then to Anna nius Primus were decreed Confularie ornaments, and Prætorian to Cornelius Fulcus, and Arrius Varus. After these things, devoutly remembring the gods, they enacted that the Capitoll should be builded anew: all which points were specified first and comprised in Valerius Asiaticus the 'designed Consuls oration', to whom the rest assented, the greater part with countenance and wagging of hands, some few either chiefin place, or chiefly exercised in the art of flattery, with set orations and speeches. But when the course came to Helvidius Priscus, who was designed Pretor, heuttered his opinion in termes honourable enough to a good Prince. yet without all flattery or glozing: a thing much commended and allowed of greatly by the Senate: and this was the day which especially procured unto him, both great offence and great glory. The matter feemeth to require, feeing we are donce again fallen to mention him, whom many times hereafter we shall have cause to mentioned of remember, that we should at this time briefly record what life he had led, what studies he had followed, and what fortune he had proved. Helvidius Priscus was borne in the first region of Italy, in the free city of Tarracina: his fathers name was Cluvius a principall Centurion. Being very young he applied his rare and excellent wit to those profound studies, not, as the most part to cloke sloth, and idleneffe with foglorious a name, but that he might proceed to manage publick affairs being first by that meanes better armed against all mischance of fortune. In the The Stoicks, study of philosophie he followed the learning of those masters, which define that onely to be good which is honest, that onely ill which is dishonest: other qualities not inherent in the minde, as powerablenesse, nobility, and such like, neither good nor evill. When he had onely beene Quaftor; Petus Thrasea made choice of him for his fonne in law. Of his father in lawes conditions he borrowed nothing so much as liberty: in quality of citizen, Senatours husband, sonne in law, cit, and others. friend: in all parts and offices of life he was alwayes one, and the fame man, a contemper of wealth, stiffe in a good cause, not removeable for any feare: to some men he feemed too defirous of glory: and indeed that passion, among st all other, even of Fee, 16. Annal, wife men is last layed away. At the fall of his father in law he was I driven into banishment, and returning under Galba he called Eprius Marcellus, who had informed against Thrasea, to his answer. This attempt, of so great and so just a revenge, notwithstanding divided the Senate into parts: for if Marcellus were overthrown, then whole troupes of others, which were in the fame case, must needs goe to wrack. At the first the contention was hot and fierce, and maintained of both fides with notable orations: but when Prifcus perceived that Galba was doubtfull in the point, at the intreaty of many Senatours, he defitted from following the fuite; divers men, according to their feverall dispositions, diversly interpreting his fact, fome commending his moderation, others misliking his unconstancy. But that same affembly when the Senate confirmed the Empire to Vespafian, withall an embassage was agreed upon, to be sent to the Prince. Hereupon arose taunting and bitter words betweene Helvidius and Marcellus, Helvidius opinion was, that the Embassadors should be elected, and named by the magistrates being first sworn to chuse of the fittest. Marcellus required they might be chosen by lot, to which purpose also the designed Consul had spoken before: but the principall cause, which pricked Marcellus so forward that way, was the shame which might redound to himself, fearing, left other being chosen, he should seem to be as unworthy rejected. And so, after some few brawling words interchangeably used, by little and little they fell to continuall, and bitter orations: Helvidius demnading, what caused Marcellus so much to feare the judgement of the magistrates, seeing he excelled many other, both in eloquence, and wealth, things which might eafily move them to that choice: unlesse peradventure the remembrance of his own manifold misdeeds drave him to distrust them: that the lot made no difference between the good and the bad, but fuffrages and the judgement of the Senat were devised to enter into every mans fame, and behaviour that it greatly appertained both to the commodity of the common wealth, and to Vespalians honor, that those of the Senat should be fent to meet him, which were best accounted of for innocency, and integrity of life, who might feafon (as it were) the Emperours eares, with good and vertuous speeches: that Thrasea, Soranus, and Sentius had been of Vefinalians old friends, and acquaintauce, whose accusers, if they must not be punished, much leffe fent and shewed in places of credit, and that by this choice of the Senat, the Prince should, as it were be admonished whom to like and whom to eschue. For no greater instruments, or helps of good regiment can there be, then good friends: that Marcellus had done for his part fufficiently, having induced Nero to the deftructions of so many innocents: let him enjoy his rewards and impunity, and leave Vefpafian to better directors. Marcellus replied, that not his opinion, but the opinion of the defigned Confull was impugned, and the ancient precedents, which committed the choice of Embaffadors to lot, to take away all occasion of suiting and debate: that there was no new cause, that he knew, why so old a custome should now be abolished, or why this honour done to the Prince should be turned into a diffeonour to any confidering that every man was sufficiently able to carry that meffage, and do allow reverence to him in the name of the Senate: nay rather they were to beware, lest through the perversenesse of some the Princes mind might be offended, being now at his entry full of jealousies, and marking not only words, but alfoall gestures and countenances. That, for his part, he well knew the quality of the times wherein he was borne, and what forme of government our fathers, and grandfathers had established: 8 beyond he honored and admired, but professed to 8 That is, the follow the present estate. That he praied and wished indeed for good Princes: but if time of the itwere otherwise, would tolerate such as they were. As for the overthrow of free slate, Thrafea, why should he give account of accusing, when as the Senate gave none of condemning? not his orations, but their voices wrought his undoing: but fo was Neroes manner, with fuch shewes to colour his cruel proceedings; whose favour and friendship anguished his minde peradventure as much, as banishment did some other mens. Finally, that well might Helvidius in constancy, and courage be equall* Senem triumto Cato and Brutus: for his own part, he was one of that Senate, which were but fervice in Briservants, as well as himselfe, and would likewise counsel! Helvidius, not to seek to tanny in claudiclimbe above the Prince himselse, nor like a tutour to bridle with his precepts Ve-us time Vosta spassan * having attained to those yeers, and that honor, and having beside so good-tained triumlyan iffue. For as wicked Princes love to rule, and reigne without limitation: fo phalia ornameneven the best would have the subjects to use a meane in their liberty. These things, in, suith Suetoargued thus to and fro with great heat, diffracted the Senate into diverse opinions, cap. 4.

notwithstanding that part prevailed, which allowed of lot; not only the worst. but the middle fort striving to retaine their ancient custome; yea and the greatest inclined that way, for feare of displeasure, and envy, if they themselves should be chosen. After this therefollowed another contention, The Pretors of the common treasure (for at that time the common treasure was governed by Pretors) complaining of the emptinesse of their bags, presented request, that some restrains might be made, to abridge the publick expenses. This proposition, both for the greatnes of the charge, and difficulty of the remedy, the Confull defigned thought good to referve to the Prince: but Helvidius would have it decided in Senate. And as the Confuls proceeded in asking of voices, Vulcatius Tertullinus Tribune of the "Or interpo- people "interceded, forbidding that anything of fo great moment should be determined of, the Prince being absent; Helvidius also, declaring his minde in the Senate, was of opinion, that the Capitoll should be builded againe, at the charges and in the name of the Common-wealth, and Vespasian should helpe; Which speech of his the modestest fort passed over then with silence, and afterward forgat, howbeit some there were that remembred it well. Then Musonius Rufus commenced an action against Publius Celer, by whose false witnesse, he affirmed, that Barea Soranus was condemned. If cognition should be taken thereof, that were to enter againe into the odious, and endlesse quarels against the accusers: notwithstanding, the guilt, and vilenesse of the party now in perill was such, that he could no wayes be protected. For Soranus was of honourable memory, and Celer, that of philosopher by profession, became a false witnesse against his friend, was justly hated of all men, betraying, and violating that facred bond of friendship, whereof he would feem a principall teacher: The h next fession was appointed for the hearing of the cause: but the whole company seeing that matter revived, and mens mindes bent to revenge, looked no leffe for Helvidius and Marcellus, with others at that on of the Sctime, then for Musonius and Celer.

The fourth Book of the History

hOf audience for fuch matters. For it was neither the next day nor the next feffi-

2 Appian. 2. Fuerh Tei 5 in ugiry zu z záme-دومناء معرونات Con , mapines Ray े प्रवे जव्यक्रम्यस्य ह्या व तव्यक्तस्य स्टेडिंगे व ४entragan segan seg

nate.

makrus 6th mo34-

1 Was pretended] Triumphes, and triumphalia ornamenta, which fucceeded in their place, were awarded upon great fervice done, and upon fome notable conquest obtained against a torrein enemie : at least never any manin the Roman flate made profession of triumphing de civibus vittis, L, Sylla, faith Valerius, lib. 3. qui plurima bella civilia conf cit, cum confummata ac confirutta potentia fua triumphum ducer t, ut Greece & Afia multas urbes, ita civium Ro-Arts reserve to the interest of the property and the civil warres, albeit he spaced in shew to thinmph de in spering states and the framework of the first states and the first states and the first of th umph, " grit ving thereby the people of Rome. Augustus, having overcome at Actium Antonius and Cleopatra, entitled likewife his triumph upon the woman, omitting the men, dantes inter, true it is, that oftentiones finding small cause of triumph, over an external enemy, and not during to name the citizens, divers colours, as here, have

h Of Tarracina] Italy by Augustus was divided into eleven regions. Plinie lib. 3. cap. 15. Regio prima is from the river of Tiber to Surentum, or rather to the river of Silarus thirtie miles beyond (for the limit of that fide is doubtfully fet down in Pliny) containing Latinum, Campania Pifentini. Regio feeunda, from Metapontum in f. nu Tarentino, to the liver of Tifernus in mai Adriatico, comprehendeth Salentini, Calabria, Apulia, &c. Regis tertia, betweene Silarus and Metapontum, containeth Lucani, Brutii, and Magna Gracia Regio quarta extendeth from Tifernus to the river Aternus likewife upon the Adriaticum, and incloseth Ferentini, Peligni, Samuium, &c. 6 Dio, lib. 44. Regio quinta is from Aternus to Ancona, including Picenum. Regio Sexta containeth Vmbria, and the coalt be-ברה מו שים היות מים ביים לעיכות ביים לעיכות ביים לעיכות ביים ביים לעיכות ביים ליים לעיכות ביים לעיכות nouncia Regiooffacia in the country which lieth by west from the limits of the fixt region, betweene the Apennine and the And the a war had no comprehending Arminium, Ravenna, Bononia, Brixellum, Mutina, Parma, Placentia, &c. Rejumma is dende awar had no proper pending Arminium, Ravenna, Bononia, Brixellum, Mutina, Parma, Placentia, &c. Rejumma is dende awar had no property and Reference from the river of Macra, to the river of Varus, containing Liguria. Regio decima containeth Veneria: and Regio mulee ma Gallia transpadana. Now for this place, it was in the old copies of Tacitus R. gione Italie without any addition of number, and Tarraccine municipio doubtfully written, fornetime Tarenium municip. fornetimes Tareniue municip, and sometimes I arentino. Indeed it may seem strange, that he should so solemnely describe and note out Tarracina, a town to famoully known, and foncarcunto Kome; but howfoever, this is more strange, that allowing it to be Taraccina, fone have inferred feptima to fill up the fenfe, and fome fecunda, whereas Tarraccina is clearly and evidently in primaregione Italia.

3 Counsell Helvidius] And Helvidius , for not obeying better this counsell of Eprius Marcellus lost his life even under Vespasian a good and moderate Prince. Suctonius Vespasiano, Helvidio Prisco, qui veversum ex Spia Solus privato nomine Vespassaum salutaverat, & in pretura ornibus edictis sine honore ac mentione ulla transmistrat. spin, of an anterfection of the state of the spin of t mills qui percussors revacarent, servasset, nist jam periusse sustaum est t. Probus. Elvidius Priscus post damnationem myo ya: Tinafee, interdella fisi ludia, Apolonian cone ssi, sed post interfettum Neronem restitutus à Galba non aliter auam liberacivitatis flattueget. See Arrian also libro primo, cap. Jeando desert. Episteti.

P. C. ler] Publius Egnatius Celer a chiefe witneffe produced against Barea Soranus Tacit. 16. Ann. Cliens bic (locaking of Egnatius) Sorani, & tim emptus ad opprimendum amicum auttoritatem Stoice f ete preferebat, habitu & ore on extrimendam imaginem honeste & exerciti, caterum animo perfidiosus o subdolus, avaritiam o libidinem o cultans. Que au or pecunia r clusa sunt. Dedit exemplum pracavendi, quomodo fraudibus involutos, aut slagitiis commendatos, sie specie marum artium fallos, & amicitia fallaces. Juvenalis.

Stoiens occidit Baveam, delator amicum,
Difficulamque fenex —— The Scholiast upon Juvenal roucheth another particularitie. Egnatius philosophus Giam Barca Sorani, cum ipfius ad magicam defeendifiet bortatu, Neroni detulit.

V. The entry of Mutianus into the city, and his actions there.

Hings being in this state, the Senatours jarring one with another, the conquered part being full of malice, the conquerors wanting authority, no lawes fofethus asset. regarded, no Prince present to governe the state, Mutianus made a his entry 4.6.42 maketh into the city, and with a maine course drew the whole manage of affaires into his on the very own hands. Antonius Primus, and Varus were foone out of credit, when it was next day to perceived, that Mutianus loved them not, although in countenance he pretended Antonius which otherwise: but the citizens having a quick eye to see into secret dislikes, espying the circumthe truth, turned themselves quickly about, and went to Mutianus: he aione was stances in Tacourted, and followed of all. Neither was he, for his part, negligent in using all time before meanes to retain his soveraignty, being continually guarded with souldiers, and for the beginning his pleasure changing of houses and gardens; in his provision, his gate, his traine, of January he was not many and warders, keeping the state of a Prince, although he forbare the title and name. was not many and warders, keeping the state of a Prince, although he forbare the title and name. And first he commanded Calphurnius Galerianus to be slaine, which stroke an ex- and Tacitus ceeding great terrour into mens hearts. He was fonne to Caius Pifo, and had not passes polt dies. entred into any attempt, but being of a noble house, and a comely young man, he was greatly talked of by the common people: and as in a city unfetled, and among a people gladly imbracing new tales, some there were, which vainly named him to the Princes place. Wherefore, at the commandement of Mutianus, he was committed to a guard of fouldiers: and left his death in the face of the city should have been more offentive, forty miles off, in the Appian way he was put to death, by letting the bloud out of his veines. Julius Prifcus, who had been Captaine of the guard under Vitellius, killed himselfe rather for shame, then upon preessity. His fellow Alphenus Varus overlived his honour, and faw himfelfe counted a coward, and a person infamed. Asiaticus, for his lewd credit under his master, made satisfaction now as a freed-man with a fervile death.

V1. The rebellion of the Batavians and Caninefates through the instigation of Inlius Civilis.

A T the fame time the newes of the overthrow in Germany was rife in the ci- This war is ty, and the city nothing troubled thereat (Every man talked how the ar-down by Jamies were flaine, the standing campes of the Legions taken by the enemy, feel, diale. 7. how France had revolted) as if it had been newes of a ftrange countrey, not a cala-touched by mity that touched themselves. That a warre, upon what causes it arose, and with Frontinus Strahow great banding it was maintained, both of our allies, and of forrein nations, I will tegl. 4. c.p. and now declare from the beginning. The Batavians, whilest they dwelt beyond the polygratice. Rhene.

felfe, 1. Hist. Plut. Begrind Frontinus and Sarisbarienis callhim Julius Civilis. But howfoever their names were, it feems thren. ' . 1. Hift. By this circumstance we may gather, that the Gernegligent.

Tac. 1. Hift.

Rhene, were a part and member of the Catti; and being thrown out by civill fedition, they feated themselves in the uttermost limits of France, which then lay void of inhabitants, and took in with the Iland that is fituate in the flattes, and hath the Ocean before, behinde and on either fide the river of Rhene. And albeit they were confederate with the Romans much mightier then themselves; yet were they not, as it happeneth in such overmatches, spoiled of their riches and wealth, but only bound to minister men and armour to the behoose of the Empire, and so for a long time they were emploied in the German wars. Afterward they became more famous by reason of certaine cohorts of them sent over into Britanny by the Romans, under the leading of certaine noblemen of their own nation, according to their ancient order: and befide, there remained behinde in the countrey a company of chosen horsemen practised especially in swimming, so that they would in whole troupes passe over the Rhene in harnest, and governing their horse in their hands. The principall men among them, and farre exceeding all other, by reason of their *Tacitus him. royall parentage, were Julius Paulus, and b Claudius Civilis, whereof Paulus was lately put to death by Fonteius Capito under colour of a falfly furmifed rebellion: Civilis was fent in chaines unto Nero, and acquited by Galba, and againe under Vitellius escaped narrowly, the army instantly demanding his death. Upon these causes his anger was founded, and upon our troubles his hope. But being of a craftv and subtile wit, above the ordinary of those barbarous people, and carrying himself rather like a Sertorius, or an Hanniball (as indeed in the maime of his face he was not unlike) fearing left if he frould make open defection, our armies would advance Pawas and Ci- themselves against him as an enemy, he covered his dealing with love to Vespavilla were bre- fian, and favour toward the fide. And in truth d Antonius Primus had fent certaine letters unto him, wherein he willed him to divert away the aides e fent for by Vitellius, and under shew of trouble in Germany to stay the Legions there. The same advise also Hordeonius Flaccus had given him by word of mouth, partly upon good will to Vespasian, and partly upon a care of the state, which seemed to be in evident man rebellion perill of utter destruction, if a new warre should begin, and so many thousands of began about the beginning armed men passe into Italy. Thus Civilis being resolved to break, and yet conceative beginning from the action by the event, began of winter, for lingibis purpose, as meaning to governe himselfe in the action by the event, began Tac in noting after this manner to work innovation. At the commandment of Vitellius, the able men of the Baravians were fummoned to be preffed to the warre: which being of it my tenfe too felfe a burdenfome thing, was made much more insupportable, by the avarice and lewd disposition of the officers, who billed chiefly such as were old or impotent persons, and then for money released them: again such as were under age, and faire (as many of their youths are of a comly tall stature) them they carried away to abose their bodies. At these dealings the country being highly offended, certain tactious heads were fuborned, to perfwade them to refuse to be pressed. Whereupon Civilis affembling into a facred wood under pretence of a banquet the nobility of the nation, and the chiefe of the communalty, when he saw them, at far in the night, merry, and warmed with wine, he beginneth a folemne oration, recounting first the praises, and glorious acts of the nation, and then discourseth unto them of the injuries, infolencies, and other miseries whereunto they are subject, that are subject unto a strange nation: for that now they were not with the Romans in state of friends and allies, as in former times, but flat fervants and flaves; and that not under a Lieutenant Generall, which were more tolerable, albeit they come with a chargeable traine, and a proud and disdainfull kinde of commanding: but they were delivered into the hands of petty Captaines, and Centurions, whom when they had filled

with spoiles and bloud, then were they removed, and straightwaves fresh hungry mafters set over them, and new devises of polling invented. That now the day of the muster approched, when children should be drawn from their parents, brethren from brethren, never to see one another again: and that, which might the rather encourage them, the Romans were never in so poore a case, having nothing in their flanding camps, but a rich spoile, and old men to guard it: wherefore they should onely lift up their eyes, and not be afraid at the naked and bare names of Legions: that they had strength of their own, both of footmen and of horse, the Germans were allied unto them in bloud, the French likewise affected: that even the Romans themselves would not greatly mislike of this warre, the losses thereof, if any were. they might impute to Vespasian, and if they went through and conquered, they fould not be called to their account. Having ended his speech with great approbation of the audience, he bound them with barbarous ceremonies and adjurations used by them in like cases, in a firme affociation together. Straightwayes messengers were dispatched to the Caninefates, to induce them also into the league. The Caninefates inhabit a part of the Iland, of the same language and race, in valour equall to the Batavians, but inferiour in number. Then Civilis sent secret mesfages to folicite the Batavian cohorts, which had ferved as aides in Britannie, Whereof fent into Germany, as before swe have shewed, and at that time remaining at Ma-made 1. Hist. rontiacum. Among the Caninefates there was one Brinio, a wilde and foolehardy 2. History braine, howbeit of a high and noble stock, whose father, having sundry times inva- 82. High ded our borders, and done many acts of hostility, boldly contemned those mockexpeditions of Caius the Emperour: wherefore being descended of so rebellious a kinred, in that respect they liked him best of all others. And thereupon setting him, after their countrey manner, on a target, and bearing him round about on their shoulders, they elected him Generall: and he forthwith affociating unto him the Frisians, a nation beyond the Rhene, invaded the standing campe of two cohorts h Tac. de morib. adjoyning to the Ocean. The Roman souldiers, neither foresaw this sudden inva-from within son of the enemy, neither, if they had, were of sufficient force to repellit: so the the Iland no campe was taken and spoiled, and the victualers and merchants, wandering securely Legion was abroad as in peace, cut off. Then they drew forth, to make their approches to the only fome cocattles, and holds, which by the captaines of the cohorts were fet on fire, because horts. they were not defenfible: the enfigues, and bandes and fuch fouldiers as were left. gathered themselves, under the leading of Aquilius a chiefe Centurion, k into the Nearer to higher part of the lland, composing an army, rather in name then in power: for two Legions Vitellius at his departing drew away the chiefe strength of the cohorts, and for sup- lay, quinta & ply took out of the nearest villages, of the Nervians and Germans, a raw compa-quintadecima. ny, whom he had loaded with armour. Civilis, supposing it surest to work by fraud and deceit, blamed the captaines, for that they had for faken their castles; affuring that he alone, with the cohort under his charge, would eafily represse the tumult of the Caninefates: and therefore willed them to return every man to his own place. ltwas perceived, that his counfell proceeded not of good meaning, but tended onely to this end, that the cohort being severed might be overthrown with great. erfacility: and by many apparent arguments, and speeches of the Germans themselves, a nation joyfull of warre, and not concealing long their own joy, it was difcovered daily more and more, that Civilis, not Brinio, was the head and contriver of this conspiracy. Wherefore, seeing his secret plots took none effect, he fell to plaine force, and cast his power consisting of Caninesates, Frisians, and Batavians into three pointed battels, each nation by themselves. The Romans opposed their

forces against him, not farre from the river of Rhene, directing also their shippes. which after the burning of the caftles, they brought to that place, against the enemy. After a little skirmishing, a cohort of the Tungrians fled to Civilis: whereupon our fouldiers, discomforted with the sudden treason, were on all sides beaten down, both by their false fellows, and enemies: the like perfidiousnesse was also on the water. A great part of the rowers (being Batavians born) faining unskilfull in handling their oare, hindred both the mariners, and fouldiers in doing their duty: anon without diffimulation they wrought directly against them, and forced the ships to the enemies side, killing the Masters and Centurions, that would not condescend to their treason. And so the whole fleete, of source and twenty barkes. either fled to the enemy, or was taken by force. This victory both prefently wan great reputation, and afterward ftood in great ftead: for they got both armour and ships, which before they wanted; and throughout France and Germany, they were highly renowned as the authors of liberty. The Germans by and by tent Embaffadours offering them aid: and Civilis, by policy and gifts, endeavoured to win the hearts of the French, fending the Captaines, whom he had taken, gently home. and giving the cohorts free choice, either to abide with him, or at their pleasure to return to their countrey: if they would tarry, he offered them honorable reward for their fervice; if otherwise, at their departure he bestowed upon them the spoiles of the Romans, withall admonished them in secret of their calamities sultained to many yeares, and of their miferable thraldome falfly intitled a peace; shewing them how the Batavians, though not charged with tributes, as they, had not withflanding taken arms against them, which tyrannized over them both. That the Romans, at their first encounter, were put to the flight by them, and discomfited: what were then to be hoped, if all France should joyne to shake off the yoke? Italy was difarmed, and could of it felfe, neither conquer nor keep; but with the provinces bloud were the provinces won. That they fhould not be discouraged with the remembrance of Vindex misfortune: for the Batavian horse were the men, which defeated him and his Army; and amongft the Aides of Verginius there were befide some French out of Belgica, and in true account France was ruined by her own forces. But now if it pleafed them to joyne with him in this action they both should make but one party: beside that they had seen and learned the best of the Romins militarie discipline: moreoverthose old experienced Batavian cohorts, before whom Othoes Legion could not fland, no doubt would go with him. Let Syria, and Asia, and the East, used to serve kings, be slaves if they list, in France many men were yet alive born before tributes began, neither could it be denied, that Ger-And Trimany of late, by the overthrow and death of Quintilius Varus, had given a check butes began to the Romish usurpers, banished servitude, and provoked to the field, not a Vitelfo that many us, but a Cæsar Augustus. That liberty was granted by nature to dumbe beasts in France be- also, but vertue and valour were peculiar ornaments of mankinde, and to the valunt like were long alone the gods gave their affiftance. Wherefore, fince they were at good leifure, and fresh, he willed them to set couragiously upon their builly occupied and tried enemies: whiles fome leaned to Vespasian, fome clave to Vitellius, undoubtedly harm might be wrought against both. Thus Civilis, laying the plot for France and Germany, afpired, if his purpose took effect, to the monarchy of those most mighty, and most wealthy countreyes.

fum lexisdecima; and lowest of all, at Vetera quinta & quintadecima, both under Mummius Lupercus. The two last were in this war utterly destroyed, and their camp razed. Tac, Sextadecima & pima, after Hordeonius death yeelded themselves to the enemic, and were by the enemies appointment removed to Triers; then of their own accord they went to the Madiomatrici, and from thence were fent for Cerealis and received into grace. The two Legions almey went to the medit res to the enemy at the same time, and were not removed from their campe who upon Cerealis coming returned againe to the Romans, Tacit, The eight Batavian cohorts revolted at the first beginning of the warre to Civilis. Now in supply of these so revolting, yeelding themselves, and being stain, there beginning of the waite to Serials Award in the property of the to the transfer of the weet of the transfer of wing, therebeing none of that name inter victities) unaetvicesima Rapax: secunda, surnamed as I think Flavia, è recens ame, inecucing none a that have the many fixed Ferrana, A against plantage at this Rading, e Please anglospis: quantageima Genina, out of Striand out of Birtianny [Exta Ferrana, 4 decima Genina, out of Spin. For whereas the common copies of Tacitus have tertia as prima ex Hispania active there was no tertia in Spin, and that the Spanish Sexta was in this action, we finde expresly fet downlib. 5. Hift. True it is, that a prima furnamed Adjurix was in Spaine: but seeing we finde, lib. 5. twice mention of decima, a Spanish legion, we must say, that either all legions of Spaine not teening we many, against probability, or elie that prima should be read desima. So that following these corrections, in the latter end of this water against the Germans and French, we have not at one time cleven legions employed by the Romans.

Quarta Macedonica. Superioris Germania Zoctava decima alias Duoetvicesima: Didius Vocula legatus.

Prima: Herensius Gallus Legatus. Inferioris Germania Sextadecima: Numifius Rufus Legatus, as I think.

Sexta Victrix, e Syriacis. Octava Augusta, e Mæsiis Vnz & zicesima Rapax, e Vitellianis. Secunda Flavia, e recens conferiptis. Quartadecima Gemina, e Britannicis.

Sexta Ferrata Decima G. mina

Çex Hispanicis.

VII. Hordeonius Flaccus, Lieutenant Generall of both Germanies, lying at Magontiacum, commandeth Mummius Lupercus, who with two Legions the fift and fifteenth lodged at Vetera, to go forth against Civilis and the

Batavians : but the Romanes lost the battell and fledback to Veteratheir standing camp.

Ut Hordeonius Flaccus, who at the first by connivence nourished Civilis Kattempts, now receiving fearfull advertisements, that the * camps were fur- * Castra se. prized, the cohorts defeated and slaine, not one Roman left in the whole Ba-cohortium. tavian Hand, commanded 'Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant, who governed the standing camp of two Legions, to goe forth against the enemie. Lupercus taking the Legionaries about him, and the Ubians at hand, with certain horsemen of the Treveri not far off, led them out in hafte, taking also with him a wing of Batavians, which being long fince fecretly corrupted, notwithstanding made shew of fidelity; to the end that in the very instant of joyning, betraying the Roman, they might flip away with more damage to the one, and better welcome to the other. Civilis placed round about him the enfigues of the late taken cohorts, that his fouldiers might be incouraged in beholding the monument of their late glory, and the enemy difmayed with the memory of their overthrow. Moreover he caused his mother, and fifters, together with the wives and young children of all his fouldiers, to standar their backs for an encouragement to the victory, or ashame if they happened to flee. In the joyning of the two armies, the finging of their men, and how-

· Quarta, as it feemeth was without Lieutenant, at least in this ftory none is named, and peradventure Vitelliushad taken him away but furely Didius Vocula although by office but onely Legate of the xix. alias the xxii, exccuted no doubt both the char-

¹ At the naked and bare names of Legions) At this time were fix unperfect Legions, or rather names of Legions, 28 he termeth them here: in high Germanie, at Magontiicum, two, quarta Macedinia & allandecima alies droit steffma, belide eight Batavian cohorts. In lower Germany, at Bonna, prima legio: beneath it at Nove-

ling of their women, farre exceeded and drowned the feeble showt of our Legions and cohorts; and the Batavian wing fleeing to the enemie, and straightway turning upon us, bared the left flank of our battel: notwithstanding the Legionary fouldiers. as in a case of such danger, yet retained their weapons in their hands, and themfelves in array. The Aides of the Ubians and Treveri ran most shamefully away, and brake every where, which chase the Germans pursued and gave by that meanes levfure to our Legions to retire themselves into their camp called Vetera. Claudius Labeo captaine of the Batavian wing, who had followed at home a contrary faction to Civilis, left that either his death should offend the countrey, or his presence mi. nister cause of dissension, was quietly sent out of the way into Frisia.

· Legati legio... ullum maurofijs

1 Mummius Lupercus? Belike Vitellius lefethe Legions only bare of men, and as it were halfe Legions (forin thefe two Legions were not above five thousand men) but disfurnished of captains also, leaving here but one Lieu tenant overtwo Legions, and yet as though he had forgotten himfelf, we finde another tanquam ex mathma, to wir Numifius * Rufus. Of whose coming into Vetera, as we finde no reason, so we finde him in another place out of num Stummius Vetera with lefte reason. If he were there from the beginning, why doth Tacitus tell us here, that Lup, reus alone duarum Legionum hibernis precrat? if not, how and when came he? and specially how and when went he out? But in Numifies Rufies the ferting down of this German war there are, in my opinion, many little imperfections and negligences, whereof part we will touch, as occasion thall ferve, but most of them we have supplied and explained in the contents of the chapters, and by inferring fometimes a word or two in the text, as by comparing the books it will appeare.

> VIII. The eight Batavian cohorts, which had served the Romans solong in Britannie, against Otho, and elsewhere, solicited by Civilis for-(ake Magontiacum, make their way at Bonna by the sword, and so joyne

N the meane season the messenger sent by Civilis to Magontiacum, to solicit the cohorts of the Batavians and Caninefates, came thither, and found them in readinesse, by Vitellius commandment, to march toward Rome. Upon that meffage received, forthwith they waxed proud, and intolerable, crying out (or elfe refusing to march) for their donative, for double wages, for an augmentation of the number of their horsemen, things indeed promised by Vitellius, but demanded by them, not in hope to obtaine, but to pick an occasion of mutinie: and Flaccus, yeelding to divers of their demands, gained nought els, but that they more instantly craved those things which they knew he could not but denie. So setting Flaccus at naught they took up their enfignes, and marched toward low Germany, to joyne themselves with Civilis; Hordeonius calling the Tribunes and Centurions alloto councell, debated the matter, whether he should by maine strength seek to inforce them which fo contemptuously brake away: anon, partly of his own cowardly nature, partly through the timorousnesse of the officers, who trusted neither the faith At 31 agontia- of their Aides, nor the force of their Legions, being gathered in hafte of men unskilfull in service, he resolved to keep his souldiers within the trenches, and letthe Batavians passe. Afterward, repenting himself of that resolution, they also blaming it, which were chiefe authours thereof, as if he meant to pursue them, he wrote to Herennius Gallus governour of Bonna, and Lieutenant of the first Legion which wintered there, that he should stop the Batavians from passage, promising that he with his whole power, would not faile to be on their backes. And so verily they might have been defeated and slain, if Hordeonius on the one side, and Gallus of the other, had brought forward their power, and enclosed them in behinde and be-

fore: but Flaccus changed his purpose againe, and in other letters of later date willed Gallus, not to flay their paffage. Whereupon suspicion arose, that the Lieutenants of fet purpose stirred up and fostered these warres; yea all the mischieses, which either had chanced already, or were feared hereafter, were imputed, not to the cowardlinesse of the souldier, or strength of the enemy, but onely to the fraud and falshood of the Leaders. When the Batavians drew neare to the Campe at Bonna, they fent before certaine meffengers, to delare to Herennius Gallus the intention of the Cohorts: that their meaning was not to make warre with the Romans, in whose behalfe they had so oft born armes; but forasmuch as they were wearied with a long and fruitleffe fervice, their defire was, quietly to live at home in their countrey. And therefore if no man made opposition, their passage should be harmlesse: but if any hostility were offered, they would make their way with the fword. Whilest the Lieutenant stood divided in minde what to do, his fouldiers urged him to put it to the fortune of a field. There were in his campe three thousand Legionary fouldiers, and certain tumultuary cohorts of Belgians, and withall a Whereas the number of pezants, and followers of the camp, brave men before the danger ap-full and just number of a proch, in the danger but cowards. Out they iffue at all the gates of the camp to en-legion ficuld close the Batavians, whom they knew to be far inferiour in number. The Batavians be 6000. or mindfull of their old order infervice, fet themselves in array in pointed battels 1000, at the flanding on every fide close together, and having their front, their flanks, and their back furely guarded, and fo with great facility brake through our thin companies. The Belgians first gave ground, and then our Legionaries were beaten back, and ran for fear toward the trenches, and gates of the camp. There the most slaughter was committed: the fosses we filled up with dead bodies, and many died in the throng, by tumbling one over another, and running upon their own weapons, as well as flain by the enemy. After this victory the Batavians went forward, leaving Colevn of the right hand, and attempted no act of hostility in the rest of their journey. but excusing the battel at Bonna as a thing done by constraint, and for their own

of Cornelius Tacitus.

The cohorts of the Batavians and Caninefaces | Thefe are the offo cohortes Batavorum quartadecime legionis and aila, to oft mentioned in the first and fecond of the history, and now remaining at Magontiacum, whither Civilis fent foret mottengers to folicit them to the party, as it appeareth in this book. And albeit in none of the places before remembred there is any mention of Caninefaces, yet by this place it is to be intended, that those eight Cohorts confilted of both people, onely the Batavians carried the name, as being the greater and more known people; and to fay trush Canine fates were but a kinde of Baravians, dwelling in the Baravian Iland, using the fame speech and deficented of the same race, as Tacitus saith a little before; and therefore, as I think, in his book De woribus Germanorum, he nameth onely the Baravie, either because the other were intended also by that name, or because they were not greatly worth naming.

fafety, when as they intreated for peace and it would not be granted.

IX. Civilis colourably (weareth his men to Velpasian: then with his Batavians, and the assistance of certaine German nations. he besiegeth Vetera, giveth an affault, and is repulsed.

Ivilis, upon the coming of those old Cohorts, had now under his conduct a full and complete armie: nevertheleffe wavering in minde, and flandingirreolute, confidering the puissance of the Roman Empire, he caused all his men to sweare to Vespasian, and sent forthwith Embassadours to the two Legions, which being defeated by him in the former battel were fled to Vetera, requiring them also to take the like oath. Their answer was, they would not be advised neither unitrountes a habmust ter Lupercus alone duarum Lezionum Hybernis pricerat, and that Movefius tera, but rother was Lieuteit may be gawhere by Tacitus. For the Hi. berna, or of the Legions, werein thefe latter as townes. · To wit, the

Batavians.

neither by traitour nor enemy; that Vitellius was their Prince, to whom alone they owed their faith, and should stand for him in armes, to their last breath: wherefore let not a fugitive, and faithlesse Batavian carry himselse as umpier of the Roman af. faires, but rather look for condigue punishment for his desert. Civilis being greatly incenfed with this answer, bringeth the whole Nation of the Batavians into the field. The Bructeri and Teucteri affociats themselves, and messengers were sem into Germany, who raifed the whole Country, fome to win honour, and fome to gaine spoile. Against these great threatnings and bandings of so many enemies. Mummius Lupercus, and Mumifius Rufus, Lieutenants of the Legions, fortified their trenches and b walls, and razed the buildings, which in fo long a peace were erected, not farre from the Campe, in manner of a town, lest they should be a harbour for the enemy. But through overfight they omitted to convey the victuall. and other provision therein into the Camp, suffering it to be taken at discretion: and so in few dayes that was riotoufly confumed, which by good order would have relie. ved their needs a long time. Civilis led the middle battell himselfe, wherein was nant of the fix- the flower and strength of Batavia: and on both sides of the Rhene, to the end the teenth Legion, fight of his army might strike in the greater terrour, he caused the regiments of the whose manusing camp was Germans to march, the horsemen gallopping about the fields; and withall the ships at Noveman, were brought up the streame. So on the one hand the ensignes of the old cohorts, on the other the pictures and images of the wild beafts taken out of their woods and confecrated groves, according as every Nation useth to beare in the field, amazed our men, and terrified them doubly, with the shew both of an externall, and civill warre. Moreover the great compasse of the trench made the attempt of the besiereading camps gers more feafeable and increased their hope. For whereas it was made to containe two Legions, at that present it had scarce five thousand armed men to defend it, befide the followers of the campe, which upon the breaking up of the peace gathered thither and there remained doing them some service in the war. A part of the camp was fituate upon the pendant of an easie hill, and part stood upon the plaine ground. That standing campe Augustus settled there, supposing it sufficient to watch over, and as it were to be fiegethe countreyes of Germany, never imagining that the world could go farre otherwise, as that they should presume to begin and affuile our Legions: whereupon the leffe cost was bestowed, either to helpe the site of the place, or the strength of the bulwarks: men and armour alone were thought a fufficient defence. Now to the end, that being fevered in place, the prowesse of each Nation might more distinctly appeare, and be seen, the Batavians, and the Germans which dwelt beyond the Rhene took standing each by themselves and began to dart at our men a farre off: But when as they faw most of their weapons sticking in vaine in the turrets, and pinnacles of the walls, and many of themselves wounded with stones thrown from above on their heads, leaving that kinde of oppugnation, they fuddenly with great forces and outcrie affayed to scale the trenches, the most part by fetting up ladders, others climbing over the heads of their fellowes upon a target-fence. And as some were now clammering up, they were beaten down head. longs with swords and push of pike, and so with clubs, and darts overwhelmed, being men otherwise hot in the beginning, and too too couragious when fortune savoureth, but then for defire of prey they tolerated all hardnesse also; yea and that which with them is unusuall, they endeavoured to prove with engines, whereof they had of themselves neither experience nor skill, onely some fugitives and captives taught them to frame timber in 'manner of a bridge, and to drive it forward on wheeles, whereon certaine standing above might skirmish with them on the wills, as it were from a mount, and others within fecretly undermine the foundations. But the defendants, with great stones shot out of *engines, battered downe their rude and ill framed worke. And when as provision was made of * hurdles. and plancks to cover them in giving the affault, our men shot burning speares. and fired the worke; affayling with fire even their affaylers; who defpairing at length toeffectuate any thing by force, deliberated to lay a lingring fiege therunto, knowing that they had but few dayes vittaile within, and many unprofitable mouthes ro confume it, and hoping withall, that of want of food treason would ensue: that the faith of bondmen alwaies fickle would now be fleeting, befide the cafualties. which usually happen in warre.

1 In manner of a bridge] Vegetius, lib. 4 in the description of Turris Ambulatoria maketh mention of Pons abacveroa. Turres funt inachinamenta ad adificiorum speciem ex trabibus tabulatisque compasta, tanta proceritate, ut non flum munos, sed stam turres altitudine superent. His pluses rote mechanica arie subdumure, quarum lapsu magnitudo tam ampla mirelag. Infer aribus habet arietem, cujus impetu destruit muros. Circa mediam partem accipit pamem factum de drabus trabbas, quen ful to prolutum inter tearim murumque conflituente, & per cum egeclientes de machina milites occupant murus & in avant mura-lennt. In functionibus partibus contacti & fogutari codocanter , qui propogratores depellant, &c. In this place Tanus formeth to take Pons for the whole engine of Turris Ambulatoria, and not onely that speciall part which Vegenus calleth by that name.

X. Hordconius dispatching Vocala before removeth from Magontiacum with his power to Bonna: and thence to Coleyn. Where he resigneth the execution of his charge to Vocala; following notwithstanding the army from thence to Novefium, where, as it feemeth, he stayed till his death. At Novefium Gallus is joyned in commission with Vocala: and fother removed forward to Gelduba. Where being encamped, Vocula wastesh the Gugerni, and Gallus is beaten by the Germans.

·N · the meane time Flaccus, having understood of the siege of Vetera, and sent into France to levy aides, felected our of his Legions a company of chosen men, Land committed them to the leading of Dillius Vocula, Lieutenant of the eighteenth Legion, willing him to haften, and make all possible speed along the banke of the river, himselfe followed slowly, and drooping for feare, being mortally hated ofhis fouldiers. For they openly charged him, that he had fuffered wilfully to scape from Magontiacum the cohorts of the Batavians, or rather purposely sent them away: that Civilis rebellious attempts were by his connivence fostered, and by his meane the Germans called to the party. That neither Antonius Primus, nor Mutianus, had so strengthened Vespalians side, as Flaccus by this kinde of diffembling dealing: for open enemies and armes might openly and with armes be repelled, butfraud and deceit were matters hardly espied, and therefore could not be avoided. That Civilis stood in the field embattelled against them, but Hordeonius out of his bed chamber gave order, and directed as was most for the enemies behoofe: and why then should fo many armed companies of valiant souldiers be governed by a ficke and filly old man? nay why should they not rather dispatch such a traitour, and free their fortune and vertue from the ill chance of founlicky a leader? As they were in these speeches one with another, letters came from Vespasian which incenfed them more, the which Flaccus, because he could not conceale, caukd openly to be read before the affembly, and sent the bringers thereof bound to Vitellius.

Vitellius. By this meanes the fouldiers mindes were fomewhat appealed: and fo they came to Bonna the standing campe of the first Legion: the souldiers whereof were more displeased with Flaccus then the other; laying the fault of their late overthrow wholly upon him: averring that they at his commandement marched forth against the Batavians, affuring themselves, upon his promise, that his Legions from Magontiacum should assaile them behinde; and so no supply coming from thence they loft their lives through his treason: that these matters had never been notified to the rest of the army, nor to the Prince, or else by the helpe and affishance of fo many countreys this fudden rebellion might have been quenched in the be. ginning. Whereupon Hordeonius caused the copies of all the letters, which he had fent into France, Britanny and Spaine, requesting their helpe, to be read to the army, and began a very ill example, that all letters fent from abroad should be delivered to the standard bearers of the Legions, who read them to the souldiers. before they came to the Generals hand. Then he commanded one of the most factious to be apprehended and bound, rather to put his right in ure, then because the fault was but of one man alone; and so he removed with his army from Bonna long with him to Coleyn, where many Aides reforted unto him of the French nation, which at the the first Legi- first with all their power affisted the Romanes, till afterwards seeing the Germans on, or a great on, or a great part thereof, prevaile, many of them tooke armes, against us in hope of freedome, and that point as it doth ap-attained, for defire of foveraigntie, But the wrath of the Legions still increased, neither could one fouldiers imprisonment terrifie them: nay even the party imprisoned impeached the Generall of treason; alleadging that he had been messenger between Civilis and him, and therefore a colour was fought to take him away, left he should declare and testifie the truth. Then Vocula, with marvellous stoutnesse ascending into the Tribunall, commanded the fouldier, as he exclaimed & cried, to be apprehended, and carried away to execution: which thing fo terrified the bad and feditious, that the founder fort without impeachment fulfilled his commandement, and anon by common confent they demanded Vocula to be their Generall: which place Flaccus willingly refigned to him. But their mindes were already mutinouf-Iv affected, and many new occasions of more rage were presented; as want of pay, b And yet not and provision of corne; b France refusing to yeeld fouldiers and tributes, the Rhene ten lines be- also by reason of drought unusuall in that countrey hardly able to beare any vessells forehewriteth, scarcitie of victuals; garrisons of men placed along the banke to keepe the Geruppermission mans from paffing the river; and so lesse corne, and more mento consume it. rum, que primo Among the ignorant and simpler fort the lownesse of the water was held for a prorem Romanam digious matter, as if the rivers also, and the ancient defences of the Empire had now for saken us, and that which in peaceable times would have been counted chance, or proceeding of naturall causes, at that time was called a fatall matter, and gods indignation and wrath. At Novesium they assumed the sixteenth Legion; and Herennius Gallus Lieutenant of the first Legion was joyned with Vocula in part of the charge: yet durst they not goe to finde the enemy, but encamped themselves at a place called Gelduba. There they trained, and practifed their fouldiers in ordering of battels, in fortifying, entrenching, and other military exercises. And to the end that they might by booties and spoiles take courage and heart, Voculaled forth part of his army into the country of the Gugerniadjoyning, who had allied to themfelves with Civilis: part remaining behinde with Herennius Gallus. And as by chance, not farre from the campe, a barge loaden with corne, was run upon a shelfe, the Germans espying it laboured to draw it to their side of the water; which

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fed their number, and so by little and little, supply resorting on both sides. a battell was fought: wherein the Germans, after the flaughter of many of our men, by force haled the boat away. Our fouldiers, being thus put to the worfe, according to their custome there, blamed not their own cowardlinesse, but the treason of the Lieutenant, whom they drew out of his tent, tare his clothes, and beat his body, commanding him to tell upon what price, and with what complices he had thus betrayed the army. But Hordeonius was charged with the whole envie of the fact; him Who, as it they termed the contriver of the mischiefe, Gallus only the instrument, till at seemes, stayed length Gallus, being terrified with their threatnings of his destruction, to fave his Nevelium. own life, was content to charge Hordeonius also with treason. Then was he put in hands and afterward, at the returne of Vocula loofed, who the next day following put to death the authors of the stirre. So strange diversitie there was in that army, both licentiously to commit all enormities, and patiently to abide all corrections. The common fouldier was firme to Vitellius; the principall men more enclined to Vefpafian. Hence came it, that fucceffively, and by courfe as it were, they offended, and suffered for their offences; that fury and rage were interlaced with obedience, and they eafily punished, which could not be governed.

I In the meane time Flaccus] Hordeonius Flaccus remaining at a Mentz, where the standing campe was of a Mazontiacum. quarta and offavad cima chits diocevicessima, understancing of the fiege of Vetera, fendeth Didius Vecula Licutenant of the Marad cima alide describe simabefore with the choise men picked out of the two Legions, whom Hordenning, leaving fulficient power to guard the campe at Mentz, feemeth immediatly to have followed and overtiken at Benna, a towne likewife upon the river, eleven miles above Coleyn, and threefeore above Vetera, according to Antonius in Itineratio, and Tac. 1. Annal, and so joyntly to have removed to Coleyn: where at the inflance of his mutinous army, and upon infirmitie of body, he refigned his Generalflip, at least the execution to Didius Vocula: and yet notwithilanding removed with them to Novelium, now call. d Nuifs, a towne fixteene miles below Coleyn, according to Antoinus. At Novelium Flaccus as it feemeth staid, and there was, as appeareth anon, flaine by a mutiny of drunken fouldiers. But Vocula with a great part of the army marched further downe, and neeret to Vetera, encamping himselfe at Gelduba, a cassle likewise upon the Rhene, ubi cicois genera-sas precipea, laith Pliny. And thus much for the declaration of some circumstances, in my opinion, not so plainly and particularly fet down, as they ought, by our Author.

XI. Civilis combineth himfelfe with the Germans, wasteth the French side, urgeth the siege of Vetera, and giveth diverse affaults in vaine.

Ontrarily all the Germans extolled Civilis exceedingly, and combined themselves with him in league, yeelding of their noblest men for pledges. Whereupon he gave commandment to them which lay neerest, to waste the Ubii and Treveri, and with another company to passe the river of Mosa, and forrey the Menapii and Morini, and frontiers of France. In both places a spoile was made, and with greater rage amongst the "Ubii", because being originally de- : Activities feended from the Germans, renouncing their countrey, they called themselves (uxor claudii) Agrippinenses after a Romane denomination: whose cohorts through negligence from guarding from the general from the and carelefnesse, as being farre from the banke of the Rhene, were staine in the vil-nationibus olage of Marcodurum. In revenge whereof the Ubii fetched continuall booties out finance, in ofof Germany: which they performed at the first without losse, afterward they were $\frac{\partial}{\partial t} = \frac{\partial}{\partial t} \frac{\partial}{\partial t}$ overtaken and flaine, in all that warre more faithfull to us, then fortunate for them- cral, veteranos selves. The Ubii being thus beaten, Civilis growing more hard to be dealt with, and coloniamque dehautily minded, by reason of the prosperous successe of his actions earnestly urged enimonen indithe fiege of the Legions fetting straite watch, lest any secret messenger might um ex vocabuhappily enterin, to bring them word of the fuccour comming. The engins and bipflus. Tac. making of the works he affigned to the Batavians, appointing the inhabitants be-

Gallus would not endure, but fent a cohort to the refcue; the Germans also increa-

where.

vond the Rhene, who were defirous of battell, to goe and breake up the trenches. and being beaten backe, eftioones to give a freshaffault, not caring to leese many of those, whereof he had so many to spare. Neither did the night bring an end to their travell: but heaping up wood round about and fetting it on fire, they fell to feasting together, and as they were heated with wine, ran rashly and desperately to the affault: which arrempt of theirs was altogether without effect. For their darts. as being throwen into the dark, fell voyd without any doing of hurt. The Romanes with great dexteritie levelled at the Barbarians standing in the light, and especially at fuch as were boldest to presse forward, or glistered most in their furniture: which thing Civilis perceiving commanded the fire to be put out, and to fight pell mell in the darke. Then there arose confused clamours, and noyses, variable chances, and uncertaine adventures: no forefight in striking or warding, on what side soever the cry arose, thither they would turne their bodies, and direct their arrowes: valour profited nothing, chance ruled all; and the most valiant men oftentimes were slaine by the most cowards. The Germans ran with unadvised rage: but the Romane fouldiers acquainted with dangers, hurled their clubs headed with iron, and heavy ftones, not at a venture: where they heard any labouring to breake in, or fetting up ladders within their reach, they thrust them backe with the pikes of their bucklers. and followed them with darts, and many which had got on the walls they stabbed with daggers. The night being thus fpent, the next day discovered a new kinde of affault. The Batavians had builded and brought forward a tower "of two heights, which as it approched necreto the Prætorian gate (for that part of the campe was of easiest accesse) our souldiers brake it in pieces with mightie plankes run against it, and logges cast uponit, with great damage and slaughter of them that stood thereupon. At which accident the enemies being difmayed, our fouldiers suddenly iffued out, and cut off many of their men, with all the Legionary fouldiers, being expertand skilfull that way, devised many warlike engines; but that which was the * Sufferfum & most dreadfull, was a * moveable and wagging engine, in manner of a crane, which being suddenly let down fnatched up one or more of the enemies, and hoysed them aloft in the fight of the rest, and so the beame turning about let them fill into our campe. Civilis laying afide all hope of winning by force determined to change that course, and by tract of time to effect the same purpose, seeking in the meane season by messages and promises to corrupt the faith of the Legions.

> XII. Montanus a Captaine of Vitellius side, and borne at Triers, bringeth word to Novesium of the event of the battell at Cremona: whereupon they there and the rest at Gelduba sware to Vespasian: and sent Montanus to declare the same to Civilis, willing him to defill from hollilitie: but contrarily Civilis wrought Montanus to his purpose, and laid the plot of the rebellion of France, which shortly after ensued.

His was the effect of that which paffed in Germany before the abattell of red elfewhere. Cremona: the event whereof Antonius Primus signified by letters directed 6 Who as Conunto them, fending withall b Cæcinaes edict: and c Alpinus Montanus Capdiff in favour taine of one of the vanquished cohorts, by word of mouth, confessed the overthrow of the Favian and of the vanquished cohorts, by word of mouth, confessed the overthrow of the side. Hereuponensued diversitie of affections. The auxiliary souldiers of Sent by the France, which served without all partialitie, and neither hated nor loved the one faction nor the other, at the perswasions of their Captaines, were content forthwith to forfake Vitellius: but the old fouldier stucke at it, till upon Hordeonius rendering, and the Tribunes urging they tooke the oath; albeit neither in counrenance, nor minde feeming to be fully refolved, but pronouncing roundly the reft of their oath, and at the name of Vespasian either stopping, or tripping it lightly over, or skipping it quite. Then were the letters of Antonius to Civilis read in open affembly, which raifed many fuspicions in the fouldiers heads, because they feemed to be written as to one of the same faction, and spake hardly of the German army. Anon word was carried to the campe at Gelduba, where the like was both spoken and done; and thereupon Montanus sent with charge to Civilis, to warne him to defift from making of warre; and that he should not cloke any longer upon rebellion with the colour of following fides. If he fought to helpe Vefpaian, his defire now was accomplished, and his purpose performed: To these allegations Civilis replied, first in futtle and craftie tearmes: afterward perceiving Montanus to be of a hot and fierce disposition, and ready to accept any new impression, he beginneth with a complaint of the manifold perils, which for twentie five veeres space he had endured in the Romane service: A worthy, and just reward (quoth he) have I had of my travells, the death of my brother, mine owne imprisonment, and the bloudy words of his army, of whom being demanded to theslaughter, by the law of nations I doe, and may justly seeke my revenge.

But as for you^d Treveri, and the rest but fruitlessee fervice, continual Tributes, was borne at whips, gibbets, and flavery under proud infolent mafters? Behold I a Captaine was porne at whips, gibbets, and flavery under proud infolent mafters? of one cohort; and the Caninefates and Batavians, a finall portion of France, Tailus in have destroyed and overthrowne those vast and vaine camps of theirs, and s doe fome other befiege them with famine and fword, to conclude, if we venture, we shall either to comprise recover our libertie, or if we leefe, be in the same state we were in before. Ci-them under vilis having thus incenfed Montanus, difiniffed him away, howbeit willed him the Germans. to make a more favourable report, who accordingly at his returne onely fignified, Those in that he had not sped in his embassage, dissembling the rest which straight after H. M. mid. brake out. Vetera.

XIII. Vocula overthroweth two Captaines of Civilis, Sent against him as he lay at Gelduba.

Nivilis retaining part of his hoft, fent the old cohorts, and the forwardest of the Germans against Vocula and his army, under the leading of Julius Maximus, and Claudius Victor his fifters fonne. In the way they tooke up and fooiled the standing campe of a wing fited at Asciburg, and so suddenly assaulted the enemies campe at Gelduba, that Vocula had no leifure to speake to the fouldiers or to display the rankes. Thus much onely as in a tumult, he warned to strengthen the middle battell with Legionary fouldiers, and the Auxiliaries to cast themselves about on every side. Then our horsemen brake forth, and seeing the enemyingood order and array to receive them, they turned their backs, and fled toward their footmen: whereupon a flaughter enfued and no fighting. The cohorts allo of the Nervii through feare or falthood fled, and barred the fides of our men and fo way was made to our Legionary fouldiers, who began now to be overthrown within the trenches, and to lose their enfignes, when as suddenly with a new sup-Nozesium, Bonply the fortune of the battell was changed. For certaine cohorts of Vascones le- na, Stagoniuvied by Galba, and then a fent for, comming neere the camp, and hearing the noise what coaft of as they fought, affailed the enemies backs being intentive another way, and caused a the world? great

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great terrour then fo fmall a number could otherwise have done, had not the enemy beleeved, some of them, that the rest from Novesium, and some, that the whole power from Magontiacum was come. That errour also increased the Romanes courage: and whilest they presumed upon other mens strength they recovered their own. The most valiant of the Batavian footmen were slaine, the horsemen escaped with the enfignes and captives that were taken in the first conflict: on our fide were flaine that day moe in number, but men of small service; the Germans loft the very flower, and ftrength of their army. Both the Generals by like default deserved the overthrow in reason alike: and winning were negligent both alike to follow their fortune. For if Civilis had furnished his side with greater forces, they could never have been by so few cohorts inclosed about: and the campe of the Romanes being, asit was, by force broken up, had doubtleffe been utterly razed. Vocula likewife lacking fcouts abroad to fignifie the enemies approch was suddenly furprised; and so in one moment went to fight, and was overcome: afterward winning more by lucke then defert, and not truffing his own victory nor using the benefit thereof, he vainely trifled out many dayes before he would march toward the enemy; whom if he had prefently followed and pursued the course of his vi-Crory effectually, he might at that blow have raifed the fiege of the Legions at Vetera.

XIV. Vocula putteth Civilis to flight, and entereth Vetera.

Nivilis in the meane time had affayed to induce the Legions to furrender, as though the Romanes had been quite overthrowne, and his men obtained an entire victory. For proofe whereof he commanded the Romane enfigues, and banners to be carried about, and the prisoners produced in sight, whereof one ventured worthily, and declared aloud how the whole matter had paffed, and was killed in the place by the Germans, which thing caused them within to beleeve his relation the better, and withall by wasting and burning of the villages they might discerne that their owne victorious army was comming. When Vocula came neere unto Vetera he commanded the enfignes to be pitched in the fight of the campe, and a ditch and trench to be cast round about: that laying aside their baggage and needlesse furniture in place of safety, they might fight more lightly and leffe encumbered. Whereupon the fouldiers began to exclaime, crying to goe to the battell, and now they were growne to that custome to threaten their Leader. So without taking so much time as onely to set the battellin array, disordered, and tired, they began the fight, for Civilis was ready to prefent them the battell, repofing no lefte affiance in the follies and faults of his enemies, then in the vertue and valour of his own people. Of the Romane fide the matter went doubtfull and hard, and the most mutinous proved the most dastards: some there were which mindefull of the victory lately obtained kept their standing, galled the enemy, and animated themselves and their fellowes. The battell being thus brought back again, which erewhile in a manner was loft, they held up their hands to them in the camp, that they should not neglect to use the opportunitie, who beholding all things from the walls issued forthall at the gate, and by chance Civilis being by the fall of his horse overthrowne, of both sides was thought to be wounded or slaine; which greatly difmayed his men and caused them to breake, and contrarily put courage in ours. But Vocula pursued not the chace, but entring Vetera onely augmented the rampiers, and towers of the camp, as against a new fiege, being had in a jealousie,

by this kinde of cold dealing, to defire the continuance of the warre: and not without cause, having so often marred the victory for want of good following.

XV. Vocula vittaileth Vetera, and returneth to Gelduba, and thence to Novesium, where Hordeonius in a mutiny is slaine. Vocula with his power goeth to relieve Magontiacum besieved by the Germans. The faithfulnesse of the Treveri to the Romanes at the beginning of these troubles.

Othing diffressed our fouldiers fo much, as lacke of provision and food. Whereupon the carriages of the Legions, with a weake and unferviceable company were fent to Novesium, that from thence by land they might furnish the army with vittailes, for the enemies were masters of the river. The first convoy passed peaceably without molestation, Civilis being not yet recovered of his hurt: but anon understanding another company was sent to Novesium, and certaine cohorts affigned to conduct them, marching as in time of great quiet careleffely, not keeping themselves to their ensignes, but casting their armour and weaponsinto the wigons, and roving about licenciously, he sent before to take up the bridges and straits, and then in good order charged upon them. The * battell was * Puonatum fought with troupes displaied out thinly in length, and continued doubtfull, un-long agmint. till the night tooke up the quarell. The cohorts proceeded forward to Gelduba. the campe standing there as it was, guarded by the souldiers which Vocula had left. There was no question what perill there would be in the returne, the forragers being but few, and heavily loaden: whereupon Vocula determining to goe out and relieve them, increased his army with a thousand men chosen out of the two Legions, which were befieged at Vetera, the first and fifteenth, a stubborne and headftrong fouldier, and hating his captaines. More went then were commanded, at their going openly murmuring, that they would no longer indure famine, nor be obnoxious to the secret practises of the Lieutenants: but those which remained behind complained, that they, by carrying away fo many men, were forfaken, and left as a pray to the enemy. Whereupon a double mutiny grew, the one part recalling Vocula feditiously, and the other in like fort refusing to turne againe to the campe. In the meane feafon Civilis befieged Vetera. Vocula marcheth to Gelduba, and leaving Gelduba (which Civilis straightway tooke up) from thence to Novesium, not farre from whence, shortly after, his horsemen skirmished with the enemy prosperoully. But prosperitie and adversitie inflamed alike the souldiers to seeke their captaines destruction: and the Legions being augmented, by that increase out of the fift and fifteenth Legion, more infolently required their donative, understanding that money was fent from Vitellius. Whereupon Hordeonius, without further delay divided the money among them in Vespasians name, which was the principall thing that ministred mitter, and fed the mutiny which followed. For the fouldiers, having idle spending money, gave themselves to riot and banquetting, and assemblies by night, and by that meanes renewed their former wrath and displeasure against Hordeonius, whom they haled out of his chamber and slew, none of the Lieutenants or Tribunes daring to gainfay, or withftand them being hardened, by reason of the night season, against all modesty and shame. The like was intended against Vocula, if he had not in a bondmans attire escaped unknowne in the darke. Affoone as the heat of their fury was pate they fell to confider the danger wherein they did stand, and sent by and by Centurions with letters to the cities of France, defiring

Scribonianus refused the offer: a man so greatly fearing uncertainties, that even an affured certaintie could not eafily have fturred him. Therefore Mutianus, because Antonius openly could not be put down, spent upon him many good words. and great commendation in the Senate house, and secretly laded him with promises, putting him in hope of neerer Spaine, which by the departure of Cluvius Rufuslay voide, and bestowed upon his friends Tribuneships, Captainships liberally. And when Mutianus had filled with these windes of hope and desire his emptie vain-glorious minde, he proceeded fubtlely to infringe his power, and utterly put him out of his strength, by dismissing unto their wintering place the seventh Le- seving Gold gion, which did most earnestly affect Autonius. The third Legion also that de-liana. pended upon Arius Varus was fent away backe into Syria: another apart of the army was carried into Germany. So the citie being disburdened of those which valerithing were prone to breed trouble, recovered her former estate, the lawes took etheir Tac. due discourse, and the magistrates resumed their charge.

XVII. Certaine matters which passed in the Senate.

He day that Domitian after his new honour came into the Senate, he made a briefe and courteous speech concerning his fathers, and brothers absence, and of his owne greene yeeres and lacke of experience, with a comely grace and decent behaviour: his often blushing and being out of countenance, his qualities being not yet knowne abroad, was reputed modesty and bashfulnesse. When as he proposed that Galba should be restored to his honour and dignitie, Curtius Montanus was of opinion, that the memory of Pifo should be folemnized, the Senators allowed of both: howbeit concerning Pifo it tooke none effect. After this. certaine were allotted to see restitution made of those things, which had beene by force taken away in the warre, and fome others, to view and fet up the brazen tables of the lawes, which by a tract of time were decayed, and others to reforme, & purge aby the burst the publike records, and registers, which by flattery of times were corrupted, and ing of the Cato moderate and flint the publike expenses. Tertius Julianus was restored to hispitoli melted Pretorship, after it was knowne that he fled to Vespasian: notwithstanding Griphus and securing securi kept his roome too. Then the Senate awarded, that the cause betweene Musonius Rufus, and Publius Celer should be revived and determined: and so Publius was condemned, and fatisfaction made to the foule of Soranus. In this daies worke as the publike feveritie of the Senate was notable, fo privately Musonius wanted not his due commendation, for having judicially profecuted fo just a revenge: as contrarily Demetrius the Cynicke was generally blamed, for that ambitiously, and a simal, 16. without regard of his credit, he had lent his hand to protect a manifest offender: for sue, refer, 15. Publius himfelfe had neither spirit nor tongue to plead his owne cause. When the Xipbil. figne was given, and a flagge of revenge, as it were, fet out against the accusers, Junius Mauricus requested Domitian, that it would please him to communicate a copy to the Senate of the Princes records and papers, whereby they might be certified particularly, who had required to have the accusing of whom. Answer was made, that the Princes advise was to be asked in a case of that waight: whereupon the Senate, the principall perfonages, beginning the example, conceived a forme of oath, which all the magnifrates fware, contending who should be formost, and the rest, as their voices were severally asked, solemnly protesting, and calling the gods to witnesse, that they never had attempted nor done any act against the life of any, nor reaped commoditie or honour by the calamities of others, they which were guiltie

images of Vitellius were fet upagain in the camp, and in the cities of Belgium adjoyning, when as Vitellius himselfe was now downe. Then the souldiers of the first Legion and the fourth and eighteenth upon repentance came in, and submitted themselves unto Vocula, at whose hands receiving agains the oath to Vespasian they were led forth to raife the fiege at Magontiacum. The army which befieged it (confifting of Catti, Ufipii and Matiaci) was already depated away loaden with spoiles, and being by our men met with on the way scattered and at unawares, was in part put to the fword. Moreover the Treverialong their confines cast a trench with a * parapet, and with a great flaughter on each fide skirmished against the Ger-* Loricam, valmans, untill shortly after revolting, by that odious fact, they defaced all their good fervice done heretofore to the Romanes.

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defiring fupply of money and men, themselves when Civilis approched, as the

common fort without head is headlong, fearefull and fluggish, rashly tooke up their

weapons, and foone laying them downe ran away. Adverfitie bred difcord, those

of the upper army distoyning their cause from the others. Notwithstanding the

XVI. The disposition of the common people of the Citie, at the beginning of the yeere. The ordinary Senate upon the first day of Ianuary. Mutianus Supplanteth Antonius Primus.

1N the meane feafon Vefpafianus fecond time Confull and Titus in absence entered their office, the citie being in great anguish and diversly perplexed, besides the miseries which presently they felt, upon a false alarme of the revolt of Africk. and the rebellion of Pifo Proconfullthere, a man of milde and quiet disposition: but because through the tempestuousnesse of the winter the ships came not home. the poore people which day by day were accustomed to buy bread, and cared for nothing else of common affaires but come, feared that all the ships of that coast were purposely stayed, and the corne detained, and fearing quickly believed it. In which imaginary conceit the Vitellianists also confirmed them, who had not as yet wholly left off their former affections and humours. Neither was the rumour displeasing unto the winners, as hoping to make their profit thereby, whose infatiable luft and defires no forrein warre, much leffe any civill victory could ever fill or content. The first of January the Senate was affembled by Iulius Frontinus the ^a Citie Pretor, and folemne thanks with praise concluded upon to the Lieutenants it belonged, in and armies, and kings which friended the cause. The Pretorship also was taken the absence of from Tertius Julianus, because he had forsaken his Legion applying it selfe to Vespalians lide, and bestowed upon Plotius Griphus. Hormus was made a Gentleman of Rome, and straightwaies Frontinus resigning Domitanus, Cæsar tookethe tianus favorites place. In his name all letters were written and edicts published, but the power and direction of affaires refted in Mutianus, fave that Domitian either pricked forward by his friends, or upon his own pleafure, & luft prefumed to do many things of himfelfe. But Mutianus principall feare was of Antonins Primus and Arius Varus, whom befide that they were greatly renowned for their late famous exploits, and in great credit with the fouldiers, the common people also loved well because they had flaine none but in the field. Moreover it was given out by fome, that Antonius had folicited Scribonianus Craffus, a man of great honour, both in respect of his worthy ancestours, and of his late * brothers high place, to take upon him the state, affuring him of a fufficient number of complices to uphold and maintain it, had not Scribonianus

atlemble the Scaute. h One of Ju-3. Hift.

*To whom

and changing the words. The Senatours allowed of them which sware truely, and openly reproved others perjury: which reproofe lay most heavily upon Sariolenus Vocula, and Nonius Actianus, and Cestius Severus, persons infamous for their often accusings under Nero: and beside, which aggravated his cause, Sariolenus had lately attempted the like with Vitellius: fo that they bent their fifts against him, and ceased not to offer violence, untill he departed the house. From him they went to Pactius Africanus, feeking to throw him out likewife, because he had given e Xiph, Noove, information against the Scribonian brethren, renowned both for their wealth e. App., Acrow, information against the Schooling observed their defruction with Nero. Africaschooling real man and mutual agreeing together, and procured their defruction with Nero. Africaschooling real man us neither durft confesse the matter objected, nor could well deny it: but turning
the massistant, institute to Vibius Crispus who pressed him neerest with his interrogatories, he on
the design real through the confesse of him of the like, seeking to shift off the odiousnesses of the confesses of the co The same of the plantiffe in the fame crime. That day Velpalianus Meffalla wanne himselse great credit, both for eloquence the said good nature, undertaking, being under Senatours age, to make interceffin for Regulus was extreamely hated, because he had The Estimate He wrought the overthrow of the noble houses of the Crassi, & of Orphitus. He was at And Sulfate and Sulfate appointed by the Senate to be their accuser, and undertook that odious sources as the source of the sour of the refuling might grow to himselfe, but in hope of riling higher thereby. And Sulpitia resulting might grow to minietre, but in nope of riting night thereby. And Sulpitia many in the control Prætextata wife of Craffus, with foure of his children prefented themselves in a superference of the control of readinesse to prosecute the matter, if it would please the Senate to take knowledge thereof, Meffella, neither justifying the cause nor the man, but opposing himselse pril w water. form, as I my against the perils of his brother, had moved some to compassion, Then Curtius the vousiger Montanus replyed with a bitter oration, proceeding fo farre, that he charged Regumore penality of lus with giving of money after Galbaes death to him that flew Pifo, with biting of Pisoes head being dead. These things (quoth he) I trow Nero never constrained you to doe: neither faved you either your life, or your honour by such savage cruelrie. 16.19 5. & Let us grant their defence to be tolerable, which chose rather to bring othersin-And yet he to ruine, then themselves into perill, for your part you had nothing to leefe: your father going into banishment left you voide of all danger that way; his goods were parted amongst his creditours and your age as yet not capable of honour: you had nothing that Nero should either desire from you, or seare in you. Nay it was your 19. immaniji-owne bloud-thirsty humour, and gaping for gaine, which caused you to employ was findly your gifts, being as yet not knowne nortried in defending any mans cause, to the destruction of the nobilitie: when at one blow you ruined and overthrew innocent children, and reverend old men, honorable women, and by this good fervice in deto a terling froying the Commonwealth merited Confulary fpoiles, feven thousand thousand fefterces, and an honourable Priefthood: when you blamed Neroes flack and remiffe kinde of proceeding, that he went house by house and tired out both himselse and the whole company of the accusers, whereas he might with like facilitie and speaking of a word subvert the whole Senate. Keepe I pray you (my Lords) and make store of a counseller of so good a dispatch, that every age may be furnished: and as our old men imitate Marcellus and Crifpus, so your young may doe Regulus. Distingerty even when it thriveth not, findeth followers, what will it do then when it doth profper and flourish? and whom we dare not offend having been but Que-

beleeved

beleeved, which overlived Tiberius and Caius when in the meane time arose another more cruell and detestable then either. We feare not Vespasian; his age warrantethus, and his moderate disposition: but precedents dure longer the dispositions. We are waxen cold (my Lords) neither are we now the same men, that affoone as Nero was flaine required these promooters, and all other instruments of tyranny to be punished more majorum. After the decease of an ill Prince the first day is alwaies the best. With so great applause and liking of the Senate Montanus was heard, that Helvidius conceived hope of the possibilitie of overthrowing Marcellus alfo. Therefore beginning his speech with the commendation of Cluvius Rufus. who being as rich, & as famous for eloquence, had not with standing in Neroestime never procured any mans danger, he pressed Marcellus both with his own fact, and with the others examples, and the Senatours fingers even tickled against him. Which when Marcellus perceived, making femblance of departing the house, We are gone Helvidius (quoth he) and leave to you a Senate of your owne: take your preasure, and "exercise your kingdome in the presence of the young Prince. After "Or, exercise him followeth Vibius Crifpus both well warmed and netled: Marcellus with a your kingthreatning countenance, Crifpus halfe finiling, but at the entreatie of friends the Prince rethey came againe to their place. And so the contention growing hotter, and of the turneth regar one fide many and good, on the other few & mighty banding together, and inveigh- prasente Casare: ing despitefully one against the other, that day was consumed in brawlings. The next meeting Domitian beginning to perswade, that old griefs and grudges should not be revived, but buried together with the memory of the latetimes, wherin men were forced to do many things against their own mindes. Mutianus continuing the fpeech opened at large in favour of the accufers, gently admonishing withall, and as it were intreating them, who feemed to refume their actions which they had discotinued. The Senatours, when they faw they were croffed in following their liberty, medled no further, and Mutianus, left the judgement of the Senate should seeme to be little regarded, and a general pardon as it were proclaimed of all crimes committed under Nero, commanded Octavius Sagitta and Antiftius Sofianus, Senatours by calling, which were without leave returned from exile, to be reduced into the fame Ilinds again, & Octavius had frequented with Pontia Posthumia another mans wife & Tat. 12. Ans. adulteroufly, and because she refused after to marry him, he slew her upon extreame paffion of love: Sofianus by his lewd qualities had been the ruine of many: both of them had been condemned and banished by a heavy sentence of the Senate, and others being restored they were left still in the same penalty. But Mutianus could not with all this wipe the ill opinion away of his former dealing: For Sofianus and Sagitta were men vile and of no account, neither mattered it where they lived but the accusers great gifts, great wealth and great power, being men so well seen in all lewd practifes, were feared not without cause. The Senators minds were anon in part reconciled by means of a certaine cause heard in the house, and decided according to ancient custome. Manlius Patricius a Senator made complaint, that in the Colony of Siena he was beaten of the multitude at the magistrates commandment, and not contented with this outrage they * mourned and wailed, and made shew of celebra- * New finem inting his funerals in his own fight, with many fcornfull and reprochfull speeches re- jurie bit steriffer dounding upon the whole Senate. The parties accused were called, and upon due mena & suexamination convicted and executed, and an act made to admonish the people of premoun ima-Siena to behave themselves in modester manner hereaster. At the same time An-ginem prosent tonius Flamma was condemned of extortion, at the suite of the Cyrenenses, and exiled for his cruell behaviour, and shedding of innocent bloud. XVIII. A

ftor, what shall we doe when we shall have passed the higher offices of Pretor and Confull? or doe ye thinke that Nero shall be the last tyrant? indeed so they also

or veneral, N. o and Dogot a legacy at Vitands hard, Cojis maite faith jimus fliceat. That is,

XVIII. A view taken of the Pretorian Souldiers. A loane motioned in the Senate. The funerals of Flavius Sabinus.

Midst these things there had welny broken out a sedition of the souldiers. The Guard-fouldiers difmissed by Vitellius, and assembled in favour of Vespassans cause, required their former place: likewise the fouldiers, which upon colan fide, as it hope of the fame roome were chosen out of the Legions, demanded performance is not unlike of promife. Neither could Vitellius gard well be removed without much bloudanar many Legionaries were shed. So Mutianus, comming to the campe to the end he might better view their the more call-yeares of fervice, appointed the winners severally to stand, with their enfignes and ty manced to weapons, a little diftance afunder. Then he willed the Vitellian gard, as well those enter into the weapons, caule, upon which yeelded themselves at Bovilla, as others sought out within the citie & about to be produced in a maner unarmed, then to be divided, and those which were chohone of that fen out of the German and British armes, and so of the rest, if any were, to stand each by themselves. The first light hereof did straight amaze them, to see the contrary fide as in a pitched field flourishing with their weapons and darts, and themfelves without armour, deformed, and in poore miserable state closed about. But when they began to be drawen, and diffracted hither and thither, they trembled all. especially the German fouldiers, as if the separation tended only to fort them out to the flaughter; whereupon they fell to embrace their companions, to hang on their necks, to kiffe them as for their last farewell, befeeching not to leave them alone, and that in the like cause they might not abide harder fortune then others, with obfecrations fometimes to Mutianus, fometimes to the Prince that was absent, sometimes to the gods and the heavens to releeve their diffressed estate; till such time as Mutianus calling them all liege men of one foveraigne, and fouldiers of the fame Prince, eased them of this vaine feare; the rest of the souldiers present with a shout furthering their teares, and declaring themselves to favour their cause: and so for that day the matter was shut up. Some few dayes after Domitian in an Oration made offer unto them of land and possessions, who being now assured and out of all feare, did boldly refuseit, praying to have their former service and wages againc. It was but a prayer, mary fuch as could not be denyed: and fo they were received into the Gard. Afterward they which had ferved their yeeres, and accomplished their program pur just number of stipends, were honourably dismissed: some others criminally, and finns quadin-for their misdemeanour fingled out one by one: the safest remedy to weaken and diffolve the confent of a multitude. Then a motion was made in the Senate, whether upon necessitie indeed, or becanse they would be have it to seeme so, that a fit, authorized Ioane should be made, by private men to the publike of stixty millions of selterces, and the charge thereof committed to Poppaus Silvanus: but shortly after the neceffitie ceased, or the false semblant. Then by a law proposed by Domittan the Confulfhips conferred by Vitellius were difanulled: and Flavius Sabinus 'funcmed, amount rals were celebrated with Cenforiall pompe: great demonstrations of fortunes ing to above ficklenesse, turning upside downe whatsoever seemeth high in the world.

I Funerals were colebrated with Cenfortall pompe] Conformin funns the most honourable, and solemne manner of buriall: as the Cenforship was the most honourable office, and accomplishment, as it were of all other. Polybius lib. 6. faith, that in the buriall of a Confull, or Prator, certaine chosen out for the likeli to the dead perfon accompanied the corfe didin courses onely, thatis, in refle pragata purpura: in the burrall of a Cenfor ст породой, та рагрита. XIX. The XIX. The death of Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke.

Bout the same time Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke was slaine: the truth of which murther I will briefly fet downe, resuming first certaine former matters, which may feeme to have ministred chiefly occasion, and cause to such like inconveniences. The Legion in Africke, and the Aides affigned to guard the frontiers of the Empire that way, in the time of Augustus, and Tiberius, were under the government of the Proconfull, till Caius a Prince of a troubled braine, & having in jealouse M. Silanus, who then was Proconsullof Africke, removed the Legion from the Proconsull, delivering it to a Lieutenant sent for that purpose. The parting of an office thus between two without subordination, and their charge and noints of commission lying intermingled, and running joyntly together, bred and nourished, as was intended, discords and quarels: and so through finisher emulation the Lieutenants office incroched & grew, either because they continued longer in charge, or because inferiour persons commonly take more paine & delight in contending with their superiours, the greatest men of the Proconsuls, seeking rather fafety then might. Now at this time Valerius Festus was Lieutenant of the Legion there, a riotous young man, and one that gaped after great matters, but much perplexed in minde, by reason he was so nearly allyed to Vitellius. This Valerius in his often conferences which he had with Pifo, whether he perswaded him to take upon him the estate, or opposed himselfe against Pisoes soliciting it is uncertain, for artheir fecret comunication none was present beside : and when Piso was slaine most men inclined to favour the slayer;) certaine it is, that the province and fouldiers were ill affected toward Vespasian. And some of the Vitellianists escaping out of the citie, layed downe before Pifo the great possibilitie of effectuating that purpose: that France was in termes of revolting, Germanie readie to side themselves with him, adjoyning the danger wherein he ftood for his owne person, and that in a suspected peace open warre was the onely safe course. As these things were in doirg, Claudius Sagitta captaine of the Petrin wing came thither, having outfayled Papirius a Centurion fent by Murianus, and avouched that the fayd Centurion had Commission to dispatch Piso: that his kinsemen and sonne in law Galerianus was already dispatched in Rome; so that the onely hope of safety consisted in venturing boldly; and of venturing there were but two wayes, either straight to take armes, or fayling into France to offer himselfe there for a head to the Vitellian armies. Notwithstanding all which allegations Pifo persisted unmoveable: and anon the Centurion fent by Mutianus came, who affoone as he arrived at the port of Carthage proclamed Pilo Emperour, withing to him as Prince all fucceffe and prosperitie, and requiring all that he met, being amazed at the wonder, to joyne in the fame cry. The credulous common people flocked in the market place & demanded the presence of Piso, filling the citie with shouts and acclamations of joy, partly upon negligence to fearch out the truth, and partly upon a pleasure in flatterie. But Pifo, whether upon the intimation of Sagitta, or of his owne modestie, refrained from going abroad and committing himfelfe to the peoples discretion, & examining the Centurion, perceiving it was but a fnare to intrappe him, and foto make him away, he commanded him to be flaine, not fo much for hope of escaping himselse by so doing, as upon just indignation against the Centurion, because the sume man had beene one of the murtherers of Clodius Macer, and meant to bring

1 Initio flatim H.S. opa effe one of the greatest sums three hundred

millions of pounds. That is, 468750. pound fter-

his hands lately embrued with the bloud of a Lieutenant now to the flaughter of a Proconfull. Then he checked the Carthaginians with a sharpe and severe edich & ceased to execute even the usuall points of his office, keeping still within dores, lest any occasion of new commotion by mischance might arise. Festus understanding how the people was daunted and dashed, the Centurion slaine, and other occurrencies part true, part false, or enlarged and amplified, as fame feedeth in going. fendeth certaine horsemen to murther Piso; who making all haste in the dawning of the day brake into the house of the Proconful with drawen swords, the most part not knowing Pifo by fight, being Auxiliaries of the countrey, and Moores picked out for the purpose. Whereupon meeting one of his servants, not far from his bedchamber, they asked him who he was, and where l'ifo was to be found: the servant perceiving his mafters danger, notably and refolutely answered, that he was Pifo. and so was presently slaine in the place: by and by after Piso himselfe was massacred. For there was in the company Bebius Massa, one of the Procurators of Africk. that knew him; even then a worker of good mens destruction, and one that often willfall in the course of this storie, as an instrument of the mischeises, and a cause In Dimitians of the miseries that we sustained afterward. Festus in the meane time stayed at Adrumetum to watch how the matter succeeded, & from thence went to the Legion, where he commanded Cetronius Pifanus the Campe-mafter to be committed to ward, upon private displeasures, betweene them, pretending that he was an abettour, and complice of Pifo. Some fouldiers also and Centurions he punished, and fome he rewarded: neither of them for any defert, but because he would seeme to have ended a warre. Then he tooke up the debates betweene the * Ophenies and Leptitani, which of small beginnings, as robbing of cattell & corne from the country men, were now by force of armes maintained in the field. For the Ophenies being the weaker fide had called the Garamantes to aide them, a favage people and altogether given to robbing & stealing upon their neighbours: whereupon the Lentitani were hardly bested, and their fields being round about wasted, trembled for feare within the walled townes, till fuch time as the cohorts and wings came, who put the Garamantes to flight, and recovered all the spoile, save onely that which certaine out-riders had carried further into the countrey, & fold there among their wild inacceffible cottages.

> XX. Vespasian at Alexandria receiveth advertisement of the death of Vitellius. The embassage of Vologesus king of the Parthians to him. Titus speech with his father. Corneis fent to Rome. The foundation of the Capitoll is laied.

Fter the battell at Cremona, and good newes from all quarters, many of all forts hazarded to put themselves upon the rough winter seas, and sailed with faftie to carrie Vespasian the newes that Vitellius was slaine: and king Voloh Vao die faith gefus Embaffadours were there offering forty thousand Parthian a horsemento aid Suct. Dominiano him. It was a glorious and joyfull thing, to be fought unto with offers of fo great affiftance, and yet not to need them. So thankes were given to Vologefus, and he offina atque pe- willed to fend an Embaffage to the Senate, and affure himselfe of peace with the Romanes. Vespasian converting his cares upon Italie, and the affaires of the Citie, was advertised somwhat hardly concerning Domitians dealings, as if he had bpasttante quod fue- fed the bounds of his age, & carried himselfe above his compasse rather like an Emperour then an Emperours sonne. Therefore the most serviceable part of his army

he delivereth over to Titus willing him to profecute and finish the Jewish warre. It is reported that Titus before his departure used long speech and intreatie with his there at Alexan-father, desiring him not to be leeve lightly, or enter in choler at the tale of every miss for this hickbiter, but rather to referve himselfe free for an indifferent audience, and carry ther he accombackbiter, but lather to refer time from the former there were Legions nor navies for panied his fafrong defences and rampiers of a Princes estate, as the multitude of children. thence return-Friends with time and fortune, fometimes by unadvifed desires, or overlights, de-ed back to Cocrease, fall from us and fade, whereas a mans owne bloud cleaveth fast, and cannot voyage is parbe disjoyned: especially in Princes, whose prosperity as well may others injoy, but utually detheir adversitie touched none neere, but their neerest in bloud: and how should scribed by for they two being brethrenagree, if the father gave not first an example. Vefpa fian litt words of not so much pacified toward Domitian, as delighted with the good nature of Titus his south badhim be of good comfort, and looke to his charge in advancing the weale pub-book & Dook lick with armes in the field; himfelfe would take order with matters of peace, and domestical lastaires. Then he committed to sea, which as yet was tempestuous, his best ships of saile fraught with corne: for the Citie was in such distresse, and stood inthose termes of famishing, that when the come came from Vespasian, they had not at all in their storehouses above ten daies provision. As concerning the setting upof the Capitoll againe, he committed the chargethereof to Lucius Vestinus a Gentleman of Rome, but for authoritie and countenance one of the principall men of the city; by whom the foothfaiers being called together expresly charged, that the reliques of the former temple should be conveied and carried away into the marifles, and the new erected upon the selfe same foundation: for it was not the pleafure of the gods the old forme should be altered. The one and twentieth of June being a goodly faire day the whole plot of the Temple was bound, and tied about peniga goodly have day the whole protot the Venigle was bothed, and tech adoptions enwith fillers and garlands. The fouldiers, whose mannes had lucky fignifications entions, comingetred in with fortunate boughes. Afterward the Vestall Virgins, with boies and girles ratio exercium, which had both father and mother alive, washed it with waters setched from rivers, confer populari which had both lattier and model: art c, wanted it will fact to be Pretor, Plantus Eliluftrarie, honis
and forings, and running ftreames. Then Helvidius Prifens the Pretor, Plantus Elinominibus qui anus one of the chief Priests going before him, hallowed the floore with a folemne infliat discrept factifice of a swine, a sheepe and a bullocke, and laying the entrailes upon a greene eligibantur: naturice of a twine, a free per and a burnocke, and my free cite area aportagice of quadidem in turfe, calling first upon Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and the rest of the gods protectors destine consider of the Empire, that they would profper the work, exalt and advance this their owne offerant, we habitation, begun by the devotion of men, with their divine and celestiall power, primus mile fag he put his hands to the fillets and ropes, wherein a huge mighty stone was fast tied, and withall the rest of the Magistrates and Priests, the Senate and Gentlemen, and agreat part of the people preffing with great defire and joy, drew the stone to the foundations, throwing in withall ingots of gold and filver, and oare never tried in the furnace, but raw as it grew: for the foothfaiers forewarned that the worke flould not be defiled with ftone, or gold which had beene deftinated to any other use: onely the roofe was made higher: that alteration alone was not disallowed by the gods, and the former temple, for want of proportion that way, was thought to lacke statelinesse, and majesty convenient for a building, wherein such a masse of men should be holden.

of Cornelius Tacitus.

t He committed the charge thereof] Molt of the other writers affirme contrary to Tacitus, and to the truth as I thinke, that Verpalian was prefent at the laying of the first foundation of the Capitoll. Sucton. Vefp. a Cap. & Pop Ciantes relieviniocum equivait age ellier und vibus prograndis manus atimooit, ac fue celle queedam extuit. Xiphilin thinin the in generatio debit about a per a re extension and a generatio debit about a per extension and a generatio debit about a per extension and a generation debit about a recommendation of the comple in the Capitoll, bimfelfe firft carrying out fom: part of the rubble. And yet by Tacitusthe greatest man prefent in thisaction was Helvidius Pricus Prætor urbanus, the higheft office in the absence of the Confuls. And surely beside

time, Tac. in vita Agricole. Plinius in Epi-Rolis.

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* Ocenies.

40. millia sa. giitario &, fai h Suctonius Vefpaf.c.6.not difagreeing from Taritus : for the Parthian were c. 1 fuper triginta urbana regrina destribu i', mirari fe Veftafiano di-

b Cab. 39

when and

French by

the credit of Tacitus, who may overweight wenty such writers at randon, I cannot see how in possibility Vespasian could well be in Rome before the one and twentieth of June: for at Alexandria he attended certain moneths, saith our authour, certa mais opperiens. Now from the eleventh day of November to the tenth of March, faith Vegetius. (lib. 4) maria clauduntur : from the tenth of March to the fifteenth of May, periculose maria tentamur, and not lightly ventured upon but by merchants: fo that before the middle of May or there about it is not likely he fet out of Alexandria. Zonaras seemeth to say, that he stayed a great while longer in Egypt, then otherwise he would have done, upon hope that Jerusalem might have beene wonne before his departure, and so Titus should have accompanich him also to Rome. Againe the voyage of Vespasian to Rome was long, and much of it performed by land, and many great tusinesses dispatched in the way. Josephus and to Suctonius and others, So that in all reason his entry into Rome was toward the latter end of the sommer, and so he was not present at the soundation of the Capitoll.

XXI. The Treveri and Lingones, at the instigation of Clusicus, Tutor, and Sabinus affembling fecretly in the councell at Coleyn determine to revolt from the Romaries. Vocula removeth from Magontiacum to Coleyn, Claudius Labeo maketh a roade against the Caninefates without great effect.

7 Hen the death of Vitellius was heard of in France and Germanie, it

doubled the warre. For Civilis now laying afide diffimulation declared himselfe, and made open warre against the Romane Empire. The legions which had ferved Vitellius wished rather forraine bondage, then to have Vespasian their Prince. The Frenchmen conceived courage, and hope of freeing themselves from the yoke, supposing that the same fortune was befallen to our armies in all placesalike: and indeed a rumour was noised that our standing campes in Pannonia and Moessa were straitly besieged by the Sarmatians and Dacians: the like was reported of Britannie. But nothing perfwaded them fo much to beleeve, that the Romane Empire was come to an end, as the burning of the Capitoll. For the city had beene once before taken by the French, but the feat of Jupiter then being untaken. the Empire stood and remained: whereas now by this fatall fire a manifest signe of the gods heavy wrath, and displeasure was given. And the Druides out of their Primm: Gal-vain superstitious learning did prophesie that the Empire of the world was to passe, narian 20 June 21, and be seated beyond the mountains. Moreover a common same went, that the redium milis. a noblemen of France, when they were fent by Otho against Vitellius, did cove-Who thete Primeres Galli- nant together before their departure, that in case the Romane Common-wealth gram were, and ceased not thus to be torn by multiplying of civill wars, and domesticall troubles one straight succeeding another, they would joyntly attempt to recover their ancifrom whence ent libertie againe. But before the murther of Hordeonius Flaccus nothing brake against Vitelli- out whereby the conspiracie might be perceived: after his death there puffed mes-45, I conceive fages, between Civilis and Clafficus captaine of the wing of the Treveri. Clafficus be ment of the in birth and wealth farre exceeded the rest of that quarter. He was extract from the Romane Score- line of their ancient Kings, his ancestors renowned in warre and in peace, and toiars, whereof himselse boasted to be descended of enemies to the people of Rome, rather then friends. Unto him in this action adjoyned themselves Julius Tutor, & Julius Sabibirth, whom nus, the one of Triers, the other a Lingon. Tutor was appointed by Vitellius over-Otto anumed into his traine feer of the bank of Rhene. Sabinus besides a naturall vanitie was pricked forward against Vitelli- with the vain-glory of a supposed kinred; that his great grandmother for her beauus: but men tie had pleased Julius Cæsar, when he warred in France, and was by him carnally of their quality known. These three by secret conferences searched the mindes and inclinations of should have nother eft: and when they had made acquainted, and affociated to them such as they great cause to supposed fit for the purpose, they appointed a meeting in Coleyn, in a private an alteration, house: for the publike state of the Citie utterly abhorred all such attempts. Notwithstanding withstanding certaine of the Ubijand Tungri were present at the consultation: but the strongest part and that which carried the matter was of the Treveriand Lingones. Neither made they any long deliberation, but all with one voyce cryed amaine, that the Romans did nothing but rage in civill differtions, that the Legi-backy like onswere flaine, Italy wasted, and the Citie of Rome even taken; that all the armies were held occupied every one with their feverall warres: and if the Alpes were forrified with good and sufficient garrison, and so their liberty won and affured, then might France determine at leifure what course to take of further proceeding, and how far they lift to enlarge. This was no sooner said then allowed: a scruple remained concerning the remnant of the Romane fouldiers. Many were of minde that they were to be put to the sword, as mutinous, and faithlesse persons, and polluted with the bloud of their leaders: but the opinion of sparing them prevailed, least hope of pardon being taken away they would become desperate. So it was thought more convenient by faire meanes to allure them to the partie and that the Lieutenants alone being made away, the common fouldiers would eafily be wonne to the fide upon guiltinesse of their owne misdeeds, and hope of impunitie. This was the forme of their first consultation, and some were sent abroad into France to kindle and stirre up the warre: they themselves pretended all subjection and obedience to Vocula, that they might oppresse him at the more unawares. Vocula had secret intelligence hereof, but he had not forces to punish it, his Legions being both thinne, and unstedfalt. So between unsure fouldiers, and secret enemies, supposing it the best way that now he could take to use their owne arts against them, he diffembled the matter and went downe to Coleyn. Thither Claudius Labeo was escaped, having corrupted his keepers; who as before we have faid was taken, and confined out of the way into Frisia, and promising that if he might have men he would goe into Batavia, and reunite the greatest part of the countrey agains to the Romane Empire: having a pretty company of horsemen and footemen affigned, he durst not enterprise any thing amongst the Batavians, but drew certaine of the Nervii and Bethafij after him into the field, and rather by stealth, then by way of open invalion, made fome incursions upon the Canine fates and Marfaci.

XXII. Classicus and Tutor corrupt Voculaes souldiers. Vocula at Novesium is for saken by his souldiers, and saine, who immediately sweare fidelitie th the Empire of France.

7 Ocula allured by the fraude of the Frenchmen removeth towards the enemy. a In the fourth When they approached to Vetera, Classicus and Tutor pricking before un-years of The country der colour of discovering met with the Germane Captaines, and concluded by plaine unthe bargaine, and thereupon encamped their companies with a feverall trench prisonal additional from the Legionary fouldiers. At which figne of manifest contempt and revolutional diminisher conceiving great indignation cryed aloud, that the Romane state was the interfer the not by civill warres brought yet to so low an ebbe, as that the Treverial so and Lin-lingones and company and the state of the state gones need to defpise it: so many countreys continuing faithfull, our armines being Treem, and did victorious, the fortune of the Empire standing entire, & the gods ready to revenge them to the Empire standing entire, & the gods ready to revenge them to this persidious part: so along agoe Sacrovir and the Aedui, so of late Vindex and France true: France were overthrowne, each at one blow, and now also the persidious breakers is, that he abately the standard of the standard abatement of their tributes hath made them our enemies. Now they are foes be-audience.

fortuna prefens

exempla diff-

ciunt?

cause their yoke is too gentle, but when they shall be ransackt and stript of their wealth, they will be our friends and subjects againe. When Vocula had thus spoken with great spirit and courage, seeing Classicus and Tutor notwithstauding to continue in their traiterous purpose, he retired back to Novesium. The French. men sate downe two miles from the towne in the fields, to which place the Centu. rions and fouldiers reforting from Novesium were bought, and corrupted toa villanie never heard of before, that a Romane armie should sweare allegeance to strangers, and for a pledge of so wicked a part, either kill their Lieutenants, or deliver them prisoners. Vocula, albeit many counselled him to withdrawe, chusing rather to stick to it manfully, then cowardly to flee, called an assembly, and spake to them in this manner.

"I never at any time spake unto you, either more carefull for you, or careles for "my selfe. That my destruction is purposed I am well contented to heare, and ac-"cept death in these troubles as an end of my miseries. Of you I am ashamed, and "you do I pity, not because any martiall exploit, or matter of armes is intended a. "gainst you, for that were agreeing to a fouldiers profession, and according to the "law of the field at an enemies hand: but because Classicus with your hands hopeth "to fight with the Romans, and abuseth your simplicity with the goodly oath and "imaginary Empire of France. * Are we fo far now fallen, not onely from our for-"tune & courage, but even from our ancient precedents too? For how oft did the virtuffue defer "Roman Legios chuse rather to die then yeeld one inch of ground to the enemy? nit, etian vittera "Our allies have many time fuffered their cities to be razed, the felves, their wives "and their children to be confumed to ashes, without gaining other reward, save "only to keep their faith and their fame. The Legions at Vetera support with all "patience hunger and siege, and yeeld neither for sear nor faire words. We, besides "men and armour, and a camp strongly fortified, have provision and victuals suffi-"cient for a long war, if need were. Money lately we had, not onely for pay, but al-"foto serve for donative too: which whether you list to accept as comming from "Vefpasian, or from Vitellius, sure both wayes it came from a Romane Emperour.

"If you do it for feare of the battell (albeit it be no admittable reason in you who

"have foiled to often at Gelduba, at Vetera, and to many times overthrowne thee-

"nemy) we have trenches, and wals, and waies to prolong till more strength and

"fupply come from the countreys about us. If it be for displeasure at me, you have

"other Lieutenants and Tribunes, nay Centurion or common fouldier, make your

"choice of any so he be a Romane to lead you. Let never for shame so prodigious a

"thing be bruited throughout the whole world, that Civilis & Classicus should in-

"vade Italy, having a guard of Romans attendant. What if the Germans & French-"men should lead etoward the wals of the city? will you fight against your own na-"tive soile and sharpen your speares against the wombe of your mother. The onely "conceit of so great an impiety striketh an horrour into my minde. Shall Tutor of "Triers have watch and ward as a Prince? shall a Batavian give you the signe of the "battell? will you be carried about for supplements to the Germane regiments? "and what end will you finde of your treason? when the Romane Legions shall "march out against you what shall become of you then, but of fugitives to be fugi-"tives againe, and traitors of traitors, between your old oath and your new, an ab-"omination to the Gods, and to men? O thou most might yand mercifull Jupiter, "whom with fo many triumphs these eight hundreth and twenty years we have a-"dored and worshipped: and thou Romulus the founder and father of the citie, I

" pray and most humbly befeech you, that if it be not your heavenly pleasures, that

"under my hand and government this campe should be kept uncorrupted and "clean, yet at least you will not permit it to be polluted, and stained by Tutor and "Classicus: and that it would please you to inspire to the Romane souldier, either "a minde to follow honourable courses, or else a speedy and harmeles repentance. The oration was diverfly taken, as of men diverfly affected between fear, hope, and shame. After the speech Vocula withdrew himselfe, and consulting upon his end, was by his freedmen and bondmen staied from a voluntary preventing of a most shamefull death: for Classicus sent by and by Æmilius Longinus a sugitive of the first Legion to dispatch that piece of service. As for the Lieutenants, Herennius, et Herennius and Numifius, it feemed fufficient to put them in prison. Then Classicus assuming Lieutenant of the markes and ornaments of the Romane governours came into the campe: and the first Legialbeit he were hardened to all kinde of desperate mischiefe, yet would not his utrerance then ferve him any further, but barely to recite the words of the oath. All was at Bonna that were present sware sidelitie to the Empire of France. Then he advanced the of the six murtherer of Vocula to a higher place, and the rest he rewarded, each according to teenth at Nothe lewd fervice they did.

XXIII. Tutor bringeth Coleyn and all upper Germany to the oath of France. The Legions of Vetera surrender the place to Civilis with condition onely of faving their lives : which not withstanding is not performed.

Frerthefethings Classicus and Tutor divided charges. Tutor with a strong Apower lay about Coleyn, and brought both them, and all the fouldiers which lay upon the upper bank of the Rhene, to the same oath, slaying the Tribunes at Magontiacum, & driving away the Camp master which resused to sweare. Classicus suborned certaine of the lewdest companions of those which had yeelded themselves commanding them to go to Vetera, and there to proclaime pardon to all those, that would submit themselves to follow the present course: otherwise to looke for no hope but fword, and famine and all extremities. They which were fent used their owne example as a motive unto them. On the one side the respect of their loyaltie, on the other their present necessitie, distracted the persons belieged, betweene the two courses of honour and shame. While they delayed to refolve, their food failed them both usuall and unusuall: they had caten their mules and horfes, and other creatures, which being otherwife abhorred and loathed, hunger had made favorie and fweet: and laftly feeding of branches, and fprigs, and pulling of graffe which grew in the wals, they were a patterne of mifery and patience, till füch time as fending Embaffadors to Civilis for life, they frained their honorable actions with a shamefull and dishonorable end. Neither was their petition admitted, before they sware fidelity to France. Then he granted them life, referving the spoile of the campe to himselfe, and appointed keepers to stay the money, the servants, and stuffe, and others to conduct the souldiers empty away. About five miles off the Germanes lying in ambush, rose and suddenly set upon them unawares, such as were most valiant and made resistance were slaine where they stood: many were cut off in the flight, the rest recovered the campe. Whereupon Civilis made complaint and rebuked the Germans as having wickedly broken their faith; whether it was but a countenance of his, or else he could not bridle them in their fury is not affuredly knowne. When the campe was ranfacked they fet it on fire, and all the men that escaped in the field, were burned therein.

XXIIII. Civilis

XXIIII. Civilis upon performance of his vow cutteth his beard. Of Velleda Queen of the Brutterians. Two Legions of them which for fook Vocula and yeelded them selves to Classicus, namely the sixteenth and the first the one from Novestum the other from Bonna their standing campes, are by commandement transported to the Triers.

2 Tas. de morib. Germ. Aliis Germanorum populis usieatum rara & privata cujufque audentia apud Cottos in confensum vertit ut primum adol.vebamque sumgatumque vir tuti oris babitum.

Ivilis upon a barbarous vow when he first entred warre with the Romanes, fuffered his yellow haire to grow long without barbing, and now, as upon acc complishment thereof caused it to be cut, when the slaughter of the Legions was performed: and it was reported, that hee fet up as markes, certaine of the captives, for his little sonne to shoote and dart at in sport. Neverthelesse neither did he sweare, nor caused any Batavian to take the outh of France, trusting in the ftrength and affiftance of the Germanes, and if there should happen hereafter conrint crinem bar-tention to grow with the French about the Empire, accounting himselfe both of more name and abilitie. Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant of a Legion among militine specific the present other presents were sent to Velleda, a Virgin of the Bructerian nation, and Oucene revolveum oblivover many countreys: fo the old manner of the Germanes is, to believe many of their women to be Prophetesses, and so, superstition increasing, goddesses. And at that time the authoritie of Velleda was grown in more reputation, by reason that shee had told before hand the Germanes should prosper, and the Romane Legions should be destroyed. But Lupercus was slaine in the way: a few Centurions and Tribunes French born were referved as a pledge of alliance and amity. The flanding campes of the cohorts, wings and Legions, were overthrown and burned. those onely excepted which were at Magontiacum and Vindonissa. The fixteenth Legion with the Auxiliaries, which at the fame time yeelded themselves, was commanded to depart from Novefium to Triers, and a day fet down, before which they should avoid the campe. The meane time was spent in fundry cares. Some of the cowardlieft were terrified with the late example of them which were flaine at Vetera, in their issuing out; the better fort blushed for shame, to thinke of the infamous and dishonourable journey, whom they must follow for guides, and how all things should be at the simple pleasure & discretion of those, whom they had made Lords over their life and death: others without respect of dishonour packed about them mony and fuch things as were of most price: others made ready their harnesse and buckled themselves to their weapons as though they were going to field. While they were thus musing, and casting their cards, the houre of remove was come. more grievous and dolefull then was imagined. For within the trench the deformitie of the spectacle was not so apparent: the field and the day discovered the shame, the images of the Emperours being plucked out of their places, the enlignestied up, whereas contrarily the French banners gliftered and plaied on overy hand; in fumme a filent and forrowfull troupe, and as it were a long funerall pompe. The conductour Claudius Sanctus augmented the indignitie, one eyed, ill-favoured in countenance, and weaker in wit. The dishonor was doubled, when as the first Legion relinquished their campe at Bonna, upon the like commandement adjoyned themselves to the other; and the countreymen, that a little before quaked for seare at the very name of a Romane, when the fame of the Legions captivity was noised, ran out of the houses, and fields from all quarters, to gaze and feed their eyes with fo ftrange a fight. The Picentine wing could not endure the joy, and infulting of the people, but neglecting as well the threats as the promifes of Sanctus, turned to Magontizcum; and meeting by chance in the way Longinus the murtherer of Vocula with their darts flew him for a begining of future amends. The Legions went forward in their purposed journey, and sate downe before the wals of Triers.

> XXV. An embassage of the Teneterians to them of Coleyn. Coleyn yeelded to Civilis and Velleda upon reasonable composition.

IVILIS and Classicus puffed up with prosperous successe made a queftion, whether they should permit the city of Coleyn to bee sacked by their fouldiers. Their naturall inclination to cruelty and covetousnes drew them that way, but the policy of warre was against it, and especially the opinion of clemency needfull in those which are to found a new Empire: the remembrance also of a private benefit made Civilis more tractable toward them, because in the very beginning of the troubles taking his sonne in their towne they committed him to honourable custodie. Notwithstanding the nations beyond the Rhene envied the riches, and growing of the city, and judged there could be no end of war, unleffe that towne were either made a common habitation for all Germans indifferently, or else rased to the ground, and so the Ubii also dispersed. Wherfore the Tencteri, a people only fevered from them by the river, fent an embassage, with instruction to declare their charge in the common councell of Coleyn, which one of the most im-"perious among the embassadours uttered in this peremptory manner. We thanke "our gods and yours, and Mars cheife of all gods, the you are returned into the corps "and communitie, and name of Germanie; and we rejoyce for your fakes, that you "shal at length live as freemen among freemen. For hitherto the Romans have shut "both water and land, and in a manner the very heaven it selfe betweene you & us "to hinder our conferring & meeting, or elfe which is more contumellous to mar-"tiall men, that we should never have accesse to your city but unarmed, and naked "almost and that guarded and paying a toll. But now, to the end that this mutuall "league of alliance and friendship may stand & continue for ever, we require of you "to pull downe the walles of your towne, the bulwarkes of your bondage, for even "wilde beafts shut up forget their accustomed valour and vertue. Next we require "you to kill all the Romans within your territory: liberty and Lords cannot dwell "together. Then to bring out all their goods and divide them in common, that no "man should hide any thing, or seeke to sever his cause from the rest. Moreover that "it may be indifferent both for us, and you, as it was in times past to our fathers, to "converse and inhabite upon both sides of the river. As nature hath communicated "the day and the night to all men, so she hath layed open all lands of the world to "valiant minds. Refume your ancient customes and lawes, laying aside all your ef-"feminate pleasures, by which meanes, more then with armes the Romans subdue "nations & countries. So shall you be a people uncorrupt, without admixtion of "forraine manners or bloud: fo shall you forget servitude, & either live in liberty, or "be lords over others. The Agrippinenses taking a time to deliberate: seeing neither future feares would permit them to yeeld to the conditions, nor their prefent "estate plainely to refuse them, made answere in this manner. We have taken, you "fee, the first opportunity of recovering our liberty, perchance with more hast then "good speede, that we might be joyned with you, and the rest of the Germans our "kinfmen: The fourth Book of the History

"kinfmen:but feeing the Roman armies do gather of al fides against us, it is meeter "and fafer to strengthen, then to pull downe the wals of our city. As for strangers. "Italians or other, which lived among us, either they are flaine in the warres, or fled "home to their countries. To them which be ancient inhabitants among st us, and "are linked with us in marriage, and to their of-spring, this countrey is their own na-"tive foile: neither do we thinke you fo unreasonale as to wish us to kill our parents. "our bretheren, or children. For taxe and tallages we acquite and discharge you for "ever: you shall passe and repasse without all impeachment, but onely in the day "time, and unarmed, tillour raw and new amity be joyned, and confirmed by con-"tinuance and custome. Civilis and Velleda shall be arbiters: to their knowledge we referre the cause, and the conclusion of the whole treatie. The Teucheri being thus in part pacified, embaffadours were fent to Civilis and Velleda with prefents who obteyned all things as they of Coleyn defired: onely they were not admitted to have accesse of speech with Velleda, nor suffered to see her, for more keeping of flate, and to maintaine a more reverend conceit in the hearts of the people. She was lodged in a high tower, and one of her kinred appointed to carry as from a goddeffe her oracles and answers.

XXVI. The Beth: fii, Tungri and Nervii yeeld to Givilis.

*Ivilis thus strengthened with new increase of confederates, resolved to asfociate the cities adjoyning, or to warre against them if they resisted. So he tooke in the Sunici, and composed their able men into cohorts: but as he purposed to have passed further, Claudius Labeo with a raw company of Bethasii. Tungri, and Nervii, having feifed upon the bridge of the Mofe, and trusting to the advantage of the place opposed himselfe and stopped his passage. The event of the skirmishwas doubtfull in the straites, till the Germans swimming over the river came upon Labeos backe: and withall Civilis, whether upon a bold veuture, or upon a fet match, rushed into the middest of the Tungri, and with a loud voice protefted, that the warre was not undertaken to that end, that the Batavians & Treven should be soveraignelords over all other nations: Farre be all such arrogancy (quoth he) from our thought: only receive us as your good friends and allies. Lo here for my part I commit my felfe to your hands, employ me as you lift, either for a captain or a common fouldier. The common people was much moved at the fe words, and put up their fwords, and Campanus and Juvenalis chiefe men of the Tungrians yeelded the whol enation unto him; Labeo before he was compassed in, sled away. The Bethafii alfo and Nervii yeelded themselves: whom Civilis adjoyning to his power became very puissant and strong, all the cities either fearing, or favouring him voluntarily.

XXVII. Iulius Sabinus with his Lingones giveth battell to the Sequani, and is overthrowne.

In the meane feafon Julius Sabinus, breaking downe the monuments & records of the Roman alliance, tooke upon him the ftyle and title of Cæfar, & led after him a huge and rude company of his countrey folkes, the Lingones, against the Sequani, a state bordering upon them, and faithfull to us. Neither did the Sequani refuse to wage battell, wherein fortune favoured the better side, and the Lingones

were discomfitted. Sabinus as rashly he enterprised to give battell without due cir. **Xiphila cumspection, so without feare of shame he ranne cowardly away: and to raise a ruse which mour that he was dead, he set on sire the house into which he was knowne to have able to restrict the state of the convenient place we will shew by what meanes, and secret a shifts. But hereafter in **ponsisting a substantial convenient place we will shew by what meanes, and secret a shifts he prolonged it a shifts above, for the space of nine yeares, and withall the rare faithfulnesse of his friends, and the space of shifts wise Epponina.

XXVIII. A Diete of the cities of France summoned at Rheyms. The preparations at Rome for the warre against the Batavians, Treveri, and Lingones.

The Diete at Rheyms resolveth upon peace, notwithstanding the embassage of the Treveri and Lingones, and the allegations of Tullus Valenti-

nus to the contrary. His fuccesse of the Sequani rebated and staied the violent course of the warre. The cities began to confider better of matters, and to remember their covenants and leagues with the Romanes, at the motion principally of the Remi, Josephus abare, who fending messengers throughout France summoned a Diet, to deliberate what 7.60.11. difference of the control of the contro course they should take, keepe peace, or seek liberty. All these things reported at eth from Taci-Rome to the worfe, troubled Mutianus, leaft the captaines whom he had chofen, main some Annius Gallus and Petilius "Cerealis, albeit excellent men, should hardly be able that circumtowade through fo mighty a warre. Neither was it expedient to leave the citie doubt erreth, without a governour or head, and yet not in Domitians hand whose wilde and un- as that Cerealis, bridled affections were greatly feared: especially Antonius Primus, and Arrius consider was Varus, as before we have shewed, being suspected not fully to favour the state. fent Licute-Moreover Varus was captaine of the Guard and strong, as having fo many fouldiers trans, at commandement. Therefore Mutianus before his departure displaced him from (\$\frac{4}{3}\tau_0^{\text{\$\subsymbol{e}}}\tau_0^{\text{\$\subsymbol{e}}}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e}\text{\$\subsymbol{e} the roome, and least he should be discontent altogether, made him chief officer for and in its way the provision of corne: and to pacifie the minde of Domitian, that bare some good Germans and will unto Varus, he fet in his place over the Guard Arctinus Clemens, one neerely French revolution allied to the house of Vespasian, and dearely beloved of Domitian: alleadging that the matter. his father had worthily performed the fame place under Caius the Emperour. The' Sucton Domit, name was acceptable to the fouldiers, and the man, though a Senatour by calling, a. 2. expedition. was thought sufficient to discharge both the roomes. The greatest men of the city Gallam Gerwas thought to include to the hard so of France: fome others were taken in by mania(q; nq; nq; nq) mediand to provide for the voyage of France: fome others were taken in by mania(q; nq; nq) especialssuite. Domitian and Mutianus both of them prepared for the journey, diffuadentibus but not both minded alike; Domitian haftening forward upon hope, and young paternis amicis. bloud: Mutianus seeking delaies to retaine the siercenesse of Domitian, less if he inthonus sand put himfelte in possession of an army, through the heat of youth and ill counsellers, tum ut frair se, he should disturbe both the peace and the warre. The fixth and eighth of the english of victorious Legions, of the Vitellianists the one and twentieth, the second of the dignatione, ad-

lately enrolled, were conducted part over the Penin and Cottian Alpes, part over: Vid. amos.

the Graian: and moreover the fourteenth Legion was fent for out of Britanny, the p. 146,147. fixth and tenth out of Spaine. Now the cities of France partly upon the fame of creatis, and

the host approaching, and partly of their owne disposition inclining to the milder some after

course, met in councell at Rheyms, where an embassage of the Treveri attended, hum, as it apwhereof Tullius Valentinus was the chiefe man a principall sirebrand of the warre: book and the

who with a premeditate oration applied to the Romans all those objections, where-next.

ry with many

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cumflances.

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with mighty monarchies are usually charged, sparing no spite of words, nor art to aggravate matters against them; a factious person and apt to stirre troubles, and willingly heard of the multitude, by reason of his eloquence such as it was. But lulius Auspex, one of the noblemen of Rheims, discoursing of the puissance of the Roman power, and the great commodities of peace, and affirming that war might be commenced by cowards, but must be fought with the hazard of the most valiant men; and that even now the Roman legions were upon their backs, by this grave fpeech staied them all: the wifer fort with respect of duty and faith, the younger of danger and feare. And fo they commended the courage of Valentinus, but followed the counsell of Auspex. It is certain that the Treveri and Lingones had the worse audience in France, because in the comotion of Vindex they had sided themfelves with Verginius. Many were discouraged by reason of the emulation that would enfue between the provinces; what should be the head of the warre, from * Youde just austin - * whence should Law and soveraigntie be derived; and if they did conquer which change petereine. Thould be the feate-towne of the Empire. They were not yet conquerours, and yet were they at discord brawling about the presence; some alleaging their treaties and ancient leagues, fome their riches and present strength, and some their antiquitie. Whereupon the whole councell detesting the future confusion, affirmed and ratified the present estate. Letters also were written unto Treveri in the name of the common councell of France to defift from armes, whilest pardon might be easily obtained, and many would become futers in their behalfe if they repented. But Valentinus refused the courtesie, and at his returne stopped the ears of his city against this good motion, being a man rather plentifull in orations and speeches, then carefull for other provision of warre.

> XXIX. The one and twentieth Legion furnamed Rapax comethinto Germany. Sextilius Felix with his caborts overthroweth Tutor and the Treveri. Valentinus returning from the Diete stirreth up the w.rre againe, the two Legions transported from Novesium and Bonna to Triers departed to the Mediomatrici.

N like manner neither did the Treveri, nor Lingones, nor the rest of the states that revolted, carry themselves as the weight of the cause and the danger requi-▲ red:even the Captains themselves conferred not counsels together. But Civilis wandred about the wildes of Belgium to catch Claudius Labeo, or elfe to chase him out of the countrey: Clafficus lay for the most part idle & lazie, and as it were rook the fruition of his supposed gotten kingdome. Tutoralso slacked to make himselse strong upon the upper banck of the river, and with garrison to possess the passages and heights of the Alpes, whilest in the meane time the one and twentieth Legion brake in from Vindoniffa, and Sextilius I-clix, with the Auxiliarie cohorts by the way of Rhoetia; unto whom a wing of horse-men called Singulares (who marching at the first by Vitellius appointment toward Italy revolted afterward to Vespasian) adjoyning themselves. Their captaine was Julius Briganticus Civilis sisters fonne, mortally hating his uncle, and hated againe; as commonly the enmitties of nearest kinsfolkes, if once they fall out, are most despightfull and deadly. Tutor in creased his power confisting of Treveri with a fresh supply of Vangiones, Caracates, and Triboci, and that which added most strength with old experienced Legiopary fouldiers, both footmen and horse, some corrupted with hope, and others awed with feare: who at the first killed a cohort sent before by Sextilius Felix, and anon when the Romane captaines and armies approched, redeeming their former fault fled over to them, and were followed by the Triboci, Vangiones and Caracates. So Tutor being left alone with his Treveri eschewing Magontiacum fled to Bingium, trusting upon the strength of the place, because he had broken down the hridge of the river Nava: but Sextilius with his cohorts following his footsteps, and finding a forde descried his power, and overthrew it. This discomfiture utterly discouraged the Treveri: and the common people casting their weapons away returned to their husbandry. And certaine of the nobility that they might feeme to beforemost in laying hostility aside, fled to those cities for refuge which had not broken with the Romanes. The Legions, which, as before we declared, went by commandement from Novesiun and Bonna to Triers, voluntarily resumed the oathto Vespasian. These things were done in the absence of Valentius: who at his returne in a desperate sury and rage stirred the coales, and kindled the firea new. Whereupon the Legions got them away to the Mediomatrici, a state in league with the Romans: and Valentinus and Tutor perswaded the Treveri to take up their weapons againe, and go to the field, having first killed Herennius and Numifius the Lieutenants, to the intent that being without all hope of pardon, they might be more faftly united together in their wicked conspiracy.

XXX. Petilius Cercalis overthroweth the Treveri, taketh Valentinus alive, adjoyneth the two Legions from the Mediomatrici, and maketh an oration to the Treveri.

His was the state of the war, when Petilius Cerealis came to Magontiacum and by his prefence raifed great expectation, and hope of our fide. Cerealis himselfe was defirous of the battell, and having a better grace sometime to contemne the enemies, then alwaies to beware them, with lufty couragious words heinflamed his fouldier, as supposing, so soone as he could overtake the enemies without delay to joyne iffue in the field. A fupply of fouldiers fent out of France he turned home againe, willing them to fignifie fo much to the rest in his name, that the Roman Legions fufficed for the defence of the Roman Empire; and that all our good friends and allies should returne to their peaceable businesse, without further care, affuring themselves; that the war, now that the Romanes personally undertook it, was as good as already dispatched. That increased the obedience of the French: for having received their men back againe, they supported more easily all taxes and tributes, and were the more ready to performe all points of their dutie, because they saw their helpe was not needed. But Civilis and Classicus, when as they heard of the overthrow of Tutor, the flaughter of the Treveri, and the good fucceffe every where of their enemies, all in a fright and hafte feeke to unite their dispersed powers, sending messengers in the mean time to Valentinus one after another warning him to take heed to the main chance, and not rashly to venture and hazard the battell. With fo much the more expedition Cerealis diffy tched to the Mediomatrici, lying neerer upon the enemy, certaine to leade the two Legions thence to affule them on that fide: and affembling all the fouldiers at Magontiacum, and the power which he had brought with him over the mountaines, himfelfe marched forward, and at the third remove came to Rigodulum, a place naturally strong by reason of the high situation, and the river Mosella closing it in : where Va176

lentinus with a great power of Treveri was incamped; and had made it stronger by art, casting trenches and ditches about it, and mightie huge stones to hinder the paffage. But these fortifications terrified the Romane captaine nothing at all, but boldly he bad the footmen breake thorow, and appointed his battell of horsemen to clime up the mountaine, defpifing the enemy, whom he knew to be raw, and unskilful in fervice, and not to have that advantage by the difference of the place, that himself had by the difference of men. At the going up of the hil some little stay was made, untill the enemies had fpent their arrowes and darts: then coming to handy ftrokes, they were driven down headlong, and tumbled one over another, as it were ftones at the fall of a building: and part of the horsemen fetching about by easier a. fcents tookmany of the chiefe nobility of Belgium prisoners and amongst others Valentinus Generall that day of the field. The next day Cerealis entred the town of Triers. The fouldiers extreamely defirous to raze the city alleaging that here Clafficus, here Tutor was borne: here were the men through whose wicked conspiracy the Legions were belieged and flain. What had poore Cremona deserved so great. ly, as to be rooted out of the body of Italy because it differred the victory only one night-here in the confines of Germany stood the feat-town of rebellion entire, and triumphing with the spoiles, and flaughter of our armies and Generals. As for the spoile he might at his pleasure dispose of to the Princes behoofe, they could be contented with the burning and ruines of that rebellious colony, to requite thereby in fomepart the destruction of so many camps. Cerealis for fear of infamy, if he should be thought to nufle his fouldiers in licentionfnes and cruelty, repreffed their anger and they obeyed being become, now they had left off civil war, of more modelt behaviour also in forrain. Then the miserable pitifull spectacle of the Legions, which came from the Mediomatrici, drew mens minds to the colideration thereof. Upon the guilt of their offence they stood with a fad and for rowfull countenance, casting their eies down to the ground, no joyful greeting when the armies met nor answering ought to those that fought to incourage and comfort them, but hiding themfelves in their tents, not abiding to looke on the light: not fo much amazed with danger or fear, as with the shame & discredit. And even the conquerors were assonished at the fight, who not daring to speak begged their pardon with silenceand teares, till such time as Cerealis with comfortable words revived their spirits; affirming that those things, which indeed came to passe through the mutihous nesses the fouldiers, or the diffention of the leaders, or the malice of the enemies, were but fatall mischances, which could not be escaped; and therfore that day they should account the first both of their service, and oath: their former facts neither the Prince, nor he would remêber. Then were they received into the fame camp & proclamation made throughout all the bands, that no man in contention or auger should object to any of them their misseeds or mishaps. Then calling the Treveri & the Le-"gions to an affembly he spake unto them in this wife. I was never practifed in the "art of speaking: my profession is arms, & with arms I have made good proof of the "vertue of the Romans. But because words prevaile so much with you, & I seeyou "efteeme good and evill, not by their own natures, but by the speeches of factious "perfons, I thought it expedient to fay fomething, which now that the warre in a "manner is finished may be more behooveful for you to heare, then for us to speak. "The Romans, their Captains and Leaders, entred your countrey, and the rest of a bis 6 state. "France, not pricked by any defire of theirs, but requested thereto by your prede-"ceffors at what time civill diffentions had tired & ruined them and the Germans "called in by one fide brought both into thraldome. How many battels we have fought against the Cimbri and Teutones, what paines our armies have taken, and with what successe we have handled our selves in the German wars for your sakes, it is notoriously knowne; neither doe we therefore with so much expence of money and men quard the Rhene for the fafety of Italy, but left fome other Arioviftus should patte and conquer the kingdome of France. Or do you think your selves better beloved of Civilis & the Batavians, and the Germans over the Rhene, then your fathers and grandfathers were of their predecessors? the same causes still are remaining, and so will be for ever, to move the Germans to passe into France; to wir, saristying of their pleasures and lusts, avarice, and defire of changing feat, that leaving their mires and deferts, they may take possession of this fruitfull countrey, and you the inhabitants thereof, yeabut liberty and glorious shewes are pretended. Where was ever any, I pray you that fought to enthrall or usurpe over other, but he cloaked his purpoles with fome goodly titles? France never was without petty tyrants and wars, till ye came under our jurisdiction. We, albeit we have been often provoked, have put that onely as conquerors upon you, whereby peace might be maintained. For neither peace can be maintained without armes, nor armes without wages, nor wages without tribute: all other things are like to us both. You commonly govern our Legions, you are the Presidents of these and other provinces, no prerogative is kept from you, or referved for us. Againe, they which dwell far off, feele the commodity alike of a good prince, wheras tyrants oppresse most the neerest. As you endure and support with patience a barren yeare, if it happen, and unseasonable weather, and fuch other defects of nature; even fotolerate a little and beare with the riotous life or avarice of governours. Faults will be fo long as there be men: but neither are they continuall, and amends is commonly made by better which follow. Unleffe peradventure you hope for a more moderate, or eafier government under the reigne of Tutor and Clafficus, or that with leffe tribute then now is payd, armies can be maintained to hold out the Germans and Britans. For if the Romans, which the gods defend, should be dispossessed, what els can ensue but wars of nation against nation; and the confusion of the whole world: This frame is the workmanship of eight hundreth yeares, good fortune and discipline, which cannot be disfolved without the destruction of the diffolvers; but your danger, which have gold and riches the chiefelt causes of war, of all is the greatest. Therefore embrace your peace, and love that city whereof both you and we are members alike. You have proved both fortunes: let them be a warning unto you to chuse rather subjection with tafety then rebellion with ruine. With this speech he fetled their mindes and light ned their hearts who feared a heavy doome.

XXXI. Civilis and Classicus write to Cerealis.

A T the time that the Romane armie was within Triers, Civilis and Clafficus fent letters to Cerealis, the contents were, that Vefpafian was dead, although the Poftes concealed the matter: that Rome and Italy were confumed and wafted with inward warre. As for Mutianus and Domitian they were nothing elfe, but vaine names without forces: if Cerealis lift undertake the Empire of France, it were his best course, and they would not be against it, contenting themselves with their own cities and confines, or if battell pleased him better, even that they would not refuse. To these points Cerealis answered nothing to them, but sent the messenger that brought the letters, away to Domitian.

Q 2

XXXII. Civi-

XXXII. Civilis with his confederates overthrowne by Cercalis at Triers.

r N the meane feafon the enemies began to march, and approched on every fide in feverall companies: whom Cerealis permitting to joyn, was blamed by many I for fuffering them to unite, with whom he might have fought fingle, and defeated them easily being divided. The Roman army cast a ditch and trench about their campe, in the which they were before unadvifedly lodged without any defence. Among the Captaines of the other fide there was diverfitie of opinions, and the matter debated both waies. Civilis thought it expedient to ftay for the Germanes coming which dwelt over the Rhene, the terrour of which nations would tread under foot the Romane powers: as for the Frenchmen it mattered not much whar way they went, being nought els but a prey to the conquerors; and yet the strength of France, the Belgians, had either openly declared for them, or at least secretive wished them well. Contrarily Tutor affirmed, that by delay the Romanes would grow and increase, so many whole hosts coming in from every side, one Legion being already transported out of Britanny, others fent for out of Spaine, and many Legions at hand out of Italy, not of raw fouldiers, but old and well expert in war: as for the Germanes they looked for, what were they else but a kinde of unprofitable troubles of a campe, out of all awe and obedience to superiours, that would not be commanded nor ruled, but do all as they listed themselves? Now for money and gifts, the onely means to corrupt the Germanes, the Romanes had more abundance, and no man was so hasty to fight, but would rather chuse quietnesse then danger with the same hire. Whereas if they would presently fight, Cerealis had no other Legions as yet, but onely the remnants of the Germane army entangled with an oath to the Empire of France. And moreover this their late unlooked for fucceffeagainst Valentinus, & his rude untrained company, would be a baite unto the and their Generall to further raffinesse, and therefore they would without doubt venture againe, and fo fall into the hands not of an unskilfull youth, better feenein words and babble, then armes and military feates, but of Civilisand Clafficus. at the very fight of whom the enemies would tremble, calling to remembrance their former feares, and flights, and famines, and how of they had been taken and pardoned their lives. Neither doe the Treveri and Lingones keep in with the Romans now upon love and good will, but for feare: which take ye away and they will refume their weapons againe. Classicus approving the opinion of Tutor decided the controversie, & forthwith they proceed to execution. The middle battell was affignd to the Ubii and Lingones, on the right fide stood the Batavian cohorts, on the left the Bructeri and Tencteri: in this array partly from the mountains and part betweene the way and the river Mofella they affailed our army fo fuddenly, that Cerealis, lying abroad that night out of the campe, had word brought to his chamber and bed all at one instant, that the battell was begun, and his men overthrowne rating at the first their dastardlinesse that brought in the newes, untill with his owne eyes he saw the whole message clearely confirmed, the campe of the Legions brokenup & entered into, the horsemen descated, the bridge over Mosella in the midst of the towne possessed by the enemy. In which confusion Cerealis behaving himfelfe without all feare, with his owne hands drew back them which fled away, and manfully, albeit unarmed among fo many weapons, with his fortunate raffinefie, and affiffance of some valiant souldiers coming in, recovered the bridge, and left a chosen company of men to guardit. Then returning to the campe he found the bands of the Legions, which were taken at Bonna and Novesium, disbanded and feattered, few fouldiers at their enfignes, and the standards almost circumvented. "Whereupon being full of indignation and wrath. You for fake not (quoth he Hor-"deonius or Vocula, you can alleadge no falschood or treason in me: neither ever "did I commit any act that needed excuse, save onely in affirming you had forgot-"ten your oath to France andremembred your allegeance to the Roman Empire. "Ishall, and so am contented to be numbred with Numisius and Herennius, that all "your Lieutenants may be faid to have died either by the hands of their own foul-"diers or elfe of the enemy. Go tell Vefpafian, or which is neerer Civilis and Claffi-"cus, that you have left your Generall in the field: Legions shortly will come doubt "ye not, which shall neither suffer me to be long unrevenged, nor you unpunished. The accusation was true, and the Captaines and Tribunes spake, and urged to the fame purpose. So they railed and made head by cohorts and bands, for the whole battell could not be displaied, partly because the enemy was upon them, and partly by reason of their tents and stuffe, which hindred them greatly fighting within the trenches. Tutor and Classicus and Civilis each in their severall quarters animated their men to fight, the Frenchmen for liberty, the Batavians for glory, and the Germans for spoile, and all went with the enemy till the one and twentieth Legion knitting together in a more open place then the reft, valiantly received the adverfaries charge; and recharging by and by drave them from their ground. It was not without the special help of the gods, that our enemies being victorious so suddenly altered their mindes, and turned their backs. They affirmed afterward the fight of the cohorts terrified them, which at the first joyning being defeated, united againe in the hill tops, and feemed a new supply in their figh. But indeed the chiefe impediment of their victory was, that they left off to deale with the enemy, and quarelled foolifhly among themselves for the spoile. Cerealis as he had almost undone all by negligence, to by diligence and conftancy he recovered it againe, and following his fortune took the fame day, and razed the enemies campe.

1 Betweene the way and the river Taitus, might well in this place, after the example of the moft approach flow writers have fet us down a more plant anne particular chorography of the place where in this batter was fought, of whicher fide of the twee the caupe itood, and how in teped of the towner for as it is written it is, in my fancy, hard to conceive, not onely to us now, but even to them for whoft ufe he wrote it middle we will suppose that every common manthat breed in Rome in those times knew this "ia," which he telleth us of here, and fust other pretiem matters in the lite of Thirs need flay for the full concurring of the place. Be side that perchance, alter the fite as you lift, some objections my be preked out of the text here had by andverable.

XXXIII. They of Coleyn kill the Germans which they finde in their town: and cut a cohort of Civilis lying at Tolbiacum in pieces. The Caninefates fight prosperously against the sleete of Britanny, and Civilis against some of Cerealis horsemen.

He fouldier without any long intermission was straight waies called to a new fervice. They of Coleyn requested their helpe, and offered to surrender the wise and sister of Civilis, and the daughter of Classicus, which were left with them as pledges of mutuall amity, and in the mean season slew the Germans which lay dispersed in their towne: whereupon growing into extreme feare they had just cause to cry for aide before the enemies gathering new strength should resume courage, or prosecute the revenge. For Civilis also purposed thitherward, beside other Q3 competent

competent forces, upon confidence principally of his most couragious cohort composed of Chauci and Frisii, which was not present in the overthrow, and lay at Tolbiacuminthe territory of Coleyn, but he was diverted from that determination by a forrowfull meffage, that the cohort was maffacred by the fraud of the Agrinpinenses, who when the Germanes had filled themselves with wine and good cheere, and so were laied to sleepe, shut up the doores, put fire to their lodging, and burned them alive: and withall Cerealis was come himselfe with speed to relieve them. Moreover another feare troubled Civilis minde not alittle, left the fourteenth Legion together with the navy of Britanny should waste and spoile the Batavian border that lyeth upon the Ocean. But Fabius Priscus the Lieutenant, having croffed the feas at the shortest cut, led forth the Legions by land into the coasts of the Nervii and Tungri; and those countries veelded themselves to the Romanes. As for the navy, the Caninefates venteroufly made out against it, and took or funck the greater part of the ships: and the same Canine fates defeated a multitude of the Nervii, voluntarily gathered together to fight in favor of the Romans. Clafficus also against cenaine horsemen, which Cerealis sent before to Novesium, skirmished prospercusly. Which small but often losses did dimme and diminish the glory of the victory lately obtained.

> XXXIIII. The sonne of Vitellius is sl.tine. Intonius Primus discontented faileth from Rome to Vespasian lying at Alexandria.

Bout the same time Mutianus commanded the sonne of Vitellius to be slain. pretending that a perfect union could not grow, unlesse all seeds of warre were utterly rooted out. Moreover he would not permit that Antonius Frimus should be affumed into Domitians traine in the voyage of France, having him in jealoassie, by reason of the souldiers love towards him, and because of the mans hauty proud nature, who could not abide any equall, much leffe a superior. So Antonius mal-content went to Vespasian, who received and entertained him in good fort, albeit not according to his expectation. The merits of the man, by whose conduct doubtlesse the war was consummate and ended, distracted him one way, and Mutianus letters another: and withall the rest put forward, inveying agaist him as an infolent and intolerable person, joyning thereto the faults of his former life. And he for his part by his arrogant behaviour ceased not to provoke displeasure, odioufly inculcating at every word, what things he had done, and how greatly he had deserved of the cause, despising the rest as men of no service in war, and Cacinaas a dishonoured captive, and yeelded person. Whereupon by little and little he began to be in leffe credit, and lightlier efteemed of the Prince, notwithstanding out. wardly he countenanced him as before.

* Suct. 17 (p.c.7. autoritas 🔗 quali majeflas quedam ut c. in opinate & adhuc novo principi deerat, hec quoque accessit : e plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alus

XXXV. Certaine miracles which happened whilest Vespasian stated at Alexandria attending for a good winde, and a seasonable time of the yearc.

N those moneths which Vespasian stated at Alexandria, attending the ordinary fummer windes, and a fure feafon by fea, many miracles happened, whereby the speciall favour of the gods and their good will towards Velpasian was evidently fignified. A certaine poore blinde man of Alexandria, knowne in all the towne by reason of his infirmity, warned by the god Serapis, whom that superstitious nation adoreth above other gods, fell downe at the feete of Vespatian, and humbly befought him with teares to remedy his blindnesse, praying him to vouchfafe with the spittle of his mouth to wet his eyes round about. Another lame of a hand, by the commandement of the fame god, prayed Vespassian that it would please him to tread upon him with his foot. Vespasian at the first scorned and rejected their fuits. But when they perfifted still instant upon him, he began to doubt with himselfe, fearing on the one fide discredit, and opinion of vanity, on the other upon the importunatenesse of the diseased, and speeches of flatterers, entring into fome hope, at the last he willed the Physicians to consider, whether such blindnesse and lameneffe were possible by humane helpe to be cured. The Physicians according to their custome disputed the point diversly; discoursing out of their learning, that it might be, the blinde mans eyes were not perished, but onely overgrown with fome skinne, which being removed, the fight would returne: likewife the other mans limbes were diflocated, and might with force conveniently used be set right again; and perchance it is the pleasure of the gods to restore them to health, and to chuse the Prince for the means of performing the same. Finally if the remedy had good successe, the glory would redound to the Prince that did it: if not, the scorne should light upon the poore patients that importuned him. Whereupon Vespasian supposing all things seaseable to his good fortune, and nothing now incredible, stepped forth with a merry countenance, and in the presence of a great multitude, that stood by attending the event, did as they had defired him to do, and presently the lame recovered the use of his limbes, and the blinde of his eyes. They which were prefent at both affirme both to be true, even now at this time when nothing is gotten by lying. Then Vespasian became more desirous to visite the facred feat of the god, and there to aske counsel concerning the affaires of the Empire; and commanding all to avoide, he entred into the temple, and as he was bufie about his devotion fuddenly he faw behinde his back, as he thought, one of the noble men of Egypt named Basilides, whom he knew to be sick in his bed Somethink many daies journey from Alexandria. Then he enquired of the Priefts whether Ba-it to be the filides that day had entered the church and of others whom he met whether he had Prict in beene feene in the city or no: at the last fending horsemen of purpose to see, hee mentioned found at the same moment Basilides was no lesse then sources core miles off: then he 2. bill. but in perceived it was a divine vision, and out of the name of Basilides derived an an-the circumfwer. The original of this god hath not hitherto beene declared by any of our hardly agree. writers. The Egyptian Priests doe report the history thus: that I'toleme the king, Deduced of hee which first of the Macedonians ordered the kingdome of Egypt, when hee The same had walled the littly built city of Alexandria, crected temples, & inftituted religi-flory is recordousrites, faw in his fleepe a faire goodly young man much taller then the ordi-de 18de & 09nary stature, who warned him to fend into Pontus of his most trusty friends, and ride with some feeth thence his image; that it would bring great prosperity to the whole kingdom difference in and that place would especially flourish where the image should be received; and and by Eugla: straightwaies the young man feemed to be carried up into heaven out of his fight in thins in his a great flame of fire. Ptoleme moved with fo great and prodigious a miracle, de-comment upclared his vision to the Egyptian Priests: who are wont to interpret such things. more agree-But when he law them utterly ignorant of Pontus and forraine matters, he asked ably to the tra-Timotheus an Athenian one of the Eumolpidæ, whom he had fent for from Eleu-dinon here, listo have the chiefe government of matters of religion, what devotion or what god that might be? Timotheus, conferring with some which had travelled in Pon-

d Diensies wiginglof. LiSa Liveritado Aisi produce pica-Servator n-prim removing ex 27 orige New da' Gegiria Sistregration id as The · Or rather to Orifis and Lie, or effewe thall have a Sarapas before Sa a, is came a which perchance were an inconventence. fu:n med isterine. a But whatfoever god he ly Sarapis, de Sorrfide.

, Cap. 20.

tus, understood, that there was a city called Sinope, and neer unto it a temple of ancient name among the inhabitants dedicated to Pluto: for there flood by it the image of a woman commonly called Proferpina. But Ptoleme, as the ufuall maner of kings is at the first prone to feare, and quickly returning to former fecurity, as being more addict to pleasures then to devotions, neglected the matter and cast his cares otherwhere, untill the same vision appeared in more terrible and vehement manner, denouncing destruction peremptorily to him and his kingdome, if he performed not his commandements. Then Ptoleme fent an Embassage with presents to Scydrothemis the king of Sinope, willing them at their departure to goe by Del. phos and aske counfell of Apollo. Their journey by fea was profperous, and Apolloes answer without ambiguity; namely that they should goe forward, and bring with them away his fathers image, but leave his fifters. When they came to Sinope, after they had presented their gift to Scydrothemis, they declared at large their commission and what the king their master requested at his hands. Scydrothemis was doubtfull in minde: fometimes he feared the wrathfull displeasure of the god. fometimes the threats of his subjects, who were utterly against the granting of it. and sometimes he had a favourable respect to the presents and promises of the Embaffadours. And so three years being spent in this negotiation, Ptoleme notwithstanding continued an earnest suter fending more honourable Embassadours, moe fhips, and more store of gold. At the last a fearefull and threatning vision appeared to Scydrothemis, charging him no longer to hinder that, which the god had determined: and as notwithstanding heprotracted, many mischieses besell him, and divers diseases, and the manifest wrath of the gods vexed him daily more and more. Then calling an affembly of all the people he declareth unto them the will of the god, his owne and Ptolemes visions, and also the mischieses which otherwise hung over their heads. The common people withstood the motion, envying at Egypt, and fearing their own state, and so befet the temple about: whereupon a strong seport goeth, that the god without hands conveyed himselfe into the ships, which lav there at anker: and, which is marvellous to be reported, fayling from thence thorow fo vast seas, they arrived the third day at Alexandria. So a temple was built answerable to the magnificence of the city in a place called Rhacotis, where had Egyptians cul-been a chappell of ancient time confecrated to Sarapis and Isis. And this is the led him utual-most famous opinion concerning the original of the god and his transportation. I know that some hold he was brought from Seleuciaa city of Syria, in the reigne of tions investigate Ptoleme the third: others that the fame Ptoleme was the transporter, but it was Plaw, li, d: 1/6. from Memphis a famous city, in ancient times the glory and strength of old Egypt. The god himselfe many suppose to be & Æsculapius because he cureth diseases some of the artifact. Offices the oldest god knowne of those nations; many Jupiter, as soveraigne lordoof any inputions ver all, most Pluto, by notes that manifestly appeare in him, or otherwise by col-Every with the lection gathering arguments of their conjecture.

> 2 The ordinary lummer win les. Statos aft vis flatibus dies & certa maris operions] Certa na is are from the fineenth or feven and twentieth of May (for Vegetius kb. 4. cap. 3.9. nameth both) to the fourteenth of September : from the four teenth of September to the eleventh of November navigatio, fed interia: from the eleventh of November to the tenth of March maria claufat and from thence to the fifteenth of May navigatio priculofa. So that Velpolian, is it may feeme, sernot one before the latter end of May. Joseph. 4. ช่วะตัว (ap 4.2. ชังารับ เดาราง (Overmener)) ค่ะ านัก ใช้เป็น ตันเกา วงรุ้นการถาง คุณเดิก สาร์ทเกาน That is, Vilhasan set forment for Rome at the end of rounter. Now where as some learned men for flatos aftrois flacibus dees, reade flatos Eteflacum flatibus des, ir is an overlight. Etefec are contrary windes to the courfe, Tac. 2 hilk and Carlar 3. * de bello civili : Iffe meeffar in Eteffis toubatio, and Alexandria waviganthus fund adver fiffini vents: and to flay till they were path, that is till the latter end of August, were to flay very neare the termes of meerta navigatio, and be fure of invertiffina before he could come home.

XXXVI. The

XXXVI. The voyage of Domitian and Mutianus with their traine to Lions.

DUt Domitian and Mutianus before they came to the Alpes received the news of the prosperous battell against the Treveri: and for a sure proofe of the vi-Ctory Valentinus the Generall of the enemies was withall delivered into their hands, who in his adversity retained his former courage, declaring in countenance what stomach once he had borne. He was permitted to speake for himselfe, onely that his nature and gifts might be seene, and so adjudged to die. At his execution one upbraided unto him that his countrey was taken, then shall I die, quoth he, with greater contentment. Then Mutianus cunningly induced speech as proceeding from the prefent occasion, being indeed that which long time he had projected before: that feeing through the great a favour and goodnesse of the gods the forces of . Toscoph.d. discor. the enemies were broken, it were unfeemely for Domitian now that the warre was 6.11. fafely almost at an end, to intercept the glory of another mans travels: if the case stood so and flatteringthat the state of the Empire or lafety of France were in danger, it were requisite the glory of that the Princes fon should stand in the field : but to fight against the Caninefates finishing this and Batavians would be committed to commanders of lower degree, he himselfe tian. should stay at Lions, and from thence in a reasonable distance make shew of the Princely puiffance and state, neither venturing his person in matters of small moment, and if any greater should happen ready at hand. The art was understood, but feeming not to understand it was a point of obedience. And so they came to Lions; from whence it is thought that Domitian senta secret message to Cerealis, to prove his loyaltie, whether if he came thither in person he would deliver him his army and government: what he intended thereby, to make war with his father, or to strengthen and fortisie himselfe against his brother when the time should serve, it is not certainely knowne: for Cerealis with good and discreet answer shifted off this fond and childish request. Domitian perceiving his byouth contemned of the Being about elder men, ccased from medling any more in affaires of estate, even of the meaner seventeen or fort, and fuch as before usually passed thorow his hands: withall, under colour of yeares old at fimplicitie and modesty, sequestring himselfe to a close and solitary kinde of life, that time, pretending defire of learning and love of poetry, thereby to cover his disposition, and avoid all emulation and cause of unkindnesse with his brother, whose unlike and farre more courteous nature he construed contrarily.

THE

LIFE AGRICOLA VVRITTEN BY

CORNELIUS TACITUS.



WO report and deliver to posteritie the doings and demeaneurs of excellent personages, a thing usuall in ancient times, even our age, though carelesse otherwise of her own, hath not omitted then and so oft when as any great and eminent vertue hath overgrowne two vices, to little and great common wealths common alike, 1 ignorance of that which

is good, and envying at it. But in the daies of our ancestors as it was far more easie and open to atchieve actions worthy of writing, fo likewife their finest wits, without favour or flattery, upon an upright conscience, without other reward, were led to record and chronicle the same: yea diverse upon considence of their owne proceedings have thought it no prefumption to fet downe in writing themselves their ownelives. Neither were Rutilius and Scaurus a whit more misliked, or lesse beleeved for that: fo certaine it is, that vertues are then valued most rightly, when as they do grow in most plenty. But now it fareth with me farre otherwise: who having here to describe the life of a man already deceased, 2 am first of force to beg pardon; a thing which indeed I would have forborne, were I not to meer and fall in with a time to terrible, fo capitall an enemy to vertue and honour. We reade that Aurelius Rusticus for praising Pætus 3 Thrasea, and Herennius Senecio for commending Helvidius Priscus were both put to death: and beside the writers * against the bookes also severity was used, charge being given from authoritie to the Triumviri, that the works of those noble wits should be in the market place folemnly burned. Belike they supposed they could with that fire quench the speech of the people of Rome, abolish the libertie of the Senate, & suppresse the common knowledge of whole mankinde; expelling withall the sprofeffours of wildome, and banifning all good learning and Arts, left any sparkle of honesty shouldby mischance remaine within view. For certain we gave great proofe of our patience, and as our ancestours attained and saw the highest pitch and perfection of liberty, fo we of fervility, being deprived by intelligencers and fpies of the commerce of hearing and speaking together: yea memory also, as well as tongue we had lost, had itlyen in our power as well to forget as it did to keepe filence. Now at the length our former spirits begin to revive : howbeit although Prince Nerva, straight at the first entry of his most happy age, hath wifely matched and mixed rogethertwo things heretofore infociable, the foveraignty of one with the liberty of all; and Trajan his sonne proceeding in the same train, maketh the Empire daily more supportable and easie: so that not onely we may hope and conceive prayers for the publick securitie, but see and touch the effect of our praicrs assured and confirmed untous: yet notwithstanding by proofe it is found (such is the nature of mans imbecillity; the remedies to be flower of operation, then were the difeases. And as our bodies wax and gather strength by leifure, perish in a moment; so good wits and good learning are fooner cut downethen raifed againe. For the sweetnesse and pleafing of idlenesse, and of doing nothing, creepeth into our senses: and sloathfulnesse which at the first we detested, by custome obtaineth our favour and love: to

omit that in a fifteene yeares a great part of mansage, many have been wafted by Domitian was cafuall chances, the most fufficient and forward by the crueltie of the Prince, a few Emperous. of us onely remaining that have overlived, as I may fay, not onely others, but also or ther thracour felves, having so many yeares subducted out of the midst our life, in which we est at I suppose proceeded in silence from young men to aged, from aged almost to the grave. And his book of oil, yet peradventure it shall not repent me to compose, though in rude and unframed if their presasting freech, a b memory of our late thraldome, and a testimony of our present selicity, a volum In the meane while this treatise I have specially vowed to the honour of Agricola Trajaus times my father in law; and therefore as being in discharge of dutie, and carrying protesting the selfition of kindnesses, it shall either abroad purchase praise, or be covered at least with history but are forme courteous excuse. of us onely remaining that have overlived, as I may fay, not onely others, but also of their thral-

1 The ignorance of that which is good, and envying at it] Assimall objects of weake cies, so small versues are not conceived of common capacities; but as there, a certain quantitie and bigneffe is requific, before the dull fenfe can be peareed; to here, before the vulgar conceit. Now affoone as vertue is growneout of ignorance, the entreth by and by into cavy, till mounting aloft, as the funne being verticall abateth all fleadowes, to the in the top and height of pertection, all envy.

Am first of force to beg pardon Belike then he stood in some feare. And for what? of falling in with those a Or peration. feva and in festa virtuibus tempera, under Domitian, but he wrote this treatise in Trajans time, in b. atissimi feetili hee, ture it is meant as heterment in 5 and 1 fee no fillificient canficilite times being fato wherein he wrong to fear the times whereon he generally of that wrong n - n - to first which followerlis We read that Arulemus Ruileus, &c. being things fo larely done, and all in line signified is sit was moreony; and, as a may feeing only in his fight. For lohe fath himfellerus the end of his book. Not Jaturicky. Refitting mitians time to vilus, nes innocent: fanguine Senecio perfedet.

value, not smoothin longiume Sentro perfect.

3. Thrate a] Putro death by Nero vi.tuem infam exfeindere concupiente, faith b Tacitus: Helvidius Prifcus by Vo.

1. Thrate al Putro death by Nero vi.tuem infam exfeindere concupiente, faith b Tacitus: Helvidius Prifcus by Vo.

1. Three faith of Thrate and Helvidius, and recorded by Tacitus in the fewords. Sendere citam Prifco, no fapra principen featured, no Viffosfunum forem tri
1. Deed private the sender of the faith o umphalem, juvenium li'erorum patris praceptis correcret. Quomodo possimus imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ila quamvis death by other

4. Against the books also] Clisthenes king of the Sicyonians purposing to make war against the Argivi, for citis under some bade the veries of Homer to be read or fung in the city, because they contained almost every where commendation other tyrant to on of Argos the Argivi; wifely forefeeing what great alteration a poem to fweetly indited might worke in the have written his mindes of his subjects, ven against the good of the state and the Romanes likewife among all infiruments of inno. life, who died mindes of his subjects, yethough the good of the states and the Remanus take wife among an information of minder various feeling none fitter to work trouble in a settled state, then by way of libels and books to fow feels of section of the state of the section and novelty, appointed the Addes and Triumviii capitales to forefee that no prejudice should grow to the com- fed by poylon. mon-wealth by that means. In the fecond punick war, new r ligions being brought in by means of certain lewd b An. 16. bocks of propheties, faith 'Livy, Insufati granier ab fenatu Aediles, Triumvirojne capi ales, quad non probiberent. And C 4 luft. obers of properties, and they among a plant of plant returns, the following place of this execution was in the place of Tactus the Trumwish fadd the charge, four another the following place of this execution was in the following place of this execution was in the following the place of this execution was in the following the place of this execution was in the following the place of this execution was in the following the place of this execution was in the following the foll feetu populi cremati funt.

5 The rook flours of wiledome] Suctionius Domitiano. "Innium Reficem (inter mit Domitianus) quod Perir Inafea, g Cap. 10. et Helvisiis Profes lander edidiffet, appellaret me cos fancti finos vinos, cujus evininis vec. fine pielojopkos omnesurbe Italiaque jummovit, Sulpina a poeteffe of that time.

Nune gitur ani yes Romanas imp. rat inter Et flusta. Et sapiens kominum nomenque genusque

Ommia alive form at que un'o excedere infit.

Xiphilinus : Pésmor Αρλίνοι ἐπέκτων επί τριοσόρει η επιτο Θερσίου (κερτ ἀτομεζε, εξ Ερίνιον Σκικέωνα το τὰ Πείσκα τὰ Ελειδία. τὸς ξιον σειμέχετζεν, ἄλλοι τε όμι τὰς οὐτὰς παύτας εξ' φιλοπφίαν ἀετίας συχνοί διάλοντο, ε΄ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ὑζαλάθησον αὐθες όμι τὰς Ράμμε. That is, Nero pai Anderius Reflicas in destib because be finded Philosophy, and because in tearing Thiasea Virum sanctum. He put also Historius Senecio to death, because he had written the lefe of Helviaius Profess. And all of the profession were ba- a Seneca de bene-Wiffiel out of the city.

Neus Julius Agricola was borne in the ancient and noble colonie of a Fo- execution of the colonie of the colonie of a Forum Julium: both his grandfathers had beene the Princes Procuratours, melior vir effet an honourable gentlemans place. His father Julius "Græcinus was by cal- quam effe quem ling a Senatour, for eloquence and wifedome famous: by reafon of which qualities he incurred the displeasure of Caius the Emperour, being willed by him to protect ties he incurred the displeasure of Caius the Emperour, being willed by him to protect the fame mass timpole, which because he refused was put to whose authority and the suppose. death. His mother Julia Procilla, a mirour of rare chaftitie: under whose wing and leadged by Comotherly care Agricola being brought up, passed over his infancy and youth in the ter of husbandry.

f Tacit, 4. Ann. i According to Helvidius Prif-cus but of Thra-

fic.lib.2.Si exemplo marni animi

exercife

b Strabolib. 4. unite a Massa-Liadvii me eis and to another Mallibarsthe commend it on T MITOTATO TH בוצי אי הישונים. מיווד

and V.rulniun: but this latter was municepium, and not colonia in the straitnesse of termes.

" Or, following another lente of the Latine words which may freme doubtthe more in a d Tac. 1. bil. speaking of Galba, and the fametimes,

Claritas natali-

um & me.us

temparum ob-

tentui, ut quod

pientia vocare-

ga.

exercise of all good qualities and arts. And beside his owne disposition clearly and wholly given to good, it was a good means to withhold him from the alluremenrs of vice, that he hapned to have the town of b Massilia for the place of his first aboad and study in youth, a city compounded of Greek civility and provinciall frugalitie well forted together. I have heard him fay, I remember, that being young he had addicted himself to the study of philolophie in earnester fort, and beyond the meafure of a Roman and Senatour, had not the wifedome of his mother corrrected and received spring pring cooled the heat of that humour. That noble and haughty minde of his was carried to embrace with more fervency then discretion, the beauty and gay shew of that but reason and riper years reformed his judgement: and so he retained a point most hard to be kept, of wisedome a mean. His first service in war was in Britanny under Suctonius Paullinus; into whose

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train being assumed he was of that diligent & discreet leader wel liked: not spending the time in riot after the manner of youths, which convert warfare into wantonnesse; nor accepting the title of tribuneship without skill in the service, as a calling of ease for pleasure and gadding abroad, but wholly directing his mind to know the province, to be knowne of the army, to learne of the skilfull, to follow the best, to desire no employment upon vain-glory, to refuse none for teare, joyntly to shew himselse both carefull and earnest in action. Neither did our affairs in Britan. e Canadadanum ny stand at any time in the like termes of doubt and diffresse: our old souldiers were flain, our colonies burned, our armies entrapped, then we fought for to live, afterward for to win. All which exploits, though performed by the counsel and conduct of another, and consequently the credit of the cause, and glory of recovering the countrey appertaining to the Lieutenant, yet were they occasions to increase in the young man skill, experience, and defire of military renowne, a qualitie not fo acceptable in those seasons, wherein great vertues were greatly suspected, and a great fame endangered more then a bad.

From Britanny departing to Rome to bear offices, he joyned himself in matrinonie with Domitia Decidiana, a woman of honourable birth: which marriage was a countenance, and a strength to his further purposes: and they lived together in marvellous unity with mutual love, and "yeelding preeminence the one to the other; a point otherwise not greatly material, saving that a good wife is a great commenfull; and each dution, aswell as an ill a reproch. Being Questor his lot fell in Asia with Salvius Tipreferring the tianus the Proconfull. Neither was he withdrawne by that meanes from his wonted other both vertuous alike, integrity, although both the province was rich and readily ministred matter to offaving that the fend, and his Proconfull a man of infatiable greedinesse would with any remissesse willingly have redeemed at his hand mutuall connivence and covering of faults. the greater in There his wife bare him a daughter both to his stay and his comfort, for the sonshe a good wife, as brought him before was already deceased having lived but a little. After his Quethe reproofe is ftorship till he was created Tribune of the people, and the year also of his Tribuneship he passed over in rest and quietnesse, well weighing the nature of Neroes time wherein floth was a vertue, and to do nothing the greatest wisdome of all. His I'retorship also he passed over in the same fort, with the like silence: for 2 none of the judiciall places hapned unto him. The 3 plaies and vanities of the office he governed and executed by the rule of reason and measure of wealth: far from excesse, and yet not without magnificence and honour. Anon afterward being elected by Galba to view and survey the jewels and gifts belonging to the temples, by most diligent and ftrait fearch he procured full restitution of all save onely of those which Nero had taken.

'The yeere following wounded his minde, & plunged his house in a heavy mishap. For Chhoes fleet roving at large licentiously, in wasting Internelium a part of Li-Of this matguria, flew the mother of Agricola in her own grounds, spoiled the grounds, & car-ter we read in ried away mest part of the wealth which was the cause of the murder. As Agricola went to folemnize the funerals he received advise, that Vespasian was in armes for the Empire, and without more advise joyned himselfe to the fide. Domitian as yet was but yong, & challenged not, as an Emperors fon, any thing else fave only licentious life. The affaires of the Empire and state of the city were governed at the beginning, and wholly directed by Mutianus alone. By commission from whom Agricola being fent to take Musters, and behaving himself in that charge with great integritie and courage, he was by the fame Murianus, upon message received of the feditious demeanor of Roscius Coelius made in his place Lieutenant of the twentieth Legion, a Legion which flowly had fworn to Vespasian, and was out of awe, or awed much rather even the Lieutenants generall, much leffe was the Legions Lieutenant of power to refrain them, whether through the weaknesse of his own arme, or hard mouth of his fouldiers, it is not affured. Thus being elected both to fucceed and revenge, he shewed an example of most rare moderation, in chusing to seeme rather to have found then to have made, them dutifull fouldiers. At that time Ve-Affins Bolanus was Lieutenant of Britanny, governing in a gentler and milder manner, then was fit for fo fierce a countrey. Under him Agricola cunningly conforming himfelf to that humour, and not unlearned to joyn profitable counsels with honeft, tempered the heat of his nature, & reftrained from growing his hautie defires. Soon after Petilius Cerealis was appointed Lieutenant generall there, under whom the vertues of Agricola had a large field and free scope to shew themselves in. For Cerealis communicated and imparted unto him, first himself and his counsels, then actions of labour and danger, and lastly glory also; committing oftentimes for a

proof to his leading fome portion of the army, fometimes many more, according to

the fucceffe. Neither did Agricola at any time brag of his doings as feeking to win

fame for himfelf, but humbly alwayes as a minister referred to his superior, and Ge-

nerall, the good fortune and honour of all his exploits. So by his vertue invaliantly

doing his charge, and his modesty in sparingly speaking thereof, he was without en-

vy, but not without glory. Upon his return from the Lieutenantship of the Legi-

on, Vespasian of sicred memory elected him into the company of the + Patritians,

and afterward fent him Lieutenant generallinto Aquitania, an honourable roome,

both in respect of the office it selfe, and as being a way to the Consulship by the

Prince purposed unto him. The received opinion is, that military wits are not re-

fined to that sharonesse and subtletie, that is practifed in Pleas and Courts of justice,

because the marrial law is but groffe and blunt, executing most by the hand: not-

withstanding Agricola, though brought up in the field, upon a naturall wit and dif-

that neither his gentle nor courteous behaviour weakened the reverence due to his

person, nor his severity the love: a thing rarely so seen. To speak of integritie, and

forbearing of bribery in fo great a personage, were a wrong to his vertues: even glo-

ty, upon which good men also oftentimes dote, he never affected by oftentation of

vertue, or by artificiall means: farre from emulation with his colleagues, farre from

course of reason, among those peaceable men, carried himselfe easily with great i For Aguitauprightnesse and justice. Now the seasons of affaires and vacations he divided di-nia was then a fcreetly and well: in times of audience and judgements grave, heedfull, auftere, peaceable proand yet mercifull too: that dutie performed, no face any more or shew of authori-wars and soultie: fowre looks and stately, strait and hard dealing were laid apart: in such fort, diess.

contention with the Procurators; whom to overcome he esteemed no honour, and to be overcome afoule shame. In that Lieutenantship having spent scarcely three veeres, he was called home to be Confull, the opinion going also, that Britanny should be affigned him, without any speech given out by himself to that purpose, but because he seemed sufficient and meet: fame faileth not alwayes, sometime she chuseth right. Being Confull he affured to me his daughter, even then of rare hope, and after his Confulship solemnized the marriage: and straight thereupon

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to many was all creemonies and fuperfittious perfusions, there is to be feene an apparent confor-tion proper of the subset, and mitte: the language differeth not much: like boldneffeto challenge and fet into 1 finde not that dangers: when dangers are come, like feare in refuffing: faving the Britans make the speared that the subset of shew of more courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace, for the French also 1 Southwales, & were once, as we read, redoubted in war, till fuch time as giving themselves over to flould feeme by peace and idlenesse cowardise crept in, and shipwracke was made both of manhood Tacing defair and libertie together: and so it is also befalse to those of the Britans which were

was made Governour of Britanny, having befides 5 a Pontificall dignitie annexed. The fite of Britanny and dwellers, described by fundry writers, I purpose heere to declare, not to compare in finenesse or wit, but because it was then first thorowly fubdued: fo that fuch things, as our elders without perfect discovery, have polished with pen, shall now be fet faithfully down upon knowledge. Britanny, of all Ilands known to the Romanes the greatest, coasteth by East upon Germany, by West toin speaking of ward Spaine, and hath France on the South: Northward no land lying against it. Agricula, 339 but only a vast and broad sea beating about it. The figure and fashion of whole Britanny, by Livy of the ancient, & Fabius Rufticus of the modern, the most eloquent authors, is likened to 6 a long dish or two edged axe, and so is the part shapen indeed white the whole, as it feemeth: but Aparties there is befide a huge and enorme tract of ground, which runneth beyond unto the furthermost point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge. This point of the utmost sea the Romane fleet then first of all doubling discovered Britanny to be san h Graph of the land, and withall found out and fubdued the lles of h Orkney before that time nethe conquest of verknown. Thyle also was lookt at aloofe, which snow hitherto and winter had the Organization to consider covered. The fear thereabout they affirme to be dull and heavy for the oare and erana is folia also norto be raifed as others with winds: belike because land and mountaines are rare. 16 Ocas refers which minister cause and matter of tempests, and because a deep masse of continuhopers. Marry all sea is flower stirred to rage. To examine the nature of the Ocean, and tides, per-Amount they were before, for traineth not to this worke, and many have done it before: one thing I will adde, and Medaghowstee may fately avouch, that the fea no where in the world rangeth and ruleth more freethe number of ly, carrying by violence so much river water hither and thither, and is not content the number of the number of the state of the ra fan Oradir argidin marc fe hooting into the mountains and cliffes as to his own channell. Now what manner argidin marc fe from the first in habitants of Britanny were for raine brought in or borne in the dilute fram. of menthe first inhabitants of Britanny were, forraine brought in, or borne in the of Scotland James land, as among a barbarous people, it is not certainly knowne. Their complexions E or fourt and are different, and thence may fome conjectures be taken: for the red haire of the blacker for for dwellars in Colodonic and the conjectures be taken. blacke: for 1 thinke he mean. dwellers in Caledonia, and mightie limbs import a German descent: k The coloured countenances of the Silures, and haire most commonly curled, and fire aparties, whereof gainst Spaine, seeme to induce, that the old Spaniards passed the Sea and possessed mention is made those places. The neerest to France likewise resemble the French, either because of miles be of the they retaine of the race from which they descended, or that in countries butting to gether the same aspects of the heavens doe yeeld the same complexions of bodies.

we glitt course.

But generally it is most likely the French being neerest did people the land. In their subdued of old; the rest remaine such as the French were before. Their strength in the field confifteth in footmen; fome countreys make warre in wagons also: the greater personage guideth the wagon, his waiters and followers fight out of the fame. Heretofore they were governed by kings, now they are drawne by petty Princesinto partialities and factions: and that is the greatest helpe we have against those puissant nations, that they have no common councell together: seldome it chanceth that two or three states meet and concurre to repulse the common danger: fo whileft one by one fighteth, all are fubdued. The skie very cloudy and much given to raine without extremitie of cold. The length of the dayes much above the measure of our climate. The nights light, and in the furthermost part of the Hand fo short, that between the going out and coming in of the day the space is hardly perceived, and when clouds doe not hinder they affirme that the funshine is seene in the night, and that it neither setteth nor riseth but I to marve! paffeth along: because belike the 2 extreame and plain parts of the earth project how it can be alow shadow and raise not the darknesse on height; so the night falleth under the hundhies seems skie and the stars. The soile, setting aside olive and vine and the rest, which are been with a man proper to warmer countreys, taketh all kinde of grain and bearethit in abundance: some proper to warmer countreys, taketh all kinde of grain and bearethit in abundance: some proper to warmer countreys, taketh all kinde of grain and bearethit in abundance: some proper to warmer countreys, taketh all kinde of grain and bearethit in abundance: some proper to warmer countreys, taketh all kinde of grain and bearethit in abundance: some proper to warmer countreys, taketh all kinde of grain and bearethit in abundance: some proper to warmer countreys, taketh all kinde of grain and bearethit in abundance. proper to warmer countrys, taketh an kinde of gram and bedreth the dame, the which he adit shooteth up quickly and ripeneth flowly; the cause of them both is the same, the which he addeth, was exciten overmuch moitture of the foile and the ayre. Britanny beareth gold and filver, and & exagger, jet other metals to enrich the conquerour. The Ocean bringeth forth pearle alfo, Summer in the not orient, but duskishand wan, which proceedeth, as some doe suppose, of lack of climate of sed-skill in the gatherers, for in the red scathey are pulled panting alive from the rocks, part of history in Britanny cast out by the Sea, and so taken up. For my part. I doe rather believes in Britanny cast out by the Sea, and so taken up. For my part I doe rather believe the nature of the pearle not to yeeld it, then that our covetousnesse could not finde out the way to gather aright. The Britans endure levies of men and money and all other burdens imposed by the Empire patiently and willingly if insolencies beforborne, indignities they cannot abide, being already subdued as to be sub-

The first of the Romanes which entered Britanny with an army was Julius Ca-m who being far, who although heterrified the inhabitants with a battell which went on his side, regusted by one a figi-main displayed the shore, yet may seem eather to have showed the place to posteritie, see standards the shore, yet may seem eather to have showed the place to posteritie, see standards the shore.

jects, but not to be flaves.

then delivered them to the possession thereof.

Then civill warres ensued, and bandings of men of great qualitie against the free and of the assortion of the control of th tearmed it policy, and chiefly Tiberius.

That Caius had a meaning to invadeBritanny, it is certainly knowne: but his raft alloot registance. running head and hafty repentance, and chiefly his great attempts against Germa- of Canaladaman. ny turning to nothing, everted that purpofe.

Claudius "did first with effect profecute the matter, transporting Legions and frameworks, and assuming Vespasian into the action, which we the beginning of the constitutions. Claudius "did first with effect professions and special state of the manner of the money of the manner of the mann were taken, and Vespasian made known to the world.

were taken, and Vefpalian made known to the world.

The first Lieutenant Generall was Aulus Plautius, then Ostorius "Scapula, both transcathanae excellent warriers: and so by little and little was the neerest part of the lland re-second control of the little was the neerest part of the land re-second control of the little was the neerest part of the land re-second control of the land re-second blished there. Certaine cities were also bestowed in pure gift upon king Cogidu-1:001 in seame blished there. Certaine cities were also bestowed in pure girt upon king Cognition and surface mus (who remained most faithfull even to our daies) according to an old custome Emberon and who remained most faithfull even to our daies) according to an old custome Emberon and surface must who remained most faithfull even to our daies) according to an old custome Emberon and surface must sufficiently received of the Romanes to use even kings themselves for instruments of Table 1971 and 19

Then Didius Gallus succeeded in place, who kept that which his predecessors bidius.

had gotten, and builded some few castles further in the land, to win by that means a fame of augmenting the office.

After Didius succeeded Verantius, who died within one yeere.

f Of the fuc-Angl fez.

Then Suetonius Paullinus for two yeeres space behaved himselfe fortunately, of the luc-coffeet his af fubduing the nations and establishing garrifons. Upon confidence whereof going faires read Tac. to affaile the He of Mona, which ministred supply to the rebels, he disfurnished the where they are countrey behinde and laied it open to all opportunities of the enemy. For through more largely the absence of the Lieutenant, the Britans free of feare began to discourse the miferies of bondage, to lay their injuries together, and aggravate them by confiructions. That their patience had profited them nothing, fave onely to draw heavier burdens upon them, as men that would gently beare. That whereas in former times they had onely one king, now were there two thrust upon them, the Lieutenant to fucketheir bloud, the Procuratour their fubstance: whose disagreeing was the torment of the subjects, their agreement their undoing; the one vexing by souldiers and captains, the other by wrongs and indignities. That now their coverous fireffe and luft laved hold, without exception, of all: and whereas in field he that fpoyleth is commonly stronger, now were they by cowards and weaklings for the most part disposses dispos for other mens behoofe, as though they were men, that knew how to do nothing elfe, fave only to die for their own countrey. For otherwife what a finall handfull of fouldiers were come over, if the Britans would fall to reckon themselves! than "Germany fo had shak't off the yoke, having no Ocean sea, but only a river, for their defence. That their causes of taking armes were urgent and just, their wives and children, their parents, and countrey, whereas the Romanes had nothing to move them to warre, but their own coverousnesse and wanton lust: and that they would doubt leffe depart, as Cafar Julius had done, if the Britans would imitate the vertues of their progenitours, and not be difmayed with the doubtfull event of one skirmish or two. That men in misery had more courage and vehemency to attempt, more conftancy to continue: and now even the gods feeme to pitie the poore Britans estate, having sent the Romane Captain out of the way, and confined thearmy, as it were, into another Hand. That now being affembled to advise and deliberate together, they had attained the hardest point, in an action of that nature. wherein without question it were more danger, to be taken, then consulting, doing. With the fe and the like speeches inciting one another, by common consent they refolve to take armes under the conduct of "Voadicaa Lady of the bloud of their her name is Kings: for in matter of governing in chiefe they make no diffinction of fexe. And written Book first pursuing the souldiers which lay divided in garrisons, and winning the forts, cia, and Bordica, and noting they invaded anon the Colony it felt, as being the feat of their flavery: in facking whereof no kinde of crueltie was omitted, which either anger or the rage of victory might induce a barbarous people to practife. And unleffe upon knowledge had of the revolt Paulinus had come to fuccour with speed, Britanny had then been loft, the which with one prosperous battell he restored to her former obedience, and pa-

tient bearing the yoke, fome few keeping out and remaining in armes, whom the

guilt of the rebellion excluded from all hope of pardon, and fome feare also of the

Lieutenants private difpleafure: who though otherwife a fingular man, yet feemed

to shew too much hautie and hard dealing toward those which yeelded themselves,

therefore more ready to receive their repentance: who having composed the for-

copic. P. of ches.

and to revenge in a fort his own injury. Whereupon Petronius Turpilianus was fent in his place as a more intreatable person, and a stranger to their faults, and

mer troubles, and daring no further, delivered Trebellius Maximus the charge.

Trebellius a man unfit for action, and alrogether unexpert in fervice, by a kinde : Tac. s. Hife of courteous & milde regiment intertained the countrey in quiet. For now the Brirans also had learned good manners, not rudely to repulse the sugred assaults & flatterings of vices; and the diffurbance of civill diffensions ministred a lawfull excuse for his doing nothing. But the fouldier accustomed to warfare, waxt wanton with ease, and grew to be mutinous. Trebellius by flying away and hiding himselfeeschewed their first indignation, and anon resuming his place without majestie, without authoritic, he ruled by way of intreatie, and at his fouldiers differetion: and fo coming as it were to a capitulation, the army for licence to do what them lifted, the Captain for fafetie of his own life, the mutiny ended without any bloudflied.

* Vectius Bolanus fucceeded in place, and in the fame loofenesse of discipline, * Tac. 2, High. the civil warres continuing still, like default against the enemy, like licence in the camp, faving that Bolanus, a good honest man, not odious for any crime, in stead

of obedience had gotten good will.

But when as Vefpafian with the rest of the world recovered Britanny also, great Captains, good fouldiers were fent, and the hope of the enemy was greatly abated. For straightwaies Petilius Cerealis strooke a terror into them, by invading upon his first entry the Brigantes, the most populous state of the whole province. Many battels were fought, and fome bloudy, and the greatest part of the Brigantes either Yorkshire, conquered or wasted.

mquered or wafted.

Lancathire,
And whereas Cerealis would doubtleffe have dimmed the diligence and fame of Cumberland, another fuccessour, Julius Frontinus a great man, as he might after that predecessor, and the Bifulfained the charge with reputation and credit, fubduing the puissant and warlike floorick of Dusham. people of the Silures: where he had, befide the vertue of the enemy, to ftruggle

with the straits and difficult places.

In this effate Agricola found the province, and the warres thus farre proceeded in, when as about the middeft of the fummer, he passed the seas: at what time the Angiola went fouldier, as if the featon were past, attended an end for that yeare of his travell, and into Britanny, the enemy a beginning to hurt. The Ordovices a little before he entred the land as it may be gathered by had cut a wing almost wholly in peeces, which lay in their borders. Upon which some direumbeginning the countrey being awaked, as men defirous of warre, allowed the ex-flances in this ample: fome stayed to see how the new Lieutenant would take it. Agricola al-very yeere bethough the fummer was spent, and the bands lay dispersed in the Province, and his fore Vespasian fouldiers had fully prefumed of reft for that yeare, which hindred much and croffed died, and redirectly the undertaking of warre, divers also being of opinion rather to keepe and the fifth or fixt affure the places suspected, all this notwithstanding he resolved directly to en- of Domition of counter the danger; and gathering the enfignes of the Legions, and some few Auxi-in Britaning, beliaries, because the Ordovices durit not descend into indifferent ground, himselfe nde Tacina, Xififth of all, to give others like courage in the like danger, led up to encounter the philin, Tito, machine onemy. And having deftroyed almost the whole nation, knowing right well that the mention, fame must with instance be followed, and as the first should fall out, so the rest would and other. fucceed, he deliberated to conquer the Hand of Mona: from the possession where-4 Northwales. of, as before I have rehearfed, Paullinus was revoked by the generall rebellion of Britanny: but as in a purpose not purposed before, ships being wanting, the policie and resolutenesse of the Captaine devised a passage, commanding the most choice of the Aydes, to whom all the shallows were know, and who after the use of their countrey were able in fwimming to govern themselves with armour and horses, laying afide their carriage, to put over at once and fuddenly invade them. Which thing to amazed the enemy attending for thips and fuch like provision by sea that.

all in those difparches wherein any ry was fign fipeareth by Li-

furely beleeving nothing could be hard or invincible to men which came so minded to warre, they humbly intreated for peace and yeelded the Iland. Thus Agricola at his first entry into his Province (which time others consume in vaine oftentation or ambitious feeking of ceremonies) entring withall into labours and dangers became famous indeed and of great reputation. Neither did he abuse the prosperous proceeding of his affaires to vanitie or braving in speeches. He termed A thing usu- it not an exploit or a conquest to have kept in order persons subdued before: he bedeckt not with lawrell his letters of advertisement, but stopping and suppressing the fame he augmented the same, when men began to discourse upon what great notable victo prefumptions of future successe, he should make so light an account of such great actions already performed.

Now as touching his civill government, Agricola knowing right well the di-3). 11. 45. in sposition and minde of the Province, and taught also by experience of others, that the beginning and thinder of the Frontier, and tadighter if injuries and wrongs be permit-Marcellin, l. 16. ted, determined to cut off all causes of warres and rebellions. And beginning at home, his house first of all he reformed and restrained, a point of more hardnesse to some then to govern a Province. He committed no manner of publike affaires to bondman or freed: he received no fouldier neere to his person upon private affections of partiall fuiters, nor upon commendation or intreatie of Centurious, but elected the best, presuming the same to be the most faithfull. He would see into all things, not exact all things to the rigour: light faults he would pardon, and the great feverely correct: not alwaies proceeding to punish, but often content with repentance: chusing rather not to preferre to office and charge such as were like to offend, then after the offence to condemne them. The augmentation of tribute and corne he mollified with equall dividing of burdens, cutting away those pettieextortions which grieved the subject more than the tribute it selfe. For the poore people were constrained in a mockery to waite at the barnes which were lockedagainst them, and first to buy corne, then after to sell at a price. Severall wayes were enjoyined, and farre diffant places by the Purveyours commandments: that the countrey should carry from the neerest standing camps to those which were farre off and out of the way, till that which lay open to all and at hand was turned in fine to the gain of a few. By repreffing these abuses straight in his first yeere, a good opinion was conceived of the peace, which either by the negligence or connivence of former Lieutenants was now no leffe feared then warre. But when the fummer was come, affembling his army together, those which in marching behaved themselves in modest fort he commended, and checked the loose and disso-An groupin lute straglers: the places for pitching the camp he designed himself, the firths and agricula being the thickets he proved the first in his own person: not suffering in the meane sea-Generall to doe it, and a fon any corner in quiet in the enemies countrey, but wasting and spoyling with suddoe it, and a double errour den excursions and roades, and when he had thorowly terrified them, then would in Tack, to fee he again spare and forbeare, alluring thereby their mindes to friendship and peace. it down for a Upon which kinde of proceeding many states, which before that day stood upon termes of equalitie, gave hoftages, and meekly submitted themselves, receiving an in the keast garrison and permitting to fortifie; which he so wisely with such great foresight and reason performed, that nothing was ever attempted against them, whereas no new fortified place in all Britanny escaped before unaffayled.

The winter enfaing was fpent in a most profitable and politicke devise. For whereas the Britans were rude and dispersed, and therefore prone upon every occafion to warre to induce them by pleasures to quietnesse and rest, he exhorted them

in private, and helpt them in common to build temples and houses, and places of publike refort, commending the forward and checking the flow, impofing thereby a kinde of necessitie upon them, whilest each man contended to gain the Lieutenants good will. Moreover the noble mens fonnes he tooke and instructed in the liberall sciences, preferring the wits of the Britans before the students of France, as being now curious to attain the eloquence of the Romane language, whereas they lately rejected the speech. After that our attire grew to be in account, and the Gowne much used among them: and so by little and little they proceeded to those provocations of vices, to fumptuous galleries, and bathes, and exquisite banquertings, which things the ignorant counted civilitie, being indeed a point of their bondage. In the third yeere of his warres he discovered new countreys, wasting a long time, till he came to the firth of Taus. Which thing fo terrified the enemies, Twide, as it that although the army had been toiled with cruell tempests, yet they durst not af-15 thought by faile them, and the Romanes moreover had leifure and space to fortific there. They some, which were skilfull that way observed, that never any Captain did more advisedly chuse his places: no castle planted by Agricola ever was either forced by strength, or upon conditions furrendred, or, as not defenfible, for faken. Many times they iffued forth: for against a long siege, they were stored with a whole yeers provision. So they wintered there without teare, every garrifon guarding it felf, and needing no help of their neighbours; the enemies affaulting fometimes, but in vain without any fucceffe, and driven thereupon to despaire. For the losses of summer they were commonly wont to repaire with winter events: now fummer and winter alike they went to the worfe. And in all these actions Agricola never sought to draw to himfelf the glory of an exploit done by another, but were it Centurion or of other degree, he would faithfully witnesse the fact, and yeeld him alwayes his due commendation. By fome he is faid to have been fomewhat bitter in rebuking: and indeed the man was, as toward the good of most sweet disposition, so to bad and lewd persons unpleasant and sower: but his choler passed away with his words: closenesse in him and filence you needed not feare: he efteemed it more honest to offend, then to hate. The fourth fummer was spent in perusing and ordering that, which he had overrun: and if the valiant mindes of the armies, and glory of the Romane name could have permitted, or accepted it fo, they needed not to have fought other limit of Britanny. For h Glota & Bodotria, two arms of two contrary leas shooting has fasth of mightily into the land, are onely divided afunder by a narrow partition of ground, Dumbretton. which paffage was guarded and fortified then with garrifon and caftle: fo that the Edulation Romans were absolute lords of all on this fide, having call out the enemy, as it were, into another land. The fift yeer of the warre Agricola first taking sea went over and fubdued, with many and prosperous conflicts, nations before that time unknown, and furnished with forces that part of Britanny, which lyeth against Ireland, more in hope then for feare. For Ireland if it might have been wonne, lying between Britanny and Spaine, and fitly also for the French sea, would aprly have united, to the great advantage of the one and the other, these strongest members of the Empire together. In bignesse it is inferiour to Britanny, howbeit bigger then the Hands of k our fea. The foile and temperature of the aire, the nature and fashions of He meaneth the People, differ not much from the British. The ports and places of accesse are the Meditoriamore knowne by reason of more frequenting of merchants. Agricola had recei- Hands there, ved before a Prince of that countrey driven out by civill diffention, whom under as sian, soc. colour of courtesse and friendship he retained til occasion should serve. I have heard him of centimes fay, that with one Legion and fome few Aydes, Ireland might

tuch zwybius, li. 10. Speakbe won and possessed, and that it were also a strength for our Britishaffaires, if the Romane forces were planted else where, and libertie, as it were, banisht out of fight.

Now in the fummer, which began the fixt yeare of his office, because a generall rifing in armes of all the further nations beyond Bodotria was feared, and paffages were all befer with the power of the enemies, he manned a fleete to fearch the creekes and harboroughes of the ample region beyond it, backing them first of all with anavy the rest of his strength, and with a goodly brave shew bringing warre both by land and by sea. And oft so it chanced, that the horseman and sootman and the fea-fouldier met and made merry in the fame camp, extolling and magnifying each their own proweffe and adventures: making their vaunts and comparisons souldier-like, the one of the woods and high mountains, the other of dangers of tempests and waves: the one of the land and the enemy, the other of the Ocean. fubdued. The Britans, as by the prisoner it was understood, were amazed also at the fight of the navy, as though now the fecrets of their fea were disclosed, and no refuge remained if they were overcome. Whereupon the Caledonians arming with great preparation and greater fame, as the manner is of matters unknown, affayled our castles as challengers, braving and putting in seare: insomuch that some of our fide, which would feeme to be wife, being daftards indeed, counselied the Generall to retire on this fide Bodotria, and rather to depart of her own accord. then to be repelled with shame. In the meane season Agricola hath knowledge, that the enemies meant to divide themselves, and to give the onset in severall companies. Whereupon lest he should be enclosed about, and intrapped by their multitude and skill in the countrey, he marched also with his army divided in three. Which when it was known to the enemy, changing advise on the sudden, & uniting their forces together, they joyntly affaulted by night the ninth Legion, as being of weakest resistance: and having slain the watch, partly asleep, and partly amazed with feare, brake into the camp. And now were they fighting within the trenches, when Agricola having understood by spies what way the enemies had taken, and following their footsteps, commandeth the lightest borsemen and footmentoplay on their backs and maintain the skirmish, and anon the whole army to fhowt. And when it drew neere to be day, the glittering of the enfignes was feen. So the Britans being quailed with a double danger, the Romans recovered courage again, and being out of perill of their persons, fought now for their honour, freshly affailing their late affaylers, and driving them to the gates: where in the straits the conflict was sharp and cruell, till in the end the enemies were forced to flee, whilest both our armies contended, the one to seeme to have helped their fellows, the other to have needed none other to help them: and if the bogges and woods had not covered their flight, that victory had ended the warre. Upon this battell fo manfully fought, fo famoufly won, the army prefuming that to their proweffe all things were easie and open, cryed to leade into Caledonia, and to finde out the limit of Britanny with a course of continual conquests: and those which erewhile were fo wary and wife, waxt forward enough after the event, and grew to speake bigly: fuch is the hard condition of warres: if ought fall out well all challenge apart, misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwife the Britans prefuppoling that not valour, but the cunning of the Generall, by using the occasion, had carryed it away, abated no whit of their stomach, but armed their youth, transported their children and wives into places of fafetie, and fought by affemblies and religious rites to establish an affociation of the cities together. And so for that yeare both parties departed incenfed away.

The same summer a cohort of Vsipians, levied in Germany, and sent over into Britannie, committed a hainous and memorable act. For having flaine a Centurion and certaine fouldiers fet over them for direction in discipline, they fled and embarked themselves in three vessels, compelling the Masters by force to execute their charge: and onely one doing his office, the other two being suspected and thereupon flaine, this strange going out, the fact being yet not noised abroad, was gazed aed wondred at. Afterward being driven uncertainly hither and thither, and affayling the Britans which stood in defence of their owne, often prevailing and fometime repulsed, they came at the last to that misery, that they were inforced to eate one another, first of the weakest, then as the lot lighted. And thus floating about Britanny, and leefing their veffels for lacke of government, they were intercepted first by the Suevians, and then by the Frisians, as pirates and robbers, and fome of them being bought by merchants as flaves and by change of mafters brought to our fide of the river, grew into a name by giving first notice of so great and fo rare an adventure.

In the beginning of the fummer Agricola was deeply touched with a grievous mischance which happened in his own house: for he lost his own sonne being about a yeere old. Which infortunate hap he neither bare out, as fome great men have done in the like, vain-gloriously, nor tooke it again so impatiently as women are wont: and amidst his mourning and forrows used the warre as one of his remedies. Therefore fending his navy before, which by spoyling in fundry places should induce a greater and uncertainer terrour upon them, he made ready and followed himself with his army, joyning thereto some of the valiantest Britans, whom by long experience in peace he had found most faithfull, and so arrived at the mount Grampius, where the enemics were lodged before. For the Britans not daunted Now called with the event of the former battell, and attending for nothing elie but revenge or Giantzbaine. fervitude, and being taught at the length that common danger must be repelled with concord, by leagues and embaffages had affembled the power of all the cities together above thirtie thousand armed men, the view being taken, beside an endleffe number of youth, which daily flocked to them, and lufty old men, renowned

in warre and bearing the badges due to their honour: at what time Galgacus, for

vertue and birth, of all the leaders the principall man, feeing the multitude botly demand the battell, is faid to have used this speech.

"When I view and confider the cause of this warre, and our present necessitie, I "have reason, me seemes, to presume, that this day, and this your agreeing consent, "will give a happy beginning to the freedome of the whole Hand. For both have "we all hitherto lived in libertie, and beside no land remaineth beyond, no sea for "our fafctie, the Romane navy thus, as you fee, furveying our coafts: fo that com-"bate and armes, which men of vertue defire for honour, the dastard also must use "for his fecuritie. The former battels, which have with diverfe event been fought "with the Romanes, had their refuge, and hope refting in our hands. For we the "flower of the British nobility, and seated therefore the furthermostin, saw never "the coasts of the countreys, which served in flavery, even our eyes are kept un-"polluted, and free from all contagion of tyranny. Beyond us is no land, befide us "none are free: us hitherto this corner and fecret recesse hath defended. Now the "uttermost point of the land is laid open: and things the leffe they have been "within knowledge, the greater the glory is to atchieve them. But what nation "now is there beyond us?" what else but water and rocks, and the Romane lords "of all within land? whose intolerable pride in vain shall you seeke to avoide by

"fervice and humble behaviour: robbers of the world, that having now left no "land to be spoiled, search also the sea. If the enemy be rich, they seeke to win "wealth: if poore, they are content to gain glory: whom not the Eaft, nor the west "have fatisfied: the only men of all memory that feek out all places, be they weal-"thy or poore, with like ardent affection. To take away by maine force, to kill and "to spoile, falsely they terme Empire and government: when all is waste as a wil-"dernesse, that they call peace. His children and bloud each man by nature hold-"eth most deare: those are pressed for souldiers, and carryed away to be slaves o-"therwhere. Cur fifters and wives, though they be not violently forced as in open "hostilitie, are in the meane while under the colour and title of friends and guests "often abused. Our goods and substance they draw for tribute, our corne for provi-"fion: our bodies and hands, they weare and confume, in paving of bogges and of "woods, with a thousand stripes and indignities. Slaves which are born to bondage "are fold, but once, and after are fed at their owners expences: but Britanny daily "buyeth, daily feedeth, and is at charges with her own bondage. And as in a pri-"vate retinue the freshman and last comer is laughed and scoffed at by his very fel-"low fervants, fo in this old fervirude of the whole world our destruction onely is "fought, as being the latest and most vile in account. We have no fields to ma-"nure, no mines to be digged, no ports to trade in: and to what purpose then "fhould they referve us alive? Moreover the manhood and fierce courage of the "fubject pleafeth not much the jealous Soveraigne: and this corner being fo fecret "and out of the way, the more fecuritie it yeeldeth to us, in them it works the grea-"rersuspition. So seeing all hope of pardon is past, at the length take courage to "defend and maintain your fafety as well as your honour. The Brigantines led by a . " woman fired the colony, forced the caftles: and if fuch a lucky beginning had not tteni, people of world in floth and fecuritie, they might have with eafe shakt off the yoke. We as and not of the "yet neither touched, never fubdued, and born to be free, not to be flaves of the "Romanes, let us shew straight in the first joyning what manner of men Caledonia "referved in store for her felf. Or do you think the Romans to be as valiant in warre "as they are wanton in peace? No, not by their vertue, but by our jarrings and dif-"cords they are grown into fame: and the faults of their enemies they abuse to the "glory of their own army composed of most divers nations, & therefore as by pre-"sent prosperitie holden together, so if fortune do frown it doubtlesse dissolveth: "unleffe you suppose the Frenchmen and Germans, and, to our shame be it spoken, "many of our own nation, which now lend their lives to establish a forrein usurper, "and yet have been enemies longer then fervants, to be led and induced with any "true hearted and faithfull affection. No, it is terrour and feare, weake workers of "love, which if you remove, those which shall have ceased to feare will straight be-"gin for to hate. All things to incite to the victory are on our fide. No wife to en-"courage the Romans: no parents to upbraid them if they flee: most have either no "countrey at all, or some other: a few fearefull persons, trembling and gazing at the "ftrangeneffe of the heaven it felf, the fea and the woods: whom the gods have de-"livered mewed up, as it were, and fettered into our hands. Let not the vain shew "and glittering of gold and filver terrifie us, which neither defends nor offendeth. "Among the enemies we shall finde of our fide: the Britans will agnize their own "cause: the French will remember their freedome and former estate: the rest of "the Germans will leave and for fake them, as of late the Utipians did. And what "else then have we to feare? the castles are emptie, the colonies peopled with aged "and impotent persons, the free cities discontent and in factions, whilest those

The life of Julius Agricola,

which are under obey with ill will, and they which doe governe rule against right. Here is the Generalland here the army, there tributes and mines, and other miseries inseparably following them which live under subjection of others: which whether we are to continue for ever, or straight to revenge, it lyeth this day in the field. Wherefore going to battell beare in your mindes, I befeech you, both your nance- Your ance-

flours and your posteritie. This speech was cheerefully received, with a song after stors which litheir barbarous fashion, with confused acclamations and noises. And as the companies clustered together, and glistering of armour appeared, whilest some of the libertie: and boldeft advanced forward, and withall the rankes were putting themselves in array, your successful advanced labels his sould as a state of the state

Agricola albeit his fouldier was glad of that day, and scarce could with words be lefte we show withholden, supposing yet best to say somewhat, encouraged them in this wife. Fellow-fouldiers and companions in armes, your faithfull fervice and diligence, thall live for these "eight yeeres so painfully shewed, by the vertue and fortune of the Romane miserable ser-

Empire hath conquered Britanny. In so many journeys, in so many battels we had vitude. of necessitie to shew our selves either valiant against the enemy, or patient and labo-was but the rious above and against nature it selfe. In which exploits we have borne us both seventh yeere hitherto so, that neither did I desire better souldiers, nor you other Captaine. We of his office, as have exceeded the limits, I of my predeceffours, and you likewife of yours. The fore. end of Britanny is found, not by fame and report, but we are with our armes and pavilions really invested thereof: Britanny is found and fubdued. In marching when the paffing of bogges, or mountaines, and rivers, troubled and tired you out, how oft have I heard the valiant fouldier fay, When will the enemy present himselfe? when shall we fight? loe they are now put up out of their holes: and here they are come: your wish loe here, and place for your vertue, and all things to follow in an easie and expedite course, if you winne, if you loose, all against you. For as to have gone fo much ground, escaped the woods, passed over the firthes, is honourable forward, foif we doe flee, the vantages we have this day will become our most difadvantage. For we are not skilled fo well in the countreys, we have not the like ftore of provision, but hands we have and weapons, and therein all things included. For my part I am long fince refolved, that to shew their backs is neither safetie for fouldier nor Generall: and therefore a commendable death is better then life with reproch; and furetie and honour are commonly dwelling together: or if ought flould mishappen, even this will be a glory, to have died in the uttermost end of the world and nature. If new nations, and fouldiers unknowne were in the field, I would by the example of other armies put you in courage: now recount you your own victorious exploits, and aske your own eyes. These are the same men, which the last yeere affailed one legion by stealth in the night, and were by a blast of your mouth overthrown: these of all other Britans have been the most nimble in running away, and therefore have escaped the longest alive. For as in forrests and woods the strongest beasts are chased away by maine force, the cowardly and fearefull are scared by the noise of the hunters, so the valiant of the British nation we have already dispatched, the rascall herd of dastardly cowards only remaineth: whom at length you have found, not as having intended to ftay and make head, but P From the as laft overtaken, and by extreme passion of feare standing as stocks, presenting oc-first entry of casion to us in this place of a worthy and memorable victory. Make an end there-

fore of your warfare, and to pfiftie yeeres travels let this day impose a glorious feemeth not to conclusion. Approve to your countrey, that the army could never justly be charged have been aeither with protracting the warre, or pretences for not accomplifying the conquest, five and fortige As Agricola was yet speaking, the fouldiers gave great tokens of fervencie, and yeares.

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when he had ended accompanied the speech with a joyfull applause, & ran straightwaves to the weapons. Agricola feeing them leffi iently animated, and rushing furiously forward, ordered his men in this manner. With the Auxiliary footmen. being eight thousand, he fortified the middle battell: three thousand horse he put on both fides in the wings; commanding the Legions to stand behinde, before the trench of the camp, to the greater glory of the victory, if it were obtained without Romane bloud, otherwife for affiftance and fuccour, it the vantguard should be repelled. The Britans were marshalled in the higher ground, fitly both to the shew and to terrifie, the first battalion standing on the plaine, the rest in the ascent of the hill, knit & rifing as it were one over another: the middle of the field was filled with the clattering and running of * charets and horsemen. Then Agricola perceiving and fearing left he should be affailed on the front and flankes both at one inftant, difplayed his army in length: and although take mode out by that meanes the battell would become disproportionably long, and many adpadiciones vifed him to take in the Legions, yet being more forward to hope, then yeelding to bigs of carrie, feare he rejected the counfell, and leaving his horse, advanced himselfe before the courses versus, enfignes on foot. In the first encounter, before the joyning, both sides discharged querion faliates and threw: wherein the Britans employing both Art and valour, with their great as or unual fwords and little targets, avoyded our throwes, or shooke them, darting withall Table the 7-are great flore against us of theirs: till at length Agricola spying his vantage exhorted entical effections three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians to preffe forward, and bring the matter to handy strokes and dint of the sword, a thing which they in respect of long fervice were able readily to perform, and contrarily to the enemies prejudiciall, and hurtfull by reason of their little bucklers, and huge swords: for the swords of the Britans, being blunt pointed, were no way fit for the close or for open fight. Now as the Batavians began to deale blowes, to strike with the pikes of their bucklers, to mangle their faces, and having overborne in the plaine all that relifted, to march up the mountaines, the rest of the cohorts gathering courage upon emulation violently beat down all about them, and many halfe dead, or wholly untouched, were left for hafte of winning the field. In the meane time the charets mingled themselves with the battell of the footmen, and the troopes of the horsemen began for to flee: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now diffressed the inserves by the unevennesse of the ground, and thicke rankes of their enemies. Neither was the forme of the fight like a loofe skirmish of horsemen to and fro, but standing still and maintaining their places, they fought by maine weight of horfesto breake and beare downe one another. The wandring waggons also, and matterlesse horses asfrighted, as it happened them by feare to be guided, over-bare many times of their friends which met them, or thwarted their way. Now the Britans, which flood aloofe from the battellon the height of the hils, and at their good leifure difdained our fewnesse, began to come downe by little and little, and to compasse about the backs of our men, which were now in traine of winning the field: but Agricola fuspecting as much, opposed against them soure wings of horsemen purposely retained about him for sudden dispatches, and chances of warre, and repulsed them back as sharply, as siercely they ran to assaile. So the counsell of the Britans turned upon their own heads: and the wings were commanded to for fake the battell and follow the flight. Then might you have feene in the open fields a grievous and pitifull spectacle, pursuing, wounding, taking, and killing of them which were taken when others were offred. Now whole regiments of the enemies, according to their feverall dispositions, though armed and moe in number, turned their backs to the fewer: others unarmed fought their owne death, offering themselves voluntarily to the flaughter. Everywhere weapons lay feattered and bodies, and mangled lims: the ground every where imbrued in bloud: and fometimes even in them which were overcome, appeared nowat their end both anger and valour. When they approched the woods, uniting themselves, they intrapped unawares some of the formost of our men, which unadvifedly followed, not knowing the countrey: and unleffe Agricola had with his presence every where assisted at need, setting about them of his brayeft and most ready footmen, as it were in forme of a toyle, and commanding some of his horsemen to leave their horses where the passages were narrow. and others where the wood was thin to enter on horseback, no doubt we had taken a Tailiw seldone from blow by our overmuch boldnesse. But after they saw our men againe in strong ber, and being ber, and being ber, and being ber, and being ber and seldone to the same of t array to follow the chase in good order, they fled, not in troupes as before, and at- last, as Oresius tending each other, but utterly disbanded and fingle, eschewing all company, toward bidit in history, the defart and farre distant places. The night and our fulnesse of bloud made an buryoffine pend of the chase. Of the enemies side a ten thousand were slaine: three hundred exceptions in and forty of ours; amongst whom was Aulus Atticus a Captaine of a cohort, upon ownering a youthfull heate, and through the fiercenesse of his horse, being carried into the row called middless of his enemies. That night the winners for their part followed by the fierceness. middeft of his enemies. That night the winners for their part folaced themselves soppose. with the victory and spoile: and the Britaines being utterly broken, crying and Ronte rea howling, men and women together, take and draw with them their hurt persons, which is support call the not hurt, for fake their owne houses, and in despite also, set them on fire boron neere themselves, chuse out holes for to lurke in, and straightwayes for sake them, com- "or, departed municate fome counfells together, and then have fome glimbring of hope: fometimes at the fight of their dearlieft beloved they are moved to pity, more often of Britany, and fittred to rage: and certain it is, that fome, as by way of compaffion and mercy, flew the again, their own children and wives. The day following diffeovered more plainly the great type. Domition of the compafficact of the again. neffe of the victory. Every where defolation and filence; no stirring in the moun- Trimentary is taines: the houses fired and imoaking farre off; no man to meet with our spies, who being fent abroad into all quarters found by their footsteps the flight was uncertain, and that they were no where in companies together. Whereupon Agri-mit don't cola because the summer was spent, and the warre could not conveniently be divided. bringeth his army into the borders of the Horrestians, where receiving hostages he commanded the Admirall of the navy to faile about Britanny, lending him on the stappe fouldiers and strength for that purpose, and the terror of the Roman name was gone that purpose, and the terror of the Roman name was gone that a decady before. Himself with easie and gentle journeies, to terrifie the new condition of the state of the quered nations with the very stay of his passage, disposed his footmen and horsemen And horsemen The like Suetein the wintering places, and withall the navy with prosperous winde and successes a me the navy with prosperous winde and fuccesses a me the navy with the nav eerest fide of Britanny returned thither againe.

This state of affaires in Britanny Agricola signified by letter, without any ampli
were, siddlenow here, s neerest side of Britanny returned thither againe.

fying termes to Domitian: who after his manner with a cheerefull countenance, and quoque processifiigrieved heart received the newes, being inwardly pricked to thinke, that his late wing diechat, counterfeit triumph of Germany, wherein certaine flaves bought for money at 10 getable to many, wherein certaine flaves bought for money at 10 getable to many, were attired, and their haire dressed as captives of that countrey, was had in deristion principles legis and juffly skorned abroad, whereas now a true and great victory, fo many thousands Pompam, coeging of enemies being flaine, was current and famous in every mans mouth: that it were lare, ac full military indeed a most tivillous point, if a private mans name should be exalted above the ceman, sed & fername of the Prince. In vaine then had he suppressed the study of Oratory, and all eum addifeers, & other worthy politicke arts, if he should in military glory be disseised by another fort.

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* Illustris statue konorem. 1. bist.triumphales statua. for other matters might more eafily be passed over, but to be a good commander of an army was to be above private estate, that being a vertue peculiar for a Prince. With these and the like cares being tormented, and musing much in his closet alone. which was a token and figne of some cruelty intended, he thought it yet best for the present to dissemble and put off his malice, untill the heat of his glory & love of his fouldiers, were somewhat abated; for as yet Agricola remained in charge. Wherefore he commanded that all the honours of triumphallornaments, * image triumphall, and what else usually was conferred in liew of triumph, should be awarded unto him in Senate in most ample & honorable termes: and sending a successor caused withall a bruit to be spread, that the province of Syria which then lay voyde, by the death of Atilius Rufus the Lieutenant, and was referved for men of great quality. was purposed unto him. And a common opinion went, that Domitian sending one of his most secret and trusty servants to Agricola, sent withall the patent of Syria, withinstruction, that if he were in Britanny it should be delivered: and that the fame man meeting Agricola as he croffed the fea, without speaking unto him, or delivering his message, returned againe to Domitian. Whether this were true or fained and furmized probably, as correspondent to the princes disposition, I cannot affirme: but in the meane season Agricola had delivered to his successour the province in good and peaceable effate. And left his arrivallat Rome should be noted, by reason of the multitudes of people which would goe out to see, and to meet him, cutting off that curtesie of his friends, he entred the cityby night, and by night, as he was willed, came to the palace. Where being admitted to the Princes presence, & received with a short falutation and no speech, he forted himselfe with the rest of the waiters. Now to the end he might temper & qualifie with other good parts his militar renown, a vertue unpleasant to men of no action, he gave himself wholly to quietnesseand medling with nothing; being in apparell moderate, affable in speech, accompanied usually but by one or two of his friends: fo that many, which commonly judge of great men by outward appearance and pompe, feeing and marking Agricola, missed of that which by fame they conceived, few ayined aright at the cause Often was he in those dayes accused to Domitian in absence, and in absence acquitted. The cause was neither matter of crime, nor complaint of party agrieved, but the renowne of the man, and the Princes disposition hating all vertue, and "the most capitallkind of enemies commenders, procured the perill. And in truth those times ensued in the state, which would not suffer Agricolaes name to be buried in filence: fo many armies in Moesia, Dacia, Germany, Pannonia, either through the rashnesse or cowardlinesse of the Generals cast away: so many good fouldiers, with fo many cohorts defeated and taken. Neither was it the question then for the uttermost bounds of the Empire and banke of the River, but the standing campes of the Legions, and the provinces themselves were in danger of leefing: fo that loffes being heapt upon loffes, and every yeere becomming notorious for some calamity and overthrow, Agricola was required by the speech of the people for Generall, every man comparing his quickenesse, resolutenesse, and experience in warre, with their infufficient and dastardly dealings: with which kinde of talke, it is certainely knowne, Domitians eares were not unacquainted: his faithfullest servants upon love and allegeance, the rest upon spite and envy pricking him forward, being of himself prone to the worse. So Agricoa partly through his owne vertues, and party the vices of others, was drawne leadlong perforce into glory. Now the yeere was at hand, when as the Proconfulfhip of Afia, or Africke should be alotted unto him, and in the late murdering of " Civica, nei-

ther could Domitian faile of example to follow, nor Agricola of direction what he should doe. Some also prive to the Princes secret intents offered speech of themfelves, and asked him whether he could be content to accept of the government: commending at the first a farre off a quiet life and voyde of businesse, and proffering anon their mediation to the Prince to allow his excuse. At the last declaring their purpose in plaine termes, by perswasions and threats they induced him to become a direct suiter in that behalfe to Domitian: who setting a fained countenance upon it, and composing himselfe to keep majesty and state, both heard his humble petition excusing himself from that charge, and when the excuse was admitted, suffered himselfe to be solemnly thanked, and was not ashamed of so odious a benefit. How- * That is, his beit the pension, which was wont to be offered to men of that quality and by him going into the had beene granted to certaine, he did not bestow upon Agricola: either being "Meant as I offended it was not fued for, or upon the guiltinesse of his owne conscience, left take it princithereby he should seeme to have bought out * that thing, which he had forbidden dins and * thra-It is the property of mans nature to hate those whom he hath hurted: beside Domi-sea, whom tian was prone and headlong to anger, and the more close the more irrevocable, yet Matial also was he notwithstanding altered and mollified by Agricolaes discretion and wary Epigramme to behaviour: for he did not with obstinacy, nor vaine oftentation of liberty neither Decianis much hasten his fame nor his fall. Let them well know that are wont to admire those to this purpose. things alone, which are done against the streame of the time, that great men may Thraske conbe found even under bad Princes; that dutifull obedience and modefty, if industry summatique and valour be joyned, may attaine to that degree of praise and renowne, which some tas second following dangerous courses have aspired unto by an "ambitious death, without salvus ut est any further profit at all.

The end of his life brought mourning to us, and griefe to his friends, and even by "to inturis in ftrangers and persons unknown was lamented: the common fort also, and this retch-enseis, Quod leffe people of ours, both came of to his house, and in all publike places & meetings recision to the left people of ours, both came of to his house, and in all publike places & meetings recision to the left people of ours, both came of to his house, and in all publike places & meetings had it in speech, neither did any person, when he heard of his death, either rejoice, or 2010 woum, fodainely forget it. And that which procured the greater compassion was a constant facilized in a report, that he was made away by poyson. Of mine owne knowledge I dare affure qui same: Hunc nothing: this only, that during the time of his ficknesse there came from Domitian, volo landari oftener then usually are wont from Princes, who visit by others, both of his secretest qui fine monte fervants and neerest physicians to see him, whether as of carefulnesse, or only to spie, y That is, of I leave it uncertain: certain it is, that the day of his death, every degree of his go-the vertuous ing away was carried in post to the Prince; and few men believed the newes should qualities of Abe hastened so much, that he would be sorry to heare. Notwithstanding he made z Foure and thew of forrow in minde and in countenance, being now out of danger y of that fiftieth, at the which he hated, and one that more easily could diffemble his joy then his feare. most, for from When Agricolaes testament was read, wherein he made Domitian coheire with conf. to follega his most deare wife and most dutifull daughter, it was certaine he greatly rejoyced and Prifus thereat, as if it had beene a figne of honour, or proceeded of judgement: fo blinded no more but he was, and fo greatly corrupted by continuall custome of flatteries, that he could fifty three not perceive, that no good father did ever appoint for his heire any Prince, but a ty-yeeres, but for rant. Agricola was borne the thirteenth day of June, Caius Cæfar being third not only of time Confull, and dyed the z fixe and fiftieth yeere of his age, the fower and twen- Tacitus, but of tieth day of August, Collega and Priscus being Confuls. Of personage (if posteri-other History ty desire to be informed thereof) he was rather well proportioned then tall, with missection in an affurednesse and great grace in his countenance: 12a good man you would easily a manner althinke him, and willingly a great. And although he dyed in the middle course of wayes to the

n Sue mius
Domitiano e.
10. complures
fenatores, in his
aliquot confulares interemit,
in quibus Civieam Cerealem
in is so Afre
in in Afre

his ripeage, in respect of honour and glory he lived with the longest: for of all the parts of true felicitie, which confifteth in vertue, he had fulfilled the measure: and having obtained beside Consulare and triumphall ornaments, what more could

fortune annex to his estate? Excesse of riches he delighted not in ; honourably he had and according to his degree. Yea happy may he be thought and happy indeed, that escaped thosetempests which followed, leaving behinde him a daughter

and wife, his honour not stained, his fame not touched, his friends and allies in flourishing state. For as in our hearing he wished and hoped to live and last to the light a Then it must of this most bleffed age, and see Trajan established Prince, so his hastened dearh

be by wayof had this great comfort, that he lived not to fee that last and most miserable time in prophecy,not the which Domitian, notateassons but by fits, but with a continual course and

or ancours: for in Domitians at one blow, as it were, ruined the state. Agricolalived not to see the Senate house time there was befet, the Senate environed with fouldiers, and all in one fury the death of fo ma.

ny Consulare personages, the banishments, and flights of so many great women. Carus Metius had obtained as yet but one conquest, and Messalinus bloudy sen-

tences kept themselves within the mannor of Alba, and Massa Bebius himself was then called in question. Anon after our hands led Helvidius into prison, the fight

Domitiascru- of d Mauricus and Rusticus pierced our hearts: Senecio besprinkled us with his guiltleffe blood. Yet Nero withdrew his prefence, and commanded cruelties, looked

was stalla 11- not on, the principall part of our miseries under Domitian was to see and to be seen:

116.1.19.11. & when our fecret fighes were registred, when that cruell countenance and red visage.

4.cp.12. Juve- with which he armed himselse against blushing and shame, could endure to note

na. c De repetundis: and marke the feares and palenesse of so many persons. Thrice happy then mayest the province of thou, Agricola, be counted, not only for the renowne of thy life, but also for the

Betita being opportunity of thy decease. Thou diddest as they doe affirme, which were present plaintife, Sine opportunity of thy decease.

cio and Pliny at thy last speeches, accept thy death most patiently and willingly, as though for thy

accusers, as the part thou wouldest have cleered the Prince. But I and thy daughter, beside the

losse of so deere a father, we have a further cause to be grieved, that it was not our

chance to be by in thy ficknesse, to cherish thy weaknesse, to fatisfie and content our

felves with feeing and embracing thee. Some counfell no doubt, and some pre-

reflored under cepts we should have received in charge to print and engrave in our hearts: this is

Nova, Plindib. our griefe, this our speciall missortune: tous, in respect of our long absence source

yeeres before thou was lost. And albeit thy most loving wife the best of all mothers

fate by, and furnished no doubt all things in most honorable fort, yet wast thou layed

up with fewer teares, and at thy last houre thine eyes missed somewhat. If therebe

any place for the ghosts of good men, if, as wife men define, the foules of great per-

fons dye not with the body, in peace mayest thou rest, and recall us thy posteritie from impatient and womannish wailings to the contemplation of thy vertues,

which are in no fort to be forrowed for, or bewailed, but rather admired,

* * * * * * * * * . This is true honour indeed, and this is the dutie

of neerest kinsfolkes. So I would counsell thy daughter and wife to reverence the memory of their father and husband, with often remembring his doings and words,

recognizing the glory and image of his minde, rather then of his body: not that I

diflike of images cut in marble or metall, but as mens faces, for he images of faces

are mortalland fraile; the shape of the minde is externall, which we may represent

and expresse, not by matter and Art borrowed abroad, but by our owne manners within. That of Agricola which we did love, which we admired, remaineth, and so

will remaine, in the mindes of men, in the continuall succession of ages, in same

and renowne. For many of the ancients will lye buried in obscure and inglorious

Annotations upon the life of Julius Agricola.

oblivion, but Agricola shall live recommended to posterity, and continue for ever.

Annotations upon the life of Iulius Agricola.

I. Forum Iulium Atowne feated in littore Narbonens, diftant from Massilia 75. miles, as Strabo a reckoneth. a Lib. A Of the same name there were also in Italy, but none so famous as this. The present estate whereof is described very well (as all other things) by that excellent Chancellour of France, Michael b Hospitalis. b Epift, lib. 5.

Inde forum Juli parvam nunc venimus urbem :

Apparent veteris vestigia magna theatri, Ingenies arcus, & therme . & ductus aquarum;

Apparet miles antiqui diruta portus.

Atque ubi portus crat, siccum nunc littus & hati.

2. None of the judiciall places That is, he was neither Pretor inbanus, nor peregrinus, which were the two places of civill caufes, properly called by the name of Jaisfailio. To the rest belonged cognition of criminall caufes, as de Ambiu, Repetundus, Falo, vensiciis, &c. properly called by the name of Qualliones, and under the Emperors handled before the Præfectus urbis, rather then their owne Prætor, which at those times carried not much more then a

3. Playes] To give playes and passimes to the people, seemeth to have been at the first the Ædiles peculiar charge, 3 the nativon of weariff and amyneum. That is, Of other Prators men doe expect and require largefles, stage

playes and Gladiatores: but at your hands they expect a matter of more importance. 4. Patritians] One of the fundamentall divisions in the Roman state was in Patres, five Patrities, & plebeies, The Patritii were all made by Romulus, as Livy reporteth, Senators and Councellors of state : as Dionysius, out of the Patritii the Senators were elected. Hostilius uniting Alba to Rome, Principes Albanorum in Patres, ut ea quoque pars reip, ensceret, ligit, Julios, Servilios, Quintios, Geganios, suratios, Clavios. After whom the elder Tarquinius uon minus

regni fui firmandi, quam auzende reip. memor, centum in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati. Liv. lib. 1. And when the Kings were cast out, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, cedibus regis deminutum Patrum numerum, primoribus equestris gradus lectis, ad trecentorum summam explevit Brutus. And five yeeres after, Appius e Liv. lib. ...

Claudius, Pering with its faction from the Sabins to Rome, inter Pains lettin (f); being the last, I remain, and the property of the Market and the Sabins to Rome, inter Pains lettin (f); being the last, I remain, and on which is the sabins to Rome in the real fact chair honour was conferred, to be made a patrician. The Emperous Properties and property and the case of the sabins and the case of the sabins and the case of the sabins and t have it feeme, of the Senate, supplyed in the number of the Patritians, whereof the most part was decayed, nothing in civil warres going fo much to the walles as the ancient nobility. Dio, lib. 52. And Claudius, lifdem diebus in ing. merum Patritiorum afervit Cafar (Claudius) vetuflissimam quemque à senatu, aut quibus clari parentes suerant, paucis jam reliquis familixum, qu.15 Romulus majorum, & L. Brutus minorum gentium appellaverat, exhaustis ctium quas dictator Cefar lege Caffia, & princeps Augustus lege Senia sublegere. Tac. 11. Annal. And lattly, as it may here appeare, Vespasian, after

whole time I finds no mention of any fact horogation, only I finds that contantine the great under the and arms of Partiti induced a new kinds of office, and horour unspecious to the Practicit Partition. Zofinus, பின்றே கூடுக் Kercuritie को देश्वर மாற்குள் of Harzada, ஒன்ற மணிய கொல்லாடு இது வில், ஒருக்கிறை விளையாக இருவின் இரி #υλλε ιστάρχον 10/40 θιτύστος. That is, Optatus had obtained the dignity of Patricius at Conftantinus hand, who ซ้องอัง เซ็อร์คุรอา จะเลง วิทธ์ของ ซี . That is, Optatus had obtained the dignity อา สมเดอม ละ obtained and of Patri. The figure of first deviled this honour, and gave them in that place prefence before the Præfecti Prætorio, lib.t. And of Patri. The figure of whole Britanny

5. A pontificiall dignity] Of all the colledges of Priells, in Rome being many in number, that of the Pontifices according to Tawas of supremelt authority, confifting of foure, afterward foure more were added, and the number by Sylla further
citus. augmented, cligible in the free state by chapter, sometime by the people, afterward appointed by the Prince. The head of this colledge, was called Pontifex maximus, an honour refiant in the Emperors person even from the time of Julius, in whom the Empire, and Pontificatus first by chance were united, and continued even in the Christian Emperors, till Gratian call off both the name and the attire. Zofimus lib. 4 - @ may from and W morngian et a make it is given the make it is given to give to the call of the brought unto him according to the cultome the pontificiall habit, he rejected the fuit, supposing it unlawfull for a Christian to weare that attire. And afterward Theodosius, asthe same Zosimus and Symmachus report, distolved the colledge of the pontifices, and all the rest of the priests, and conficated the revenewes. The name of Pontifex, faith Varro, lib. 4. de ling. Lat. is deduced a ponte, namab iis Sublicius est factus primum, & restitutus sape. Zosimus de-

riveth the name from an ancient custome among the Thessalians, where before the use of temples, the images of the gods being placed upon the bridge of the river Peneus, the prieffs thereof were named provenies. 6. To a long diff, or two edged axe] Scutula, used by Tacitus here, and Martial. lib. 1 1. Epigram. 32. and feutella by Tully, fignifieth a dish usually served at table, and to Sentula is inguasas. That is, A long square, by Censotinus cap. 18 refembled, whose definition by Euclide is this (for in Cenformus the place is corrupted) are about the same of t the fides equall, like to the figure A. although by this place of Tacitus it may feeme, that not at all Soutula were inesweeks, but some of some other fashion, for he addeth oblonge, limiting as it were the generality of the word, Bipennis, faith Quintilian, Institut. orator. lib.1. securis virinque habens aciem, a pinna quod est acutum. Now how well the part of Britanny here described resembleth the axe, or the dish, or one of them the other (although two like to a

third ought in good Geometry to be like together) because I scenot my selfe, I am content to leave it to others, One





nolikelihood at all of that fucceffion, b Carus and Adfalinus infruments of

fame Pliny writeth, lib.7.

ep.33. d Exiled by

teor. likeneth the knowne part of the world mus of res. a actorogram a actorogram h Verf. 277-

> 1 CAD. 35. k Cab. 47.

CAriflot 2. Me-thing I fee, that many good writers have had but ill lucke in fuch kinde of refemblances. Strabo e likeneth the thing I iee, that many good writers have nation in make it that make or settlemanter. Strato or intentit the known epitr of the world to a f cloake, and Dionyfus Afterto a f fling (being much like the one to the other) and both of them Spaine to an oxe-hide, Rutilius Numatianus I talytoan oakenleafe; and the fame Dionyfus and both of their Spane to at love may, relating Peloponnese maranion weeks on mission. That is, To the moule-taile-

Tympano.

Mirica and Entrope to a proper to the leafe of a Plaintree.

The extreame and proper to the extreme to the extrem 7. The extreame and plaine parts] A place in mine opinion very hard to be well understood, or at least, made ood. For he seemeth to say, that the extreame parts of the world being plaine, the night therefore is nothing, or fhort, which importeth as much, as if the night were nothing elfe, but when the funne hideth it selfe behinde fome mountaine or other; or elfe, that albeit the earth toward the middeft was globose and bossed, yet was it toward the mountaine or out to the state and the state and the state and the state of the stat cause of the shortnesse of the nights, but the lownesse proceedeth not neither of mountaine, nor plaine, but because the Sunne and the Summer feafon runneth his course almost all above ground in those countries toward the poles, and when it doth fer, by reason of the inclination of his circle to the Horizon, descendeth not directly, but passeth obliquely razing as it were under their Horizon, yet one of the Panegyrifts, as though Tacitus had delivered us here matter worthy of imitation, hath taken the paines to assume this high point of learning ad verbum into his oration.

1. Pearles | Marcellus lib. 22. Apud Indos & Pessas margarite reperiuntur in testis marinis robustis & candidis, primixtione voris anni tempore prassituto concepta. Cupientes enim velut coitum quendam humoris, ex lunari aspergine capiunt denfus ofcitando. Exindeque gravida edunt minutas binas aut ternas, vel uniones se appellatas quod ejus terra conchula singulas aliquoties pariunt, sed majores. Itaque indicium est atherapotius derivatione quam saginis pelagi hos oriri setus & vesci, qued gutte maiutini rois isidem issuss claros efficient lapillos & teretes: vespertini vero fluxuosos contra & rutidos, & maculosos interdum. Minima autem vel mogua pro qualitate haustuum sigurantur casibus variatis. Concusse vero sepissime metu salesuum inane Cunt, aut debilia pariunt, auteerte vitiis defluunt abortivis. Capturas autem difficiles & periculofas, & amplicudinis pre-

contextum theracem Veneri genetrici confecravit. Plin. 9. Policy Conflium. As in a naturall body too little is unperfect; too great unwealdy; so in a politicke, both the extreamities are weake, and not defentible, although peradventure as well in the one body as in the other, and the extreamities are weake, and not defentible, although peradventure as well in the one body as in the other, and the extreamities are made and the other and the extreamities are the other and the extreamities are the extreamities are the other and the extreamities are the e ly foreseeing in his time, when as the Roman Empire was growne to that greatnesse, ut jam mole laboraret sia, suth iy toreiceing in mis time, when as the roman empire was growne to that greathers, in Jim more lawarelyas, lith Livy, reftrained first of allthat infinite defire of inlarging, of which act as a thing most advisedly done full liming. Cocairibus bringeth. Augustus himelfed difcourful hi in the words, wire a his high rad wee words, wire it is a week words. We will discourse the words with the words wire for the words. We will be a wire of the words with the words wit with the words with the words with the words with the words wit Smithelightung, Ispon of Bogodulum mompute William. And imonifica ne Imoder of Deputer 1919. Smithelightung older nie kantiliae gat viv 26000, 2 mineper aner & aner & aner oceanic meun, &c. That is, The affaires of the Empire I feetled, fo that it wis become as strong and as hard to make a breach into as a diamant. For I yeelded not to those unmeasurable debres of conquering full more and more, but contented my felfe with those two limits, as it were appointed by nature, of Danubius and Euphrates, afterward the Gods sparing me longer life, I undertooke some necessary matters, and those dispatched lought not occasion to make still warre upon warre. After the death of Augustus a book was produced written with his owne hand, in the which, faith Tac. 1. Annal. opes publice continuantum quantum civium faciounque in amis, qual laffes, regas, provincie, ributa, aut rettingula, de neufliates, at lagitimes, adicheatque informere confluent, faith he, uning the fame word in both places focaking of the fame muter, conceasi into a terminos imprii, increum meta, par invidum. Dio.lib.56. yniden ra devois isben, wis ra majors apachian is, undujuse 32 mees y september 1980. advice to content themselves with their present estate, and in no case to seeke to inlarge the limits of the Empire, for it would be both hard to be keptand in danger, he faid, even that which they had, and this precept he alwayer observed himselfe not only in word but in deed and effect, refusing when as with great facility he might to conquer any more of the barbarous nations.

To buy corne | The Romans, befide tribute, imposed upon the countreyes subdued, such at least as yeelded commodity thereof, a proportion in corne, commonly the tenth part, and befide for the provision of the Lieutenant and fouldiers maintained there, and other like purposes, at a reasonable price. In gathering whereof the purveyours and takers, and sometime the head officers used many concussions and unlawfull exactions, as appeareth at large in Tullies fifth oration against Verres. In Britanny it feemed the Romans had ingrossed all the corne of the country, and instituting a monopoly thereof compelled the poore Britaines to buy at their hands and their price, and by and by laying a new charge upon them as to victuall the army, or fuch like, to fell it againe underfoot. Moreover the cart-takers for carriage of provision from Canterbury, for example to London, would take up carts at Caerlile, or make them pay well to be pared, whereas the fame thing might have beene done without any modellation at all of the subject, but not with like gaine to the officers. These abuses, or other of this kinde, are meant in this place,

feemeth a strange polition at the first fight, yet may be, and daily is, both easily and diversly performed. For example. To commend a man to his Prince for those qualities, wherein the Prince himself either by his place ought to excell or otherwise upon some speciall fancy affected to excell, and principally if he finde any weaknesse that way in himself, is of one of the most subtle, ready, and pernicious meanes to worke a great manin disgrace with his Prince. Whether the humour were with restinfused into us at our beginning, I know not ; but I surely believe, that

no man liveth fo utterly voide of good parts, but that he supposeth he hath some speciall gift above most mensome way or other. The nature and motions of which humor and whose can marke and observe in his Prince, to take where advantage is offered, and worke as the matter doth yeeld, shall seldome want meanes to doe harme; to where advantage is offered, and worke as the matter out years, mail removes were in they delight and pleafe themfleves, being as ready meanes to doe hurt, even with the good Princes, the many of the principal as to k feele and fearch our, what they feared, hath beene with the bad. For if all kinds of rivality because the many timers, as Tigelmen causes of grudge and dislike, what may the subject attend from his Prince (whose minde, as his body is more linus did with tender, and apr to receive offenfive impressions) in fo great meanes to offend, but assured destruction, be the Nero, See Tacit, center, and previously the receive mercine imperiously in to great metalics to ordering, but any of one gentle there exercises a concurrency founded upon never fo final and trifling a point? Dionyfius the clder; upon forme gentle phrenfie, I bearing a defire in his old dayes to become a writer of Tragedies, hated, imprifored, and tortured Philosenus the first displays with New years grounded upon a fuppole, joshwar with writer with New years grounded upon a fuppole, joshwar with writer than the property with the property of the property Foci, who frement of faith it in agint. — In a menting act of Society with vertow as grounded upon supports, gashoo are menting that senses to cought to excell him in cloquence, and making of verfes, unto which fluides the Prince in those days making in a rule had wholly betaken himselfe. And in this latter time setling his love and fancy upon singing and playing in the graph qualities unseemely for his center, a he call out of favour, and then made away Paris the slage playing the state of qualities unseemely for his center, a head out of favour, and then made away Paris the slage playing the state of the st lities of Otho, albeit the did it to another intent, yet wrought the unawares his o diferedit with the fame Nero. & dispugations-Intes of Otho, after the did it to another intent, yet wrought me unawaters in a uncreative time to the control which before a Patience, it is the strong to that eftermed it more then his crowner to be accounted the most beautiful personage in the world, maketh one of the patient of the control which is control to the control which is the control whi fo prone to engender emulation, and emulation in that kinde, dangerous effects. But above all other kinde of 27 th operation commendations, that toucheth most necrely, and worketh most danger, where the quality commended breedeth are not onelylove, but admiration also generally amongst the meane people, as militar renowne, magnanimity, pa- of as means tronage of justice against all oppressions and wrongs, magnificence and other Heroical vertues properly belong, where ing, or chiefly beforming the Princes person. And this being generall to all in some measure, no Prince in the measure of the me ing, or chiefly betterming the Princes person. And this being generall to all in some measure, no Prince in the megation and world having his minde so well armed against this cunning, but that some breach may be made at some seasons of manusary. worth it would be the control of the is it true allo, that inititheiency is most apprenentive and envious. P venjama and ourse great trues, anatom for the property in upon their owner might, and the thrength of their vertues, could easily digit, that one filloud be faid, for exam-great, substituting ple, to two imprasting garfin, year and preferred him also to a place of credit, adding in jeft, that the would prevent a ris riskin, and the present of the prese In like manner certaine of Constantius court, whereas they could not justly speake ill, by the same first agence of containing praising in audience of their master, a jealous and suspicious Prince because he was weake and unable, brought would make must Julian in hatred, as Mamertinus declareth at large in his Panegrycke. Cum (Juliui) fantis principis mores acque inflitu. 25 us. d=054 ta, fulfuum vituperationum licentiam fulmoverent, callido novendi artificio accufatoriam dartiatem laudum titulis perageban: 46 rde narasses. Control State of the Control of the futurentum: invenerunt accusandi genus qued nallus reselleret. Another kinde of hurting by way of commendation is Neronia touched by Polybius, whereof he giveth us in the fourth booke of his hiftory an example in the person of Apelles rum venifies free. a counfeller, and one in chiefe credit with Philip of Macedony father of Perfeus: who being defirous to remove n Suer. Nero 54 Taurion, governour of Peloponnele from his charge, and place some creature of his in his roome, told Philip of Tac. 13 Annal. his mafter, that Taurion was a most singular man, and fix in all respects to serve neerer, counselling him there-ritate such as post upon to fend for him home and place him about his owne person, craftily calling him by that meanes from an engressia of co-honourable, and almost absolute government thicker, where he should live in equality with others, and be subject missian other honourable, and almost absolute government thither, where he should live in equality with ouncits, and be tauged to checke as one of the meany: great men in this point somewhat resembling the moone, which although the beamilians greatest and the samilians greatest. fetch her light from the Sunne, and eftfoones reforteth thither agains to receive new influence and vertue, yet in ret, provincia Luher prime turneth her blacke face toward the world, and fhineth then brightelt when theis furthelt removed. Albeit fitania praficilatter times the contrary example hath beene more usual in courts, by way of commendation to remove one from two.

about the Prince, and fend him out of the way, underpretence that he is the only he man for such and such service Posterinar Venture. abroad. Many other kindes might be reckoned of this fort of fophility, as to commend a man publickly, where fulficious allows it can doe no good (befide that it maketh the party fecure of all danger from thence) and fecretly dispraise him, vel metu ad parwhere it should doe much harme. Manlius Valins, saith Tacitus 1. Hist. quanquam bene de partibus meritus, nullo apud niciem enjusquam Vuellium honore suit : secretis eum criminationibus insumeverat Fabius ignarum, &, quo incautior deciperetur, palam landatum, compeller etur, Orefice to commending energialities, and for sharp worse resums agraining so, quo measure acuprents, prime accusation, returns definition of Orefice to commending energialities, and for sharp women to equino to a friend in the prince eares, conficuently measurable to distable to this or that particular, which shall be in question; with such like deceits, which the malice of course encoded me glie extension of the prince in this protection is the malice of course encoded me glie extension of the prince in the prince of course from the properties of the prince of the prin and in court it remaineth.

12. A good man you would cassly thinke him, &c., Bonum virum facile crederes, 'mongrum libenter,' Et te Cornell Ta. Surederesting ene-ting bonum historicum facile credimus, bonum orutorem crederemus libenter, were it not for this and some other sayings of restriction, insuperthelike making. Fuit illi viro, faith : Tacitus judging of Seneca as we may of him, ingenium amounum, & temporis Confecerit, fronillins auribus accommodatum. How that age was cared, long or round, I cannot define: but fure I am it yeelded a den quandaque kinde of fophilbeate cloquence, and riming harmony of words, whereunder wasfmall matter in fenfe when there formers feemed to be most in appearance. This kinde of Rhetoricke was induced into Gracia by the teachers of oratory in a Esparance. schoole, whose judgements ase and experience had not refined: first by Gorgias, as it may well appeare were to go of my by that little of his which is left; then by Hoctates and his disciples, and being refused by that judicious middle schools.

તું કોંગ્રહ- 18 દાવે પીંગુગામાન તોર્ગ ઉત્તરામાં પ્રાપ્યુકાંગરીમાં ઉત્તર જોગતા, જેને જોઈ જોઇ તોર્ગ જેને જોગતાના જોવિત- 1830 ત્રામાન

as I understand it, submitting my judgement herein to men of better experience that way,
11. The molt capitall kinde of enemies, commenders To hurt ordifferace by way of commendation, albeit it

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nation found favour in some corners of Asia, till at length the use of eloquence decaying in common wealth, and the study thereof remaining in schooles, that bastard Rhetoricke returned againe, yeelding us in stead of the soundthe tany the total characteristics of the state of the st Romans fucking the best from the Greekes, when they were attheir best fayled not much that way, unlesse per-Romans tucking the ben from the Greekes, when they were actual ben tayled not much that way, unfelle per-adventure we may reckon Hortenflus as one of the number: for fo Tullyin Bruto feemes to describe him. But of the latter, whom we have almost not infected with that herefic of stile begun by Seneca, Quintilian, the Plinies, the satter, whom we nave amon not interest what mathement the veget of your years a significant, the Plines, and Tacitus, continued in their fuceflors the Panegrifts, and laftly convayed to Christian religion by Cyprian, Ambrofe, Augustine, Bernard, &c? For a tafte of this affectation in Tacitus, 1. Hifl. Retatemporum fuciciate this sentire que velts, & que sentias dicere licet. Inchoavere annum sils ultimum, reip. prope supremum. Secunde res actionibus simulis animum explorant, quia miseria toteranum, seciciate corrumpimar. Quatrido (esar properata adoptione, ad hoc tanum majori fratri pra atus ut prior occideretur. Et uno amne discretis connexum odium. Redievunique in castra inviti neque inrocenmajorifratis pre-auus ut prim occamenur. Es uma ama: aquerus conucxum anum. escutemaque in capita involt neque umocen-tes. Recillos pintes & fistari principes terrucre, quo minus facerent feclus cujus ultor est quilqui licesfisi. Lueque cha pla-camenta bossisis ir e non quidem in bella, fed pro pace tendebantur 2. Hill. El Viviellius credidis de persida & fidem abfolvis. 3. Hill. Asfrens & antea Capitolium, sed fraude privata, nune palave obsessiblem, palam incensum. With many more of the same marke.

FINIS.

A VIEW OF CERTAINE MILITAR matters, for the better understanding of the

ancient Roman stories.



Ervice in warre is by land, or by water. The Roman fervice by land was either at home in the City, or externall abroad. The externall confifted principally in Legipus and Auxilia; a knowne division in the Roman stories. Livius lib.8. Pro exercitu, legionibus, quailis P. R. legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum diis manibus devovee. Most frequent in Tacitus 1. hist. infecit ta tabes legionem quoque & auxiliorum motas jam mentes. 13. Ann. Copie orientis ita dividuntur, ut pars auxiliarium cum duahus Legionibus apud Quadratum remaneret, par civium, sociorumque numerus Corbuloni effet. Where also we see he varieth the words Legiones and Auxilia, by two equivalent in the latter member cives & focis. And Livius lib. 7. civilis exercitus and focialis contus.

lene in the latter memorranes & joun, and Living 10,7, seem exercise any journe cours, meaning the Roman Legions and Latine. Auxilia. Lego, faith Varcolib.4, de lingua Latina, quod · leginuta militas in a To this etymodildia, delastl. The Grecians translate is diverly: some spatimely, some others when, indo, nothing, synthos, logy of the word which, mountain distances or mained with in respect to their standing campes, which were fortified and walled, and calland any affects.

gave occasion in the latter times to the founding of many great cities in the Empire. LEGIO was divided into Pedier and Equitor: although peradventure formetimes by Legions and also by Au-which demanded

xilia the footmen alone are intended, as being the more principall part. The other two kindes of fervice in field by donative, test a charets and Elephants, either were never in the Roman Hate, or were not ordinary, and even fo were quickly layed formilitem, non chartes and Elephones center were never many community with the control was specially and downer. The manner of fighting out of chartes, a matter fo often recorded not only by Poets in hole fabulous times, but also by the writers of the facred flory, may feeme to have beene in a fort proper to those Heroica temora, and by generall confent of the world (fome few barbarous nations excepted, who are alwayes best keepers of cuflomes) laid afide, befide the unwealdinesse, peradventure because to furnish out one fighting man in that case,

b foure mouths were to be fed, and soure bodies armed, of which any one fayling the service of all foure was b The man that Toute mounts were to be trey, and noure orders among our winning one symmetric to an induce was a mental man at an end. The other by Elephants was an enders, and continued long among the Ealterne and Southerly nations, "fighted, the the countries yielding good force of those beats: by the Romans feldome used, not for that they lacked the breed cochronia, and (for what would they lacke, that either could ferve for use or delight? and of those creatures they would kill for their the least. pleafure hundreds at once in their Theatres) but because they utterly disliked the service, as ambiguous, turning as often the further of the owner as of the enemy. Where of they faw good proofe in the army of Pyrthus, who fifthrought them into Italy: in which, one faith, cadem fina, que primam victorium Romanis abilialerant, fecundum parem fecerant, c I. Florus lib. 1. them into Italy: in which, one tatin, Getten joes, que priming viscourism agricultural primary issuance primary stream. The Talketten actions also found them at the length unferviceable 4 for the capata tendernefits of their hoofes, and divers other respects: and so they remaine generally laid assist. Now for the number of the capata for the capata ber of Pedites and Equit s in a Legion, Romulus at the foundation of Rome, after the misfortune of Remus wherein Disc, Sie, lib, 19. Der of Petites and Equit 3 in a Legion, Kormano as une roundation or Koine, meet une manoritant our feinem withermany perinden, dand only three thouland footomen, and three hundred hotelearn, remaining. Dionyl, lib. 1, and 2, of which number he composed his Legion as the very first beginning of Rome according to Pilitaria. The management of the transfer and the property of the beginning of Rome according to Pilitaria. The management of the transfer and the property of the nerion into its. That is, When as the City was built, first of all he forted the people fuch as were within yeeres of fervice into Legions. Every Legion confilted of 300. footmen, and 300. horfe. Romalo. One horfeman for tenne fervice uno Legions. Every Legion confitted of 300. 100 temen, and 300 nouse. Annue. Somewhat in this Tation-foot. Varro blas, 4 lingua Lai, Milits, faith he, à mile, quod trium milliom prime seja fiebut, ac fingula within Tation-fum, Plannium, Lucrium milia fingula militum mittebant. To that number of hostermen in a Legion of those times. Virgil (whole manner isin fabulous narrations to interlace the true Roman antiquities) alluded, and fo Servius nom in Servius, nom in

· Stabant tercentum n'tidi in prosepibus altis. and lib. 9. Tercentum scutati omnes l'olscente magistro.

Albert, the number of footmen hereafterfull rifing, Cometime to foure thousand, Cometime higher, we finde warm habriffe lein latter times often but two hundred horfe affigned to a Legion, hardly one horfe for twenty foot, a try feath pre-time Matthem, portion. And fuch was the Legion at the first foundation of Rome. Afterward many of the Caninensies, Antenna-Cathalast the Caninensies, Antenna-Cathalast the Cathalast the Cathalas tes, Crustumerini and Sabinus being transferred by Romulus to Rome, the number of men daily increasing, more Servius) prime Legions were made with the fame number of men in a Legion, or little diverlity, though Plutarch respecting rather trecont fuerum, Legions were made with the time among of men in a Legion, or little overthy, along a transact expecting that it is made in the direct of the time wherein he lived, then where of he word, electronich the matter time chervice the masses it defined associated in the direct of the time wherein he lived, then where of he word, electronich the matter time chervice is a state of the direct of the d porating the Sabins, the Legions likewifewere increased to 6000, foot, and fixe hundred horfemen a peece. Rome ginta fuife divib. A number excessive and absurd, as in that age. In the free state the least number we read of to a Legion is foure must the A luminor terms and adding as manage. In the terrace the terrace and to a Legion issuite manage the houstand formers, fixe thoustand and not wo hundred the greatelt. The author of the increase from threeto foure grains (78) state thoustand I finde not fee downs, onely it is not supprobable, that Servine I ullius, who made Rome is republic to the control of the state of the st on of three thousand, source thousand, called also quadrata according to Festus, because it consisted of foure thousand in the same fand men: although, as it may feeme by Dionysius and Livy, the mustering of men in his dayes went more by wealth Polybins lib.t. of then by tribe, as hereafter shall be declared. Of foure thouland and thereabout we have rule in Polybius, lib. 1. & legio Campana, then by tribe, as hereafter final be declared. Of four thouland and thereabout we have rule in Polybius, int. 1, 8 1721 companies, and lib.a. example 4 in Diopylius lib.6. if faction eye creater the Kings were call out. In Livy, lib. of middle distance eye creaters after that Rome was taken by the French: And againe, li. 2, in the beginning of the fecond Punicke war, 15 mm 4/16 gaz. and elsewhere. Neverthelesse the solemne and just number seemeth to have beene precisely foure thousand and manus may me thousand and manus manu two hundred footmen, and to Polybius in the fixth booke, where he handleth the question purposely, stinteth it. Of it are en mea-

300.equites eran

tem fere legiones quinu millibus ditum. lib.8. m Quina milliatereinflieute asbantur in fingulus legiones. three places of Appian the horsemen also were comprised. to them fomewe have fet o (a),6.

p Lib. 1. & 3. 6 q Liv. lib.43. T A) THE OWN TIAN THE THE OWN AVEN τος iππίκε, idit Sex. Rufus Ca. legionibus que quaterna millia habnerunt Gallias u Reliquos casorum ad pontem Milvium in numarum legionis composuerat.

z Cap.3. a Polyb. onugioc таурата 8 аты taken in other writers ufually for a Legion, 1 r i for a cohort b Or feeundus ding to fome the Triaria Prithen expounded

x Dionyfius. Tolybius libro (exto Livio lib.8.

from Polybius, and from his owne both rules and examples, in the warres with the Latines about the yeere of the 18cribebantur au. City 415. 1 maketh five thouland the ordinary number of that age, and lib. 42. a the cultome of ancient times, tem fere legions. And yet the fame Livy, 28 having forgotten himfelfe, Paulo & Parrone Coff. in the fecond Punicke warre writech: name of quoque legiones tum audita, milio peditum is liquida adjetia, ut quina milio peditum offont. O five thousland we have examples every where: of five thousland we have examples every where: of five thousland we have examples every where: of five thousland and two hundred in Polybius, lib. 2. in the French warres: and in Appian 1. Epp. where he resolveth 23. legions of Sylla into one hundred and twenty thousand. Of five thoufand and foure hundred in Livy, lib. 37. in the warres against Antiochus. Of fixe thousand in the warre against Perseus. Livius lib. 42. Appianus in Mithridatico resolveth the five Legions of Lucullus into thirty thoufand. Quinto, = E44- after the warre at Philippi, Antonius interpreteth to the Grecians twenty eight Legiones, 10 W our northly or, That is, with their affociates in the field, that is, their Auxilia, to containe above one hundred and seventy thousand persons, that is, above fixe thousand a peece. Sex milium & ducenterum hominum primus C. Marius conscripsit legionem, faith Festus. But Marius surely was not the first that gave the example the number of that number, for the Elder Scipio (faith Livy, a man of more credit, li. 19.) Supplicit ita eastlegious graus in A-the footmen per-taining to a le-fikam transsaurit, at singula seam lilia & ducons pedites haberent. Vnder the Empire six ethousand or thereupon was gion is according the ordinary number. Plena legio, faith Vegetius, olib. 2. speaking no doubt of that time, peditum sex millibus centum fundatur, at the lowest reckoning. Where yet we are to understand, that the corpes of his Legion confifted onely of five thousand and five hundred, the rest being officers, to wit, sive hundred and fifty Diziniers, and fifty Centurions: the same fixe thousand one hundred. Whereas contrariwise in the ancient times the Centurions and under officers, as it was in truth most meet, were taken out of the bodie of their companies, not by turions and under outcress, as travel from the declination of the Empire under Honorius we finde the fad number of first thouland. Zofimus lib. 2. Ally we have first mirror W has declinate presented where where the fad number of first thouland. Zofimus lib. 2. Ally we have first mirror W has declined presented where where we have for the first thouland. The third was also were the first thouland to the first thouland the first for out of Dalmatia five Legions to guard the City of Rome, in these Legions were fixe thousand men. For fo I interpret the place dillributive as they call it, fixe thousand for every one of the five Legions, especially the same Zofimus lib.6, refolving to my perus spanario into weedous rioneps. Thatis, Sixe Legions of fouldiers into 40000. persons. Now for horsemen a Polybius writing in and of the free estate assignment to every Legion two hundred, வர் நால் கில் விருமாக வர்களை சில் proposition in Account and pon extraordinary occasion three hundred. Livy likewise sometime two, sometime three hundred. Applan in Mithridat, given to sive Legions one thousand fixe hundred horse. In the Management in Mithridat, given to sive Legions one thousand fixe hundred horse. In the Management is the six of dite 581. according to Livies supputation to a Legion were attributed 4 three hundred and thirty horse. In epitoma libri 120, we have in the warre of Antony in Parthia fixteene thousand horse to eighteene Legions, Ashaving to deale with a nation whose principall strength consisted in horsemen; and yet peradventure of those sixeme intitus, iti. - tene thouland the smallest part was Legionary. In Appian 3, ' Ess. in the civill warres after Cæsarsdeath, two game chambels Legions in Africke had a thousand host same contained to the proportion belief seeming, as it was, too scars, contained to the contained of the same contained to th and fixe hundred and fixty where prima cohors was milliaria, befide fixty fixe Decurions: fumme, feven hundred twenty fixe comprehending the officers. As for 'Josephus allowing to each Legion but a hundred and twenty horse, it was an oversight. And thus much of the number of souldiers in a Legion, which we are to understand at the first enrolement when it is entire, not diminished bywarre, or missortune, nor contrarilythrough ambition overcharged. Carfar in the civill warre had his Legions foworne, that they contained fearce three thousand a peece, and even at the first enrolement t not above four thousand. On the other side the Legio classica conscribed by Ni rowas fo huge and enorme, that when feven thousand of them were slaine at the entry of Galba into the city, the rest decumati, yet the remainder sufficed Otho v to make up a Legion. Such Legions Appianus, 4. Eug. Scenach to call trian ciolorna rois del Quois, and, mhoragoria. So that of the number of the Legions in an army, without due confideration of other circumstances, we may not haste to conclude the number of souldiers.

The footenen in the Legion of Romulus were divided, according to the tribes which yeeldedthem, into Ramnes, Lutters, and Taitedfes, each containing a thousand: and every thousand into tenne Centuries or Curias. In the Popular Legion, confissing, as we have said, ordinarily of foure thousand and two hundred, the sootmen were 7 distributed into foure forts, 2610, holists. The youngest and poorest they named Velists, the next in age Haslat, the third being at the age of their principall strength Principes, the fourth somewhat elderly Trianis. Of this last kinde in every Legion altered or increased howsoever were fixe hundred onely : of Principes, Ha-(12.1), and Velites, twelve hundred a peece in an ordinary Legion, and proportionable in an increased. When this partition was induced I cannot precifely define. Dionysiuslib.5. straight after the Kings were expulsed, maketh mention of Triarii as of a matter not new. Valerius Maximus lib. 1. 2 writeth, that the use of the Velites was first devised by Fulvius Flaccus at Capua in the second Punicke warre. In latter times, and especially under and arrige in the Emperors, this division to famous an ancient flory was in the manner worne out. Now the Hastati were divided Polybius himself againe into ten . Enfignes, or ordines, every one in an ordinary Legion containing an hundred and twenty perions. The first Ensigne or order whereof was called primus Hast us, the second secundus Hastatus: and so forth ufque ad decimum o dinem Haffatum. Likewise the Principes into tenne Enlignes, primum, fecundum, tertium Principem, erc. Every Enfigne containing as before. And laftly the Triarii were also divided into tenne Enfignes. learned men, al-though Livy fee-werk recall all Pilus, and so forth to the tenth. The Velites were proportionably dispersed among all the Ensignes. Of these thirty Ensignes called in Latine Manipuli, according to Gellius lib. 6. cap. 4. and Servius in 11. Aeneid. (although Plutarch, in Romulo interpreteth Manipulus ixancis founding it with Centuria, and Vegetius lib. 2. mor Pilos in that cap. 13. most abfurdly maketh it equivalent with Contubernium, a company of tenne or eleven persons) each one intricate place in cap. 13. most abfurdly maketh it equivalent with Contubernium, a company of tenne or eleven persons) each one intricate place in the was divided againe in duas Centurias, Centuriam priorem, and Centuriam posteriorem, although in truth they contained not the full number of an hundred, but onely in an ordinary Legion fixty persons beside the Velites, and of the Triarii but thirty. Livy in describing these Centurions seemeth to use an inversed kinde of speech, lib.42. Hie me imperator dignum judicavit, cui primum Hastatum prioris centurie assignaret, in place, as it may feeme, of cui priorem centuriam primi hastati assignaret. And in the lease following left it might be supposed as done by chance or negligence.

a M. Acilio mihi primus princeps prioris centurie est assignatus, for prior centuria primi principis. Beside these divisions of the footmen in a Legion, we finde another in latter times more usuall into ten Cohorts of equal number, lulius of the footnet in a region we made another in the times more than more than more to the footnet in the frontings, Stratagem, the '1, difforence not Legion into ten Cohorts: Fu'vius Nobibin regions, de quadra dilum c 12,6. ell, quimque cobortes indextram partem vic direxti, quimque ad pirifram. And, (ell, sib, "6, de Bello Gall, three legions d esp. 3. into thirty Cohorts, Tacius, I, Annal, difforent to the Legions in quadra quima todostet Romanus. The fit cohort e Vegetilis 2.6.8. refulled of the three first Enfignes, or Manipuli, to wit, ex primo ordine Hallato, primo P. incipe, and primo Pilo joyned in Civ. 1655. 2. 4. one; the second of the three second, and so forth to the tenth. Colors, saith Varro, lib. 4. de Ling. Lat. qual set in the still acx pluribus testis conjungitar, ac quiddam sit unum, sic bee ex manipulis copulating colors. The Greeians call it miles. 3. de bell. civili. This division of a Legion into ten Cohorts, is not mentioned in Polybius, and therefore, as I think, was not usual f Which is also before his age. For although the wordsbe not unknown to ancient times, asto Livy often times in his former called Cohors. bookes, unlesse he spake by a figure, and to Polybius likewise twice in the eleventh booke, expressly and by name guad circa emm bookes, unlette ne ipake by a ngure, and to response necessary to the warre of Scipio in Spaine, yet then peradventure it was rather certaine Manipuli united and alligned certain, faith extraordinarily, then any member of a Legion : but of that I cannot greatly affirme. Now although in former times Vario, it is out of question, that the Legionary cohorts were equall of five hundred a prece where the Legion was five thousand, and more where more, yet in Vegetiustime, or at least in his Legion, the first Cohort contained a thouand and the ref but only five hundred. For is his rebus, as Servius faith, a ceffle temporis ducum v nietas semper mu- g Com. in 11. twit militie disciplinam. The horse being in the Royall and popular Legion moit commonly three hundred gwere cit. Anneidat, vided in Tummas decem: Polyb. 1.6. recember 3 of the invested is that the self-the fisher. That is, Inlike manner the horsemen also were divided into ten Turma: every Turma containing thirtyhorse, even from the beginning of Rome; men and were divided into ten a unital every a mind successful and at the first. Varro lib. 4. de ling Lat. rum, faith Varra as generally few things we finde after in use, whereof the grounds were not laid at the first. Varro lib. 4. de ling Lat. quad term in but Turma Terma est (E in V abitt) quod ter deni equites ex tribus tribub. Tatiensum, Ramnium, & Lucerum sebant. In Vege- tribubus Ramnitius Legion, being fixe hundred and fixty befide the officers, they are divided into two and twenty Turmaes, every um, Lucerum, Terma likewife containing thirty persons, whereof he attributeth foure Turmaes to the first Cohort of the Legion, determining and to the other nine, two a pecce. Lastly Tima was divided in treis Decurius, each consisting of tenhorse, as the mittebanus, name alfoimporteth.

In the Legion of Romulus over the footman (Lith Dionyfus) three Tribunes, 20/4/24, were appointed to go. Jung Lest, earth, verne under the King, each over his ownermber and over every Century or Curta, 2 Centurion, or Curion. h Three Tribunes and thirty Centurions in a Legion, the Tribunes selected out of the greatest men for nobili-filioque untrent ty or reputation, in color of the Continuous of the most valiant, in the despendent, Vnder the Con- pergre magistrafull or Pietor in time of liberty, and Prince in the Empire, captaines in chiefe and foveraginy, the next and imme-twi-diate officer in both was named 1 Legatus Confularis, as it were vicegerent deputed by the Confullor Prince; Publisher Prince; Publisher Confullor Prince; Publisher Prince; Publisher Prince; Publisher Prince; Publisher Prince; Publisher Prince; Pu by the Confull one, or many as his Lieutenants in the army; by the Prince one onely as Lieutenant Generall k As Africanus over an army or countrey. Vnder the Legatus Confularis in the Empire were subordinate Legati Prætorii, or Le- to his brother in gati Legionum, one or moe according to the number of the Legions in the army; which name I finde not in the Affa. free state, nor any office answerable to it. Now for the Legion in both states the ordinary officers were, as be- 1 As to Pompey fore in the Legion of Remulus, Tribuni and Centuriones, Decani and the rest were of smaller name. The Poputive of the Application of the Poputive of the Poput lar Legion being quadrata had also at the first source "Tribunes elected by the people, or sometime at the Consuls pian Mithridan diference afterward in Polybius time fixe, a executing their charge alternatively, two at one time for two m Liv. hb.9. moneths, so that in one Summer every one had served his course. In the Empire, as it may be conjectured by a Polyh. lib.6. moneths, so that in one Summer every one had terved his courte. In the Empire, as it may be conjectured by the specific fome places in Vegetius, there were in every Legion ten Tribunes, not with charge over the whole byturnes, but with doctors with leverall and continuall o each over his Cohort. Now out of every entigne, faith Polybius, were chosen in the place of electric two Centurions (me larget, 1029 al) having charge each of his severall Centuric, in absence, or sicknesse, singles that it. orother milchance the one of both. To every Enfigne beside the Centurions belonged two Enfigne-bearers at the Hann digger. Centurions appointment. The Centurions were diffinguished in names according to the Entignes or Centu. o Theold school security which they led I wing the Asset To Daiming deciman advant by the allowed Circums and the Control of the Centurions appointment. The Centurions was unturnament by the sum of the sum ries which they fed. Livius lib. 42. Mills 1. 2 dimins actional market negative appearance. Livius plans fair Tullus der a coloritis in lib. 7. Septimum prima plans fair Tullus der a coloritis in lib. et bat. Likewife of the Enfigine-bearers. Cicero 1. de Divinatione. Signifor prim bessatt sprum but on worver now author lib t. by potati. Sometime for brevity lake the Centurion is called by the name of his Enfigine. Livius lib. 25. T. Pedanius milliam tribunations. Princeps primus centurio cum signissio, &c. Cæsar lib. 1. de bell. civ.cop. 10. In his Quin. Futivius primus hastarius p.cap.7. Princes prima cention cam jugifice, Sec. Call's 100. It doesn't critical to the primary primary properties of the legisms decime grante lib. A de bell, Gallic. Possibles free commissions and vulvereits and occles, it has primipale P. Sec. q Cybin imperies to Bibacado, multi-vulveribus confello, the free man whom lib. 3, esp. 1. he calleth a clarge, primipale the therement with Blooglass but whereas there were in every Enfigne two Centumions, whether only the Centumion of the former Centumy was lib. Properties of the conference o But whereasther were merely Emmas Primers, primas History, and so in the rest, or both the one generalized to the contraction of the rest, or both the one generalized to the contraction of the rest, or both the one generalized to the contraction of the rest, or both the one generalized to the rest. and the other equivocally, I dare not without better ground of authority then hitherto I have seene, peremptorily mond in si to determine. Onely by centurio primi Pili, Itake to be meant the Centurion alone of the former Century, of the MAN MORPH WEST first Entigne of the Triarii; a Centurion of principall a credit, and endowed with speciall priviledges, as to be triin waster of the Generals counfell, to have the cultody of the Eagle or Standard of the Legion, to found thewatches, &c. in the latter end Polyb, Veget. This number of fixty Centurions in a Legion we finde also retained under the Empire. Tacit. 1. of the seventh Annal. Profitatos werberibus multans sexagenis songulos, un numerum tenterionum adequarent. although Vegetius, by Booke, it may I cannot tell what mischance, a maketh but hity, and in another place by errour of the copy, or over sight of the seemethat place I cannot tell what mischance, I maketh but hitty, and in another place by errour of the copy, or over light of the record mat place author, Quinquaginta quinque: for Quinquaginta is much more surable even to his owne grounds. Vnder the wing of equal Centurion were the Decani Diziniera, one over every tenne, as the word also imported. Veget, lib. 1. (2013) we then higher then Centurion were the Decam Diziniers, one over every tenne, as the word and important again present accounts the rules of th had in all likelihood the same officers, that is, Decuriones, three chosen out of every Turma, whereof the first subordinate to and principall is called alfo (Præfectus Turmæ, Polybius lib.6. And Varro lib.4 de ling. Lat. But Vegetius lib.2. them. cap. 14. writing that turma babet 32. equites, buse qui preeft decurio nominatur, reckoneth two of his officers as com- r Lib. 2. cap. 6. mon fouldiers, and the third nameth amiffe. For Decurio of decem, not of trigints or trigints due. Wherefore if he finderes

will

· According to Acgerius lib. z. e

Buch wernader i

de R.R. viri mazppido federent, quara qui rura colerent, defidio-

en turbantur. Graceh.

इम्पानीयः कार्नाः मुद्राः बार्ग्यामान्यः he reflified. 6 Conntin centuriatu. c 312, li.10, t.

English. others. others. f Lib. G. inud 3 pissam mostany & sida-yaghu si spana-

g resputation

will needs have two of Polybius Decurians reckoned among the common horfemen, the third he might more justly have named with Polybius Prafeclus Turme, then Decurio. So have we in Polybius Legion triginta Decuriones. whereof ten were called Marga : in Vegetius twenty two Decisiones, or in more reasonable speech, and more according to his owne principles fixty fixe. Of any higher office ordinary over the Legionary horsemen then Pre-Acqueius lib. 1. 6. feetus Tiame. I finde no mention in the Popular or imperiall Legion, the horfe in generall being, I fuppose, under of this place in the direction of the great officers of the field, Legatus confularit, and Legatus legionis: extraordinarity I grant under the Dictatour, Magiller equitum was, as it were, the Generall of the horie. Of the Centurion and Decurion the 102 23 cier of under officer, and as it were vicegerent or adjutour, was named Optio, the same which is in Polybius called, as I suppose, veris. Paulus ex Felto. In re militari Optio appellatur is quem decurio, aut centurio optat fibi. Frerum privatarum paragrae, trachie. The sound in the control of the sound lib. 4. de lin. Lat, doth among foot. Ques decuriones (faith he) primo administros ipsi sibi adoptabant, Optiones vocari cupi: Thus much of the Legionary fouldiers, among whom none were involled but cives Romani, ingenui, artis ludiene expertes. As touching the first point it is cleere in story, that many hundred yeeres together all the delettus were Aggin rhom. expense. As touching the little point it is career in 1007, that many many many many in a superior for a superior for a superior for a superior for the Empire force ever, nor almost any Italy to the superior for the Empire force ever, nor almost any Italy to the force of the superior force of th Ex Agricolu & lian borne, but civis Romani è provincia. Herodianus lib.z. Casar sometime in the French warre seemeth to have enrolled of the transpadani into Legions, being then not Citizens of Rome. Concerning the second point, they gignmun, maxi. which were libertini generis, though cives Romani, were never enrolled, much lefte fere, but once ortwice in extreamany many material mittes. For the third, according to Dionyfluslib, a. not onely tilfrionica difabled to Legionary fervice, but all fabilitionings of a federacy, mechanicall, and voluntary arts. Agriculture was onely allowed of, as the onely nurfe of fir a men fegation miniments for fervice in warre: not as in the practife of Sparta, and precepts of Plato, one man to till at home, and another instance made exert to fight abroad; but one and the fameman in peace a good husbandman, and in warre a good fouldier: no perrantes fair, qui in fon by the opinion of many be more dangerous in affare, then he which maketh fouldiery his occupation and trade. Furthermore it was requifite, that the Legionary fouldier should be within the yeeres of fervice, & Pamortus hande, and affelled at least in the fift classis. The militare age was " from seventeene to forty five, as Dionylius faith, or forty fixe, as Polybius, and in dangerous times till fifty. Sen calib. de brevitate vice cap. 10. Lex a quinquagesimo anno militem non cogit, à sexagesimo senatorem non citat. In which time the footeman might pa, metan urba- be compelled to ferve fixteene or twenty yeares, if need fo required, the horfeman tenne. In Augulustime, Dio us: quad qui in lib. 54. appointeth twelve yeeres of fervice for the Prætorian fouldier, and fixteene for the Legionary: and in the booke following, as having forgotten himselfe, fixteene to the Prætorian, and twenty to the other. In Tiberius guan gu transcotten guar transcotten guar transcotten de la contra del la c figure and answers time went meetely tributim, every tribe conferring his thousand, Servius Tullius reduced to a matter of cenfe or soft is unite in a tax: according to which not onely the mufter was taken, but all officers of importance in the flate belected, grave editabangin lawes established, and tributes imposed. The whole number of Citizensbeing difgested into fixe classes, in the first were all those, which in the taxe or subsidy booke were affested at an 'hundred thousand affes and upward. is pase a righted.

Remainst allebra. The fectord from a hundred thouland downeward to feventy five thouland. The third from feventy five thouland. The fifth from twenty five thouland. fand to twelve thousand and five hundred. And the fixt of all such as were under the last rate. Now whereas the "Takero a jud 23. as ferror ego cers beliefe, as fmiths, carpenters, &c. The third claffis twenty footmen. The fourth weenty, and two befide to found the trumper, and firsk the drumme, &c. The fifth thirty. The fixt classic militia, sparing a rices loopeds arole. That is, Free from all service in warre, and all paiment of Tribute. Dionysius lib.4-although a Live of the fame Dionyshus in the same place allottesh it by overlight one fouldier in 193, true it is that the fixth classis had 19, 30 3 1/200 onevoyeein 193, in comitis contamination by octoring to the muffer at all. So that one course by this manual to the muffer at all. So that one course by this manual to the muffer at all. be gathered by the practife in the Roman Stories and plaine words of Polybius, altered in part and reduced

ner of mulicring yeelded a hundred ninety two men to the warre, whereof eighteene were horfemen, foure artificers, and lifers, a hundred and feventy footmen; and fo about againe, as the cafe required a greater or leffer army, in THE THE PERSON TO the fime proportion. Dionyfius lib.4. With whom Livy lib. 1. agreeing in the reft, different only in the cenfe of राह सम्बद्धकार the fit classis, which by him is but leven thousand assis, and furthermore the artificers Livy joyneth to the first classis, and the fifers to the fifth, whereas Dionysius putteth them to the second and fourth. The reason why this claffis, and the fifers to the litth, whereas Dionymus puttern than by Julius Exuperantius. Popular Romanus, faith he, For fo that place last and poorest fort was excluded from fervice is well fee downer by Julius Exuperantius. Popular Romanus, faith he, For fo that place last and poorest fort was excluded from fervice is well fee downer by Julius Exuperantius. Popular Romanus, faith he, of Polybius is to per chaffes devifus erat, & pro patrimonii facultate censebatur. Ex iis omnes quibus res erat, ad militiam desenantir. Diligenter enim pro victoria laborabant, qui pratir libertaiem, bona difeudebant, illi autem quibus nulla ores erant, caput fuum quad folum possidant teosfebantur, & bellis temeore in munibus residebant. Facile enim poterant existere produtures : quia exista hand facile habetur fine damno. This kinde of muftering per elaffes inflituted by Servius, was in latter times, as it may a Livy 10.1. and more agreeable to the prefent governement, yet fo, that to Legionary fervice none could be muftered but fuch as were fested at & foure thousand affes at Lity, Tacitus and the least, faith Polybius, which is indeed somewhat lesse then the cense of the fift classis limited by Dionysius and Livy; whether it were that Polybius had forgotten the fumme, or that the cenfe of the claffis was abated for that both then and afterward regard was had of the claffis in taking the mufter it is cleere by the words of Saluft in Iugurthino. Atarius interea scribere non mere ma'orum, neque ex classibus, sed ubi cujusque lubido erat, capite censes plerosque, fuch as for lacke of wealth were cenfed only by poll. After which time the claffis were, as I take it, in little confideration in the muster of Legions, especially, in the civill warres, and in the Empire utterly neglected, the cense also being abolished.

Now the Legion and the Legionary being fuch as were described, remaineth to speake of the Auxiliary souldis ers, Auxilia, To supus guer, To Emunguer, Enter Surapus, Entre Tolos, were fouldiers which being not Citizens of Rome

lius time. Dionyf, lib. 3. And anon Alba the head and mother Citic of the Latines being razed, they challenged as conquerours that superioritie over the Latine nation, which the Albans before had enjoied. In the time of Taras conquerous nation to the Latines ferved in the Roman Armies as dies against the Hertruft; and against the k Sabits; i Diosyf, the Hertruft and the Latines ferved in the Roman Armies as dies against the Hertruft; and against the k History the Hertruft and the Latines. In the free fire many hundred yeares, the Latines onely and Hermit ministred whom the Latines onely and the Latines onely and Hermit ministred whom the Latines onely and Auxilia gravium armatorum. For archers and funditores and levia auxilia of other nations they did k not refuled sometime to admit. After the third Punick warre they admitted also 1 Auxilia ex sociis Italicis a populis regibusque, 1 As in Tullies And after that time we finde sometimes mention, but no great reckoning made in the free state of Auxiliaries: epistles, Appian, And after that time we inde fometimes mention, but no great rectioning made in the tree late of Auxiliaries; to the reafon, as I take it, was that the city being communicated to the Latines and Italians allies in being Magillo, they ferved no longer in qualitie of Auxilia, being now inverted with the right of Legionary fervice. Magillus and framines fortifying the limits of the Empire with armies, and furnifhing the Legions only in a manner of an ordinary provinciall Citizens, eitabilified Auxilia againe, supplied out of their allies and fublished showad, and generally phrase of the control of the Roman Empire. pire with their manner of service, not without norable m prejudice to the state. In Tacitus under the first Empe-mvi. Tac.4. rours we have in the Roman camp Auxiliaries e Transfrienants, Gallis, Britannis, Numidus, Lustanis, Butavis, Thracibus & and under the latter Emperours no militar matter in the whole Empire passed thorow other then barbarous hands; till at length the Romans, as great reason was, were forced to deliver the Empire to them, to whom they had delivered their armes. Theodofius, faith Zolimus with the sept gaptages dinte one in spanantois refμαπ. That is, Made Legionaries the barbarians born beyond the Danub. lib. 4. And againe, τοξες μερ ων τοίς 572. gen. I hat is, made Legionaics the outcortains born ocyonia the Latinus III. 4 Annie agains, an order of more influence of the state o received certaine fugitives of the Alani, and bellowed them in his armies. Synchius likewife, a more indifferent non soil fac person to the Christian Princes, reprehendeth the too great facility of Theodosius in receiving to mercy, into his ordine de. perton to the Christian Francisception time to be great natury of a monogonal natural my or many, and mis-country, kingdome and armines, the barbarous nations, reaping no other fruit of his demency but Corne at their hands, and thereupon he take the occasion to exhort Arcadus his son o to increase his Legions, and with the Legions of the design of the state of the s harms, must recognize tasking disply of his own popel, and fending back the Barbarians thirther from whence they fit the propriet of came. But to returne to our Auxiliarie touldier, Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 2. deferibing them under the Empire, bath these words: Auxiliares conducuntur ad prelium ex diversis locis, ex diversis muneribus venientes. Nec disciplina inter se. thete worths: 2444, 1864 to confentiumt. Neesse est autem tardins ad victoriam pervenire qui descepant antequam dimicent. nte metta, the agricume conjunuous, vecuse se autem acusus au occurant pervouve que agrepane autequam atmitem. Desique cum increditambia plumium profit momes solites unius praesosi spuisatione correcti, som possione aqualito susse sus complex qui ante pariter non fueruni. Tamen hee insta acusus si falcanilus diversisque execution prope quanties acusus, vita. e. 8. Corpre non mediocriter suconi. Nam legionibus semper "auxita sanquam levis armatura in acie jungobantar, ut in his president en nobi leco denon medioriter jevani. Nam ergoneius jemper unana uniquan una unmain in min jungoumus, ne sa na presiante en non soc creamage administrant file, quan praesiapa libidium. Of Auxilia we finde two principall kindes, externall and fociall. Piesin. hift.

Externallent from Kings and fortein flates, of which, as depending in most points upon the voluntarie, prof. Odi Patavorum tion of the fender, I have not to say. Social were either annexed to some Legion, or severally affigned to the summa medial manual and the summa medial medial and the summa medial manual and the summa medial medial and the summa medial median and the summa medial medial m tion of the fender, I have not to lay. Social were y either annexed to tome Legion; of reversity angues to the sound audita-guard of fone 9 place or country, where it feemed not necessary to maintaine a Legionarie power. Concern—9, a Hill, Lig-ing the Laxilla legionam in the free flare, before bellum Maffeam 9, as often as the Romans armed, their alless ar-time eigenviews med allo ex feeders, footmen ordinarily as many, borfe double. Ordinarily I (ay, because that rate was not it eigenviews in the control of the rate was not it eigenviews. men and experience are the perpetually observed, as it appeareth by infinite places in Livy, Appian and others, but more or less according to realybins 1.6. encumtlances. Vnderthe Empireilla ratio servata sh. saith Vegetius, ne unquan amplior multitudo sociorum auxilia-havine s tiumessit in cashis, quam civium Romanorum. In the free state the Legionarie Auxilia were governed in stead of Tri- before of the bmi by Prefetti, though different in name, yet of like fauthoritie, and as it may feeme, in Polybius time equal in Tribmes, addeth mumber. For he afficient twelve præfecti to one Conful to whom belonged two I coinst. and therefore " " ಪ್ರಿಕೆಟ್ ಸ್ಥಕ್ತಪ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರತಿಕ್ಕೆ ಮಾರ್ಟ್ ಸ್ಥಕ್ತಪ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರತಿಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರತಿಕ ban by Progress, mough american in name, yet on not amounted, and a six may recent, and anyone time equal in a young them on munber. For the affigurant view per affect to one Conful, to whom belonged two Legions, and therefore twelve of the first party of the progress. Now the extraordinary band being chosen out, at the difference of the Profection of the Bert and by acceptance fitted for service, of the footmen about the faith part, the third of their horsemen, the rest of the Auxilia were declarately acceptance. fatefi for fervice, of the footmen about the hith part, the third of their horizonen, the reit of the Auxilia were encouraged divided into two companies, the one called the right v horne, and the other the left. And this is all that Poly. So that the divided into two companies, the one cannot the light bits hath written touching their partitions and officers. In "Livy the Latines making head against the Romans, extraordinary bits hath written touching their partitions and officers. In "Livy the Latines making head against the Romans, extraordinary have the very famedivisions and officers with the Roman Legions: but whether at other times also, and as in the ridges of known division both in the tree state, and under the empire of furths, as well totals as a equivalent, use towards of some both of common, and also of horfemen. And fo doth Tactitus often refore the word, 4. Hith coborium, alarum, legionum, 1. Hith. Assignment, is auxiliorum miles primo supportions tanquam etroumdatus cohortibus rouns also. alique impetus in legiones pararetur. The Auxiliatie Cohorts are sometime to distinguish them from the Legionary x lis. 6. alique impetus sa tegonis parareur. In e Auxiliatie Conores are comecume to ontinguim mem nom the Legionity x 100.00 called * facia cobortis, leves cobortis, and alarie cobortis: like as the ale are alio called Alarii equites. Now of these a called * facia cobortis; leves cobortis, and alarie cobortis: like as the also called Alarii equites. Now of these a called * facia cobortis color to the called * facia cobortis color to the called * facia co called spice country, west country, and mante country. The as the me at a no called fine. Vitelling as this entrie in Taitiu.

Cohorts and Wings how many belonged to a Legion usually I cannot precisely define. Vitelling as this entrie in 5 2. High. to Rome with eight battered Legions had onely of thirty foure Cohorts. The Auxilia of the foureteenth Le-c1. Hill

gion were e eight Cohorts, which if it were ordinary, seeing the use of that age beareth at least fix hundred foot d Tacina

men for a Cohort: the Auxiliarie footmen belonging to a Legion are four ethouland eight hundred. And yet ends diffe seen "Apricola had for three Legions in his army in Britanny no more but eight thouland, the reft peradventure be. either applications or the second sec men for a Cohort: the Austrant roomen octonique of a segon action thousand, the reft peradventure beeitus equinos serAgricola had for three Legions in his army in Britanny no more but eight thousand, the reft peradventure beditte equinos serditte pand circum

regieure nau tot tince tegene and partieur se genutum des faith Vegetius, ab eo diemutu qued ad fimiliardinen alarum protegant atiem, tegene destre faith al contained, as I suppose, about three hundred horsemen. By Tactius 2. His, it is plaine, that exquation equi-instruments to the contained, as I suppose, about three hundred horsemen. By Tactius 2. His, it is plaine, that exquation equi-instruments.

tum turmu and universa Treveroium ala, some part being retained in colonia Forojuliens prassiti causa, duodecim turme guam ale in a-

adverfus bastem ine. So that Ala was more then eight Turme, that is, two hundred and forty horse. The ala equi- locationing from the followed Series into Africa on the dealers have hundred and the Ala Life beat the locationing from

anternation tree. 30 that rise was more than the state of a three hundred. And that Ala in these latter dayes was a spud sed, this 16.

Legion belonged two Aix of Auxiliaries at the leant, Josephus a citien down itx Aix as the Auxiliaries of other Legions, And () Tacitus writeth of fixteene Alæ in Illyricum, where at that prefent were but fix of [c. § Lésium ill. 29, 19]. The legions of the Aix of

Legions

number of importance it appeared by the circumitances of als Spllana touched by Tacitus, 1. Hift. Now to every as A. Legion belonged two Alx of Auxiliaries at the least. Josephus is fetteth down fix Alz as the Auxiliaries fair-seaper.

ven Legions, Contrarily Vitellius to his eight broken Legions had but twelve Alæ, Agricola in Britanny to three f 3, Hift.

Legions had three thouland Auxiliarie horsemen. Of these Cohorts of Auxiliarie footmen the Governours in lat-

tertimes also were called Prafecti; and the wings of horsemen likewise in latter times had their Prafectiseverall λέχων τάξεν. n Of Augustus Dio,

to five foot.

of an oath not

Prince, but in

only in affa, of the prefent

० इन्द्रमाक्षमाम्बेद हैंनthe very forme and effence of a fouldier, without which first folemnly taken, or after the expiration of which, as upunion the cashing of the Legions, though qualified otherwise never so well, though present in the cashing of the Legions, though qualified otherwise never so well, though present in the cash, it was not prospected in the cash and the cash property if. 8. Of the canney of the Legislas, month quanties shared the every town, though present in the case, it was not property if the property of Planesto in.

1 and the chart of the property of the chart of the property of the pro

outh which the Romans fro are to their Generall commandeth the fouldiers to follow whitherfoever it pleafeth their Generals to lead them. Livy lib. 21. Milites tune jurejurando à Tribunis militum adalli jussu conventuros, neque injussu abituros. With theleagreeth that of Vegetius lib. 2.cap.5. Furant milites se omnia strenue facturos que pracepent Imprator, nunquam deor a voluntary v. conjuration, que pipea, taits ne ce voluntario mais minus jeauceau equinam junjuramidadionam travilata (l. The forme of it was FVG AE AT QVE FOR MID INIS ERGO NON ABITYROS SESE, NE QVE Ex ORDINE RECESSIROS, RISITELI SYMENDI AVT PETEN-DI, AVT HOSTIS FERIENDI, AVT CIVIS SERVANDI CAVS A. Befide this oath I finde another oath tendred, which we may call the oath of allegeance and foveraigntie. Whether it was in use before the Emperours time, or not, I doe nor remember. It may be they fware then in Senatus populig; Romani nomen, as afterward they did in Principis, Arrianus conceiveth the form of it thus: H MHN FPOTIMHZEIN AFANTON THN TOT KAIZAPOX ENTHPIAN! That is, That they should preferre before all things the safetic of the

tatis mutandis with fome little diverlitie according to the qualitie of the persons, received at the creation of a new Prince whenfoever it happened, and upon the anniverfarie thereof flatterie increasing, and every yeare likewise renewed the fame the first day of Januarie: at what time the magistrates and Senatours also particularly (ware in alle of the present Prince and vot his predecessions, those only excepted quorum damnata erat memoria, as in Caius time and afterward they were not sworne in asta Tiberii, nor in Claudius in asta caii.

The Roman manner of encamping according to Polybius and other ancient Writers is represented in the figure agenda, ma eg- following.

from the foot, of which in Polybius we finde no mention. In Wings the under captains, as in the Legionary, were named Deceriones. Of the number I cannot affirme; only it seemeth probable, that the Præfecti then were according to the number of the Cohortsand Wings, and the Decuriones, as in the Legion, three in a Turma confilling of thirtic horsemen: To conclude this point, although the Imperial Auxilia seem not to observe alwaics one stint, as by the notrement. In conclude this point amongst the Imperior in the term of the conclude which we have feet down, the Legion Imperial with her auxilia arriveth to twelve thouland performs in the conclude things prefuppoled which we have feet down, the Legion Imperiall with her auxilia arriveth to twelve thouland performs in the contained performs when the contained performs from the nouland eight hundred Auxiliarie footmen, and fix hundred Auxiliarie horfe, Summe twelve thouland. * Vegetius out of other particulars collected to the contained of the performance of the contained to the contained of the contained to the contained to the contained of the contained to the fame totall. Vna Legio, saith he mixiis auxilius, boe est decem 1 millia peditum & duo mill a equitum. Whereof six k 116.3.cap.1. the fame totall. Via Legio, faith he mixtis auxilis, 100 e for feman thousand one hundred footmen, and seven hundred twentie six horse according to his principles being Legionarie, there remaines three thousand nine hundred foot, and twelve hundred seventie source horse for the Auxiliarie; or in round numbers 4000. foot, and 1200. horse, approaching neare to the ancient proportion in Polybius of double m Dings, iii. 48, were in " order of multering first, second, or third, Which custome 2 as I suppose, continued in his first infittu-कार में भी श्रवन tion to long as the Romans armed and disarmed every yeare. But afterward retaining fub signis some of their Legions with their old names, and with perpetuall supply as it were eternizing them many ages, the rest decaying, or being distolved, the name was no longer a note of his place, but rather became a proper name simply. In the latter times we reade of three Tertiæ, and two sextæ distinguished by surnames, Tertia Italica, Tertia Cyrenaica, Tertia Augusta: Sexta Victrix, and Sexta Ferrata. Of which devise of surnaming the Legions we have no example before Cxtarstime, and after no end: a novelticinduced upon ambition, or countrey, or accident, or for diffinction fake. orlaffly upon pleasure or voluntarily. The Auxiliarie Cohorts and Wings, especially locals, had also their severall names, as colos Decima (prima, Decima of Liva of numbers, coborter Tanggaum, Rhawaum, ala Treverum, Canine fas of nations. Ala Syllara, Seribonium, Peter na, of Sylla, Seribonius, Petra their governous as it may feeme at the first enrolment : Ala lingularium, of what accident I know not. After the enrolment followed the great mystery of the Roman estate, faith . Herodian, facramentum militare.

igs. sem. and the thus: ΠΜΠΝ ΠΕΙ Ο ΕΥΠΑΙΝΑΙΝ. That is, That they flould be obedient, and execute to the untermost of their power whole, epithe of Caro TON KATA ATNAMIN. That is, That they flould be obedient, and execute to the untermost of their power whole, to his fon cited every flouid to commanded themby their (uperior, lib. 6. Dionyl, lib. 11. not much otherwise, by 2 \$40.00 is stanwarded in the commanded themby their (uperior, lib. 6. Dionyl, lib. 11. not much otherwise, and with the commanded themby their power of the commanded to the commanded to the commanded themby their power of the commanded to the q Conjuratio Saith Servius in 8. Anta quanto fortunos militiam, nec mortem recufaturos pro Romana Republica. In the place of Livy before quoted mention is also made forgulos interroga. Setunos militiam, nec mortem recufaturos pro Romana Republica. In the place of Livy before quoted mention is also made fingulor interroga. of a voluntary ? conjuration, que postea, faith he ex voluntario inter milites federe ad legitimam jurisjurandiadationem qui convenerunt Gmul jurant ut cum est tumultui bellum Italicum Tlin. 1.10. e. 60. ad Tra. 2 w perium presumes.

6: commilitations Prince. Marcus Automus in his funerall oration in Appian pronounceth verbatim and out of his paper the oath Genominated they had (worn to D. Julius: H MHN STAAZZIN KALZAPA, KAL TO TOT KALZAPOX IOMA, feloni pefavit: PANTI ZOENEI PANTAZ, H BITIZ EPIBOTAETZEIN EZQAEIZ EINAI TOTZ MH Abus, 6 province MYNANTAZ ATTO. That is, that they all with their might would guard the person of Cxsar, accursing all allows, 6 province of the person of Cxsar, accursing all allows, 6 province of the person of Cxsar, accursing all allows, 6 province of the person of Cxsar, accursing all allows of the person Tar. Amal. 16. this formall clause; neque me liberosque meos cariores habebo quam Caium & forores ejus. The militar oath the fouldiers onely as well Auxilianic as Legionarie received ftraight after their first enrolment, Marria entities in Kennyapis, faith Polybius. The oath of loveraignite the souldier, the magistrate, senate and people of Rome and of the Provinces, mu-The Triumviri, pips -clib.57.

Fretraordinarii Pedites Auxi externa Semordinar u Eaustes 00 FORVM a a a a 6 6 6 $I\mathcal{N}CI$ M \mathcal{D}_e De ш T_{u} Ç Ç 5 2 3 a a ٠, \mathcal{P}_r es \mathcal{P}_{e} n Sta 3 2 2 Ħ 7 + ĸ 200 200 Tabernacula Secundæ Legionis Jabernacula Prima Legionis 200 a R.

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PR AET OR IVM) afquare plot, every fide containing two hundred foot, for the General's lodging, and his traine: the ground fo chofen as might be fitteft both for profpect and v direction.

n παρολλείαν. t Polybius. As by d. d. A fireer of fifty foot broad, leading from the middeft of the PRAET OR IV MIO the gate H. at the ton fetting out a flag of the page.

6.6.6. A fireet directly opposite to the former, and of the same bredth, leading from the P R AE TO B IV those mutelignes thole mutengines
I think he print to the gate K. at the bottome of the page. Of the right hand of which streete was lodged one Legion with her cipally meaneth. Auxilia, and another of the left. Now from the PRAETORIVM toward K. measuring out an hundred and fifty foot employed to use hereafter specified, we are there to begin the lodgings of the common fouldiers.

nry foot employed to the network periods we take to use of the common founders.

Decen Turne qualitum | a row of lodgings for the horfenence of the first | good divided mon ten partitions, According to the number of Turne in Polybias Legisl, which confided, as before isdeclared, of three hundred horfe and four thouland two hundred foot. The first Turne being quartered in the lodgings necessition to Pan A T to . a The length of RIVM, and the relt in order toward the gate K. Thete longings nemerous affanding equal to a fourze forewhat the campe I call each fide being an hundred foote; fo that to one horseman they allowed a standing equal to a square somewhat

according to
Polybius, from
the top of the
page to the bottome, and from more then eight end for every way.

Deem orders Triacioum) Ten lodgings for the ten ordines, or Atanipali Triacioum prime legionis with the Centurions and under officers, joyning backto back with the lodgings of the Equites, and opening into the firet e.e.e. of fifty foot broad: primus Pilus being quartered next to the PR AET OR IVM, and fo in confequence towards the left hand to the gate K, where all the Decimi ordines doe lodge. Every one of these lodgings in length an hundred scot in bredis the right the breath : albeit fifty, lodgeth fixty Triarii, and a ratable part of Velites, which, confidering the proportion that one of the Ordines Principum and Hastatorium, and the number of Velites in Polybius Legion. leth as often \$4- falleth out to be twenty foure persons. According to which reckoning to one footman they allowed a standing re-Ste, as maine. b The Centuriquall to a fquare formewhat more then eight foot every way.

Of the other fide of the firect e. c. e. e. the lodgings of the Decem ordines Principum prime Legionis, and at their backs ons according to the lodging of the Decem ordines Haftatorum opening the one into the fireet e.e.e. e. the other into the fireet f. f.f. f. tering in the two being also hifty foot broad. Each of these twenty lodgings is square, every side containing an hundred soot, and corners toward lodgeth an hundred and twenty sin tabina, and forty eight Vesites beside: proportionably as in tabinacula Triarionum the street: we had for halfe fo many men halfe fo much ground.

the tirecte:
१९४८ में इंग्लंडीय है
१९४८ में इंग्लंडीय है
१९४८ में इंग्लंडीय स्थानिक स Of the other fide of the fireet f f.f.f. are the lodgings of the Auxiliares equites in dextro cornu, and at their backs the lodgings of the Auxiliares pedites in dextro cornu, the horse opening into the street f. f f. f. the foot into the voyde places betweenethe lodgings and the trenches, of which we shall have occasion to speake anon. Now the Equites auxiliares of a Legion (the Extraordinary Band being deducted) amounting according to Polybius to four hundred horse, and allowing to three hundred Legionary horse tenne lodgings of a hundred foot every way, we are to allow to thefe, following the same proportion, tenne lodgings each a hundred foot in length (for that way we may not increase them) and a 4 hundred fifty in bredth, to make the one as conveniently lodged as the other. And to Polybius expressely significant in these words: 30 mg in βαθες δύζετες τόποις φορς λόγεν, οι ποιε γραποποθοπικές φάρμας d Mathematical-ளஞ்சாயு இ ம் முக்கு ஆண்டி மாக வி முழுத்தா தமாகள்கை. That is, Inframing their campe, the logdings of the Auxiliarie horse they made equall to the Legionary in length, increasing the bredth proportionably to the number. 3. Iybius uleth not Likewise the footmen after the deduction of the extraordinary Band being three thousand three hundred fixty, that is three hundred thirty fixe persons for every lodging, seeing as the lodgings in length are but a stundred foot, we must make them in bredth two hundred, twice as broad as the lodgings of the Principes or Hastati, seeing they containe twice as many men. For fo Polybius warranteth us here alfo, augen 78 Bash we's Abyon. That is, To mcrease the breadth proportionably. kind of learning,

V pon the left hand of the freet c. c. c. are the lodgings of the fecond Legion with her Auxilia in the same proar we may be-leave their owne portion and order in all points with the first. And so have we the bredth of the camp from the utmost Auxiliary footmen of the one Legion to the like of the other a thousand fixe hundred fifty foot, or three hundred thirty pace, accounting five foot for a pace.

mollins ara, &c. VIA QVINTANA: isa street fifty foot broad, passing from side to side thorow the whole bredth of the lodgings, so named a Quintis ordinibus which quarter all upon it. In this street, asbeing in the middle of the souldiers quarter, and therefore fitteft for fuch a purpofe, was holden a market, forum rerum utensitium, faith Festus.

Now of the hundred fifty foot, which as we noted are betweene the fouldiers quarter and the PRAETORI-VM, a hundred foot was the bredth of VIAPRINCIPALIS, of which street, faith Polybius, speciall care was had, that it should be sweet and handsome, because it was the usuall place of resort for the souldiers in the day time. In the other fifty foote toward the PRAETORIVM was a row of lodgings opening upon VIA PRINCIPALIS, each lodging bearing every way fifty foot, for the twelve Tribuni and twelve Prefetti faciorum, their traine, horses and carriage a. a. a. a. a. a. are the lodgings of the fixe Tribunes of the first Legion, the first lodging answering directly to the Legionary horsemens quarter, and the last to the street f.f. f. with pallages betweene of thirty foor b. b. b. b. b. b. are the lodgings of the Prafetti, (whom asit seemes Polybius had forgotten to lodge) answering precisely to the bredth of the Auxiliary quarter, with a voyde space of fifty foot betweene the third and fourth tent. And fo of the other fide for those of the other Legion, a voyde space of fifty foot being left at e. to answer the ilreet c. c.c. c.

g. g. g. g. A croffe freet before the PRAET ORIV M being a hundred foote broad, where I suppose was settled the watch mentioned by Polybius: धांत्र है हैं, बेनवर्का एक में बहुत नायलंब बांव धांतुन की क्रायान ही बाहुतकारा , माह बेहद क्षेत्र ασφόλεται σαρμοκιυάζει τη ερκτυγή σε je τας δαβεκλές, άμα ή κεσμεί το σείχομα τος σέχος. That is, Every day one Enfigne by courfe keepeth watch and ward at the Generals pavilion, both for the fafety of his person, and majesty of

Extraordinarii Equites. And Extraordinarii Fedites) A plot of a hundred and fifty foot in length (for fo it will fall out if we make the whole ground for the lodgings, as we must, perfectly esquare) and source hundred and lifty in bredth, answering to the Q y AB 3 T O R I V M and part of the P R AE T O R I V M for the Extraordinary band of the Auxilia prime Legionis, confifting of two hundred horfe, and eight hundred fourty foot (forme f clected out of f Sataura ea The them only excepted, which are lodged elfewhere) the footmen quartering toward the trenches, and the horfe to- engagingward the campe. And fo of the other fide for the other Legion.

Auxilia externa) a plot of the fame length, and in bredth three hundred and fifty foot, for the fortaine Aydes fuch as by occasion come in.

Scletti at valuntarii Equites, and Seletti at valuntarii pedites) A plot of two hundred foot in length, and three hundred fifty in bredth, where the selected out of the extraordinary band of the Auxilia prime Legimus, are placed the Foot quartering toward the trenches, and the Horse toward the PRAET ORIVM: and to of the other fide for the other Legion, referving in both place for voluntary men, which upon kinred or friendthip, or other respects follow the Generall. These Selecti and Voluntarii doe not only, faith Polybius, quarter neere the Generall, but also in marching, and at all other times of any fervice are continually attendant upon the Generall and the Quartor, in the nature peradventure of a Cohors Pratoria.

Q V AB S T O R I V M) a plot of two hundred foot in length and three hundred seventy five in bredth, for the Quættor and his traine with their treasure and provision, for the pioners, carpenters, smiths, armorors, &c. with

Quarties and his traine with their treature and provision, for the pionets, carpeners, immus, armorors, e.c., with their tooles and officers. There was also the Auguraculum, immshers, and peradventure the publicke prison.

For N w M a plot equal in both demensions to the Q y N S T O R I w M. Here was the place of publick assemble. Blies, and the Tribunall with the steat of class. Here also in likelihood were those was the place of publick assemble. maketh mention, on which the Tribunes and Centurions fate in judgement to decide the controversies happening h 3. d. w. cap. 6 between the fouldiers. In the FORV Maliothe Eagles and Enfignes of the Legions with their bearers Aquilifer 1 Coligs per these and Signific, certain images of the gods, indicate times of the Prince and his children, and concerns Againting i tensis for influence and Signific, certain images of the gods, indicate times of the Prince and his children, and cometimes of largest rate for affi-favorites also, were quartered. Tactus 14. Annal. describing a solemne assembly in that place, Ind., in the goan is objective in the comment there is described his against level without the described in machine remain. favorites also, were quartered. I actus 14, Annal, detenning a lotenne antennoy in that processing, and neggest gospinishes being agina legionum fletter fulgenibus agailis sguisque & simulacis deum, in modam templi. Medio Tribunal fadim cum; simum simum forest, lom, & sales essignim Neonis satimbat. The Eagles, exceptperadventure in time of alternatives, thood in little Chap. Tac. 4-din gasepels, Dio lib.4. Si 3 note suppir, is a samp sinte xxvenis shipmy: xxvening 3 à min mit symmiths. That is, In all tractifications and the tractifications of the same and the Roman armies there is a little chappell, and in it a golden Eagle doth stand. The Ensignes were placed fub dio. 33 largitus est quad indeed, being certaine long (peares covered with filver with the Princes image hanging upon them under the Em. fols malam Sejapire, they could hardly be planted under a tent. And yet Herodian lib.4. (termethto place them all in one chappel]. "m imaginem interior six wis, to the magine and possible of the property of the six of the si Entignes and images were adored, @@@wwfrau, faith he, for as well the Aquile and figna as the Simulatra deum, and imagines principum were by the Roman fouldiers adored as gods, and therefore the place of their flanding accounted facred. For by Principia so often remembred in & Tacitus and others I take the For w m to be principally meant, although in some places of the storics Principia may seeme particularly to be intended of that row of lodgings where the Tribuni and Profelli are quartered, specially in that place of Tacitus! 1. Annal. Prima Vari castra lato ambitu, & k 1. Hist. In tosse the Tribuni and Prisfelli are quartered, specially in that place or Lacitus 11 Annual 11 The Tribunis trium belowing manus effectabant. And in some other places of the same Tacitus this word Prime principis shift was \$4.5 \text{ in this word Prime prim cipia Icemes to be taken pro ipfa Aquila fignifque.

N. N. N. N. S. J. voyd roome of two hundred foot broad, round about between the lodgings and the Trench, ut estiminant.
The ule of this void roome is for the commodious entring and isluing of the Legions, for the fafe custody of the still defeaters in cattell in the night feafon, which are provided for the use of the campe, or otherwise catched from the enemy. But principle estimates catted in the night reason, which are produce for the time of the camp-incipall commodity is, that the enemy upon sudden approaches by night to the trenches cannot throw any fire cast terms asso.

work, or dart to doe any great hurt in fo great a diffance. P. Q. R. S.) Agger, or Vallum 2005 & 20000000, the trench which compafied the whole campe. Agger fignifying vocat. Paulo post generally supplibet rei coacervationem, as one of the Grammarians faith, is here appropriated to that mount of fed ubi totic caferin generally objective to that mount, as one of the Catalanta and, is not appropriate to that mount of the catalanta and active the catalanta and were fixed by the repitched with two, three, recurrent in prime or foure forked heads to close and wreath one within another, and were for that purpose prepared and carried by citizen wite. the fouldier, each man carrying three, foure, and fometimes ufque ad feptenorvally, faith Livy. Of the fe Valli the whole I Principia. fortufication of the campe is called "Vall im. Varro lib.4. bringeth two other etymologies: Vallum quad ca variare "Rois, al Rifortification of the campe is called * Vall in. Varro lib.4. bringeth two other etymologies: * Valuary qual to within the Massia alian memoballit: vel quad lingula ibi extrema bacilla fucilitat baben figuram litera. V. describing rightly the Valli. In the the leaders Vallum in convenient diffunces were raifed and cast out certaine plot formes like turrets, and on the P curtaine be-lodgings, tween the turrets were placed Balifles, before, gamenton, and the had destroyed in a sufficient former to the turrets were placed Balifles, before, gamenton, and the sufficient destroyed in a sufficient former. That is, catapultae, baliftae, and all engins of thot ready bent : fuch artillery as that age did afford. And about the Bratis unartitee Vallum they cast a ditch of fixe foot deepe and as much in bredth.

allum they call a ditch of lixe foot deepe and as much in bredith.

In the Vallum of the campe were foure gates. Livius lib, 40. Aemilius ad quatuor portas exercitum instruxit, ut signo absolute. 4. An. elato simul ex omnibus partibus eruptionem facerent. and Joseph. 3. αλαίσ. πόλαι, 3 ανακοδρίωνται καθο hasto το αποδόλε κλίμας efficies Sajani in-That is, In every fide of the campe a gate is built. So that the fides of the campe being foure, the gates multalfo ter principia is-

H. Porta Pretoria, so called a P R AR T O R I O which slandeth neere it: the foregate of the campe, and in times Æneid. of danger next to the ettemy

M. The third gate of the campe called Sinilira Principalis: and L. the fourth called Dextra Principalis, fo deno. Topplar. 10/001.3. minated, because they open into Via Principalis. Livy in the place a above alleaged nameth them thus: 1 Extra- 2x10 c. 6. ordinarii, 2 Dextra Principalis, 3 Sinissira Principalis, & 4 Questoria: whereof Extraordinaria is without all question 9 Lib.40. the same with Pretoria, so named of the Extraordinary band: who quartered there: so that Questoria in that place must be all one with Decumana, belike because in his conceit the Q v AE S T O R V M was not far from Decumana. And so it may feeme heconecived of it by another place, lib. 10. Ab tergo castrorum Decumant porta impetus factus: itaque capium Quastorium. But that placing of Q v AE S T O R I V M cannot itand with Polybius description, whom

Etans in principia.

n Servius in 10.

o Vallum, faith

SРатоже Лівс таzeńsaror iet.

the right the bredth : albeit

Polybius quar-

C My Jestpoug.

Iy 133. but Po-

to mince it fo

were the Ro-

mans fo great

if we may be-

Poet, excudant

alii fhirantia

in this case we are rather to beleeve. Now that Pratoria was neerest to the enemy, and Decumana furthest off, it is evident by Cæfor li. 3. de bell. ero. Pompeius, faith he, acie accefsit, protinusque se in castra equo contulit, & iis centurionibus quos instatione ad Pretoriam portam posuerat, clare, tutamini, inquit, castra. And immediately after: Pompeius cum intra wallum noshi vifarentur, equum niclius Decumana porta se excessivi esecit. That Pretoria was the foregate, and Decu-mana the backgate, it appeares by the place of Livy above alleadged, lib. 10. ab tengo asstrorum Decumana porta impetus. mana the backgate, it appeares by the place of Livy above alleauged, the so-we ergo agreement becamain prica impelies facture: and yet Polybius calleth the fide where K. standeth perpetually the to agreement medically the transfer of the is. The forefide of the campe: and that other wherein H. standeth wir in Sign manger in spanishias, That is, The is, The forefide of the campe: and that other whereiner, transcent and decentically, because in his edictription of the lodgings he beginneth at the PRABTORIVE or 1 v M, and proceedeth on forward toward Toward Decumbans.

Thus have we a description for two of Polybius ordinary Legions with their Auxilia, which was the ordinary

army of one Confull : acampe perfectly fquare, not as the Grecians (although if Frontinus fay true, the Romans tooke this whole learning of Pyrrhus a Grecian) who framed their campe according to the ground, whereas the if the distributes Romans framed the ground to their campe, and diftinguished it with streets and passages in so good an order that most yeers, aman might as readily finde his place there, as his own house in the town where he was borne. The whole perimetre within the trenches amounted to eight thouland two hundred foot, or one thouland fixe hundred fifty paces; the trenches amounted to eight thousand two hundred foot, or one thousand fixe hundred fifty paces: every fide. The trendes amounted to eight thousand two minuted roots of the thousand the minuted may pacers every horaccording to the politions already laid, containing two thousand fity foot. Now when the Legiones were made

[1.45/4.45 fuller then ordinary, in lodging both horse and foot, the 'partitions were made proportionably bigger as well

2.45/4.45 fuller then ordinary, in lodging both horse and foot, the 'partitions were made proportionably bigger as well

2.45/4.45 fuller then ordinary, in lodging both horse and lodge them in the other or if that does not full fire, they make more rowes of lodgings upon the right and left hand of the Auxiliarie quarter, enlarging the figure in breadth by that meanes, and retaining the former length. And likewife if more then two Legions under one Generall were to be encamped together, the figure was, I suppose, a long square, enlarged only in breadth with more rowes of lodgings on both lides the freete, c. c. c. for Tacitus in a place above alleaged fignifish that by measuring the Principia we might finde out the number of the Legions, which presupposing the enlargement in length could not by that meanes be so well discerned. But when sourc Legions under two Consuls were to be joyned in one camp, if it pleased the Generals to keepe their standings apart, it was likewise a long square, but doubled in length, कार्यमा वेशकान्त्र in all other respects agreeing with this description : and the campe so doubled contained twice as much ground. perimetre halfe as much more with fixe gates, two Decumane, two Siniftee Principales, and two Dextre without any Pratoria at all. But when it pleased them to pitch together, they placed the FORVM QV AESTORIVM and PRAET OR IVM in the middle betweene the two armies ; the Exhaudinainand Auxilia eterna quartering, as it the next line for may sceme, in this case, betweene the Tribunes and souldiers lodgings in the same quantity of ground as before. and with convenient ftreets on both fides.

The Generall Officer over the Campe was called Prefettus Castrorum: * to whose charge appertained to stake a Veget 1.2.6.10. Out the Campe and see it kept sweet, to appoint and order the trenches and ditch, to quarter the souldiers with b Veget, La.c. 12. their carriage and lodging, to provide dyet and physicke for the sicke, and pay the Physician, &c. b Particularly over the Smiths, Carpenters, and other artificers, with the Enginers, and fuch like, the officer was called Prefictus fabrum. Both of them, as I thinke, lodged in Q v AE S TO R 1 0, where it is likely the Legati legionum also were quarrered, and in the free ftate the Legali confulares.

Alloone as ever the tents were pitched, and camp fetled, all which followed the Campe both bond and freeze ctived an orth called faramentum caltered, which according to Polyhius was, MHAEN EK THY FAPEMBO.

AHE KAEYEIN, AAAAKAN ETPH TI TIX TOT T ANOIZEIN EHI TOTE XIAIAPXOTE. That is, That he should steale nothing out of the campe, but if any happened to finde ought he should carry it to I nation a the monuta freat mounting out of the campes, you're any papers of a most origin the monuta carry into the Tribunes (b). 6, and in another place between the a matter of greater importance, concerning the just repreferation of the spoile in the facking of cities, a point molt profitably induced, whether the spoile were to be referred to publickeuses, orelie divided among the souldiers, whereof the world for are commonly most nimble that way. But chiefly it stayed the mindes of those, who by the Generals commandement remained in armes in the marker place against all sudden mischances of warre, being assured thereby of equal part with the rest in the prey which should be taken by others. Aulus & Gellius setteth the very forme of the oath downe in more particular termes out of cincius de re miliari 3 In exercitu decemque milha passium prope futum non facies dolo malo solus, neque cum placibus prime nummi argenteim dies slogulos. Extraque bastam, hastile, ligna, pabulum, unem, folkim, faculum, si quid ibi inventrus quod plaris nummi argentei crit, uti tu ad Coss. seve ad quem cortun alter jusseris perseras, aut prostebere in triduo, proximo quicquid inveneris sustulerisque dolo malo, aut domino suo cujum id censebis esse reddes, uti quod rette fattum esse voles.

In service the Legionarie souldiers had allowance of pay, corne and apparell: and at the end of his service a confideration in money, or land of inheritance, and fometimes both. For the pay Livy . writeth thus: Anno urbis conditæ 349, decrez it Senatus ut flipendum i miles de publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de suo quisque santius co muntre effet. The quantitie Polybius limiteth in the fixth book, at least as it was in his time, affigning to a footman alone: for three the third part of as drathma, or two oboli by the day, which Polybius in another place refolveth into foure affer, guiti primum cer- to a Centurion twice fo much, to a horseman a diachma, or Roman denarius then currant for twelve affes. This pay continued, as I suppose, in this forme till Cæsars time, qui legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit. Suctonius Julio, cap. 6. So that the footmen had by the day eight affis, the Centurion fixteene, the horse twenty foure. Augustus increased the footmans pay to be ten affest a day, and as it feemeth shortly after it rose to a full denoming. eight part of an Belides wages the fouldiers received in latter times voltem de publico, as it were fome livery garment, not all his about 7. apparrell, as I suppose. Plutarchus Gracchis, among the lawes which were established by C. Gracchus, one was, de Begliffi.

[aith he, spansnize, ish ne union superis gapatemen of party on the land of Begliffi.

h Tart. Annal. manding a garmentto be given the fouldier by the officer without any deduction of wages therefore. For before, as h Tart. Annal. manding a garment to be given the fouldier by the officer without any deduction of wages therefore. For before, as the state of the question of the price was fet up in their wages. Vegetius lib. 2, cap. 19. Imperatoris miles, qui veste annona publica pascitur. Thirdly they received frumentum. Vegetius in the place above alleaged, Imperatoris miles qui annona publica passitur. And in the free state,

Salust. Tueurth. Milks framentum publice datum vendere, panes in diem morcari. In Polybius time the price was deducted out of their wages, and so it continued long afterward: for Nero was the first, which unto the Prætorians (who were in all preferments the foremost) dedit line pretio frumentum, which before they had at some under price, Tacit. 14. Annal. The measure was to a footman for a moneth two thirds of an Athenian Medimus of wheat: to a horseman two Midimni of wheat, and feven of oats or barley; as having, as it may be supposed, a spare horse, and an attendant or two allowed Polyb lib 6. Donatupon Terence limiteth dimensium servito be foure modii the moneth precise ly agreeing with the rate of Polybius footman in this place. For a medimus contained jultly fix medii, according to Tully Frumenteria in Verrem, Suidas, and others, Herodotus Polymnia victualleth Xerxes people at a chanix (that is, the fortie eighth part of a medimma) a day, and that was indeed impion & Doi, That is, a daies allowance. Suidas & the fortic eight part of a mediannay a day, and that was indeed without 999. I hat it, a caire airowance, autout or all, among the Grezians, formewhat left then Polybius race, who alloweth thirty two obmittes the most hope the the quantitie of mediannus and modius thus we may gather it Quadrantal is the measure of a cubicall. I forman foor the them the quantities of mediannus and modius thus we may gather it Quadrantal is the measure of a cubicall. I forman foor the them the product of the control of the contro Festus and others. Now quadrantal containeth tres modies according to Volusius Moetianus, which is half a medimour inch. nus. So that a measure of a square Roman foot in the bottom and the third part of a foot high, is the Roman moduus: and of two foot high with the fame bottom, an Amicall medimnus. Of our vulgar measures medimnus being leffe then a bushel and a half, and medius, which our common learning constructs for a bushel about a pinte less then a peck. For confideration at the end of their fervice the old fouldier had oftentimes an affignement in land of inheritance, k Liv.lib.31, For conductation at the end of their territe the oid tollider had oftentimes an augmentent in land of inheritance, a literal as a street he fectord Punick wat the Senat k awarded to them which had ferved in Africk quad agri Sampii & Ap-l-Applian . Epopular publicant populi Romani of I., and at other times upon like occasions, Sylla to the Legions which had ferved which were, and the him in the civil waters, the street works a significant models as in the most of the large that the significant water water was the significant with the significant water and the 4 → That is, diffibuted much land in Italie; fome which had lien in common before, α tome taking it by force toma 9, notice from the owners not only as in recompence of their former fervice, but much more to have for many good fouldiers steems I think the mid-had had not been supported to a few formers. Dy corruption at hand, whose fortune could not be severed from his, and whom he might raise in a moment the case so requiring of copy. The like upon like respects did Castar Julius, placing his veteranas legiones in colonies about him. Antonius & Angu- m Senees confeflus conspiring against the state, named before hand eighteene of the fairest and richest Cities in Italie, as Capua, lat. ad Albinam Rhegium, Venulia, Nuceria, Beneventum, Ariminium, &c. which they promifed to diffribute and part among the e.7. His popular fouldiers after the warre, wirds lought not not reliable to the colonias in accordingly for the most part performed it : under the Empire all a provinces were replenished with such militar mifit which que which and a provinces were replenished with such militar mifit which make the militar mifit and the militar mifit and the militar mifit and the militar mifit and the militar militar mifit and the militar mifit and the militar mifit and the militar militar mifit and the militar colonies. For confideration in money at the end of their fervice before Augustus time I finde no stint fer down. At vicir semanus the triumph after some great warre the souldier had some little remembrance: at the triumph of . Africanus sortie shabitat office a piece, two shillings fax pence English. At the triumph of Paulus fortie five affix, double the Centurion, of Lindia 30, triple the horse. At the triumph of Pompey out of Asia 4 sifteene hundred drachmaes a common souldier, and p Appia Mistro. the rest in proportion, so much was either wealth or ambition growen in so sew years. At the triumph of Ca- q 46. 118.3.1.9.4. far after the civill warres the fouldier i five thousand drachmaes, the Centurion ten thousand, the Tribune i Appian a. Eq., twentie thousand. Augustus reducing it to a certaintie upon the Guard-fouldier at the end of fixteen yeares service 156.1165.1. beltowed five thousand drachmaes, upon the legionarie at the end of twentie, three thousand. For the pay of " Polyb.lib. 5, upon the legionarie at the end of twentie, three thousand. For the pay of " Polyb.lib. 6, upon the legionarie at the end of twentie, three thousand. the Auxilia, the allies in the free state had their pay and v paymaster, from whom, as living in some equalitie of al- a Livy in Romaliance, and yet recognizing a superioritie. Some allowance in corne they had even in Polyoius dayes from the Ro. lus time, ad her mans. In Augustus time first, and soin the Empire the Social Auxilia carrying arms more for the maintenance of Romana legio the Princes efface, then for the interest of their own liberty, received their pay and other commodities of the Prince in the singular as well as the Legions.

Irremaineth now to confider the number of the Legions and men which the Romans commonly armed, or ar- the beginning of It remainesh now to confider the number of the Legions and men writen the Norm us commonly atmospherical med at the highest, or possibly could arme. Rome in her infancie had onely one Legion, according to Dionyfus Tulbus Ingilium. Romana legioner and Varro, confisting of three thousand footmen, and three hundred horse, as before it is showed notwithstanding the words before alledged of Plutarch, a man of baser alloy, seem to import a multitude. After the Cem- rat in the plutall nenfes, and Antennates were incorporated, the Romans had then, faith Dionyous lib. 2. fix thoufund Legiong - Romule, sie aug. ry footmen, that is according to theulage of that time, two complete Legions. In his armie against the Sabins, Ro- 12/10 gramsry footmen, that is according to the ulage of that time, two complete Legions. In its armie against the case in mes shake, its multisarmed of his own people, and from his grandfather twentie thouland footmen, and eight hundred horfe, my form may be a form may be a few may be a Dionyfius, Afterward the Sabins being received into the citie, and the Camerini with others, at his Death Ro- milar resolutor, mulus 4 left the the City furnished of fortie fix thousand footmen, and little less then a thousand horse; a ere mulus - Fert use to the time of Forters to make the control of the Ro-c of Remains of the Ro-c of Remains by the ruines of Alba the Roman forces were a doubled. Dionyfus lib. 3. Which if it be true in Grammaticall underlinating, the flate of Rome at that time was able to make welnie an humber of house the manual of the Roman forces were a doubled. Dionyfus lib. 3. Which if it be true in Grammaticall underlinating, the flate of Rome at that time was able to make welnie an humber of household and the result of the Roman forces were a well-with consequently and the result of the Roman forces were a subject to make welnie and humber of household and the result of the Roman forces were a subject to make welnie and humber of household and the result of the Roman forces were a subject to make welnie and humber of household and the result of the Roman forces were a subject to make welnie and humber of household a an excellive number of fouldiers, seeing the whole cense, which conteined all men above seventeen yeares, not horie intribut an executive number of toutaiers, teeing and whose center, when contains at the above tendent of toutaind feven hun-bound nor mechanicall, in Servius time amounted but to eightic thoutand, or eightic fourerthoutand feven hun-dred, as Livie and the fame Dionyhus doe winnelle; although Fabius Pictor indeed maketh it the number of men able for fervice, formething approching to our number collected by confequence on of Dionyhus words. In the free flate from the beginning in a manner without interruption, they commonly armed every yeare foure Legions with a mions durating Hate from the beginning in a mainter wanout instruction may a market a pass your case and a manual passing of the form of the first and in a specific passing of the form of the first and in a specific passing of the form of the first and th was their ordinary yearely ftint, observed even in peaceable times, and as it were to keep their hands in: a point of of whether hands in: great confideration and necessary use in a warlike common-wealth. But how many they armed upon occasions or when we shall be sometimes. possibly could arme, is another consideration. In the battel ad lacum Regilbum, Amer urbis condite 257, the Romans g Views, lib.9.

*put in the field twentie source thousand, that is six complete Legions, as the Legion was then, and three thousand hib. 1. put in the field twentie foure thouland, that is the complete Legions, as the Legion was then, and three thou-fand horfe, five hundred as it feemeth to a Legion, which exceedeth greatly the tile of that age and the Latines, at k Dimpfills 6, that time enemies not Auxiliaries, fortie thouland footmen, and three thouland horse. In the cense two yeares be- 1 Dionyllib. 5. fore were 1 cenfed an hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred, of which, exempting those which were above m Dionys. 116.5. militarie age, we may reasonably presume the one half seventie thousand at least to have been serviceable men for the field. Anno urbis condita 245, the yeare after the kings were excluded, the cense was an hundred and thirtie thousand W & Primusian. That is, Of those seventeen yeares and upward, and the number of persons men and

e i TIP HURE.

for fo it must be read, not in Smelt me are

c Mittel that con-

marafalar. Polyb. aphonius Universe

d Lib. 16. cab. A.

f The footman veares after Esse numeree eru of afignatus,

Trachma is the

women above threehundred thousand. Now halfe of the cense, or a a quarter of the heads in common intend-For of the ment being accounted men of the field, we may probably conclude, that the state of Rome in those dayes was able halfe be women Livylib. 2. legiones decem effethe. Dionylius addeth & alegor rapageding topes: That is, each of them confifting of and of the other halfe serviceable 4000.men. So that the Romans armed that yeare actually forty thousand men of themselves, without the Auxilia of

o Nanum: for otherwise the state in his time kept more then but a flip of vaudiov čπλα βα-

ट्यंद्रीय ; बार्ग्यं या स्थापनियम् यो गाँधी συμμέχων ανζών wir wie ip Tes ifθημέκοντα μυθι-έδας έπαίαν ζ elsista weekq Liv. lib. 25. f lib. 27. t € psr. Liv. l.49. u Εμφ. 2. x Epirom. 98. V 110 collettes. Ermenti 2000 7

ma 60500. a Appian. 3. c. 35. e Dio. lib. 55. d Tac. 4. Ann.

d Tac. 4. Man. e 3. Hifter. f Die, Ptel. Geo. The in the In Britannie (e) three, g Die in the place alledged, and Ptolemans. h 3. Hift. k a. Hift. 1 Dio. m I. Hift

In Spaine two.

In Moefia three,

In Egypt two,

In Syria I foure

n 2. Hift. Die o 1. Hift. p 3. Hift. q 1. Hift. r 2. Hift. Plut.

Othone. u Which Tacitus 1.Hift.feem. In Dalmatia two,

fpana. x 3. Hift. z 3. Hift. b Dio. c 2. Hift. d 1. Hift. e Xiphil. f 2. Hift. g 3. Hift. h Dio. i Dio Ptol. Gos.

met. Dionyfius the Latin nation, whom it was not thought convenient as yet patitetractare arma. In the war of the December Contra 19. maketh one Sabinos & AEquos ten Legions were levied συμερατιών διαστοίς λατίσο του μάλου στιμάζου διακομαίν και λατίος το πορομαίος με το πορομαίος το πορομα of his centes but analyses. That is, Accompanied with as many moe of the Latines, and other their allies, Dionyfius lib. 11. Summe eighty thousand. Anno ab urbe condita 486. upon the revolt of the Latine nation, the Romans armed forty thousand tootmen, and three thousand horse. Livius lib. 8. Vndique non urbana tantum, sed etiam agressi juventute, d cem legiones feripte dicentus quaterium millium & ducenorum pedium, equitumque treceporum, quem nunc novum execcium, si que externa visinguat, he vires P. R. quas vix terrarum capit orbis contracte in unum haud facile efficiant; adco in que laboranue thrice fomany in fola crevimus, divitias luxuriamque. Between the first and second warre Punick, at what time the cense of the Citiarmes, or perad-zens pricked about three hundred thouland, a full view being taken of the forces of them and their allies in Italic, there were found, as P Polybius reporteth, above feven hundred thousand footmen able to beare armes, and feven ty thousand horse, an incredible number if we compare it with latter ages: and produced by Diodorus Sic. 2. Bibliot. to confirme the admirable populousnesse of ancient times not with standing that Casar, as Appian writeth Kolines in This of few yeares fought in France with foure millions of men, a number comparable with Xerxes armie, which dried up with direct rought in France with monte minions, bridged the flea, as flories and Panegyricks make us believe. Asso.

with sinking therivers, failed the mountainss, bridged the flea, as flories and Panegyricks make us believe. Asso.

with sond. 138.0° 33.0° (34.3° the fecond Punick warre, the Roman later armed twenty three Legions,

which sond the flories of the count of that time rifeth to an hundred and fifteen thouland Legionarie former, and almoil feven thousand horse. After the third Punick warre, in which time the cense was 'about foure hundred thousand, in bello social the Romans armed an hundred thousand; the social social the Romans armed an hundred thousand; the social social the Romans armed an hundred thousand; the social social the Romans armed an hundred thousand; the social social the Romans armed an hundred thousand; the social the social the Romans armed an hundred thousand; the social the social the social three Romans armed an hundred thousand; the social three Romans armed an hundred thousand three Romans armed an hundred three Romans armed and three Romans armed an hundred three Romans armed and three Romans armed an hundred three Romans armed and three Romans armed and three Romans armed and three Romans armed an hundred three Romans armed an hundred three Romans armed and three Romans armed and three Romans armed an hundred three Romans armed and three Romans armed armed armed armed armed armed arme ficient garrifons in their leverall Cities. Appian Eus. I. In the civill warre of Sylla the Confuls had two hundred Cohorts of five hundred a piece, Fee. 1. and Sylla v twenty three Legions, which Appian refolveth into an hundred and twentie thousands on both fides two hundred and twenty thousand. In the Civil warre between Pompey and Cæfar, about which time the cense amounted to * foure hundred and fifty thousand, Pompey had ' fixty thousand and five hundred men, Casar eighty Cohorts, in which were but twenty two thousand, and two Cohorts Presidio castris lib. 2. de bello civili. After Cæsars death when the peace was made at Mutina to trouble the state, Offevius had twenty Legions: Antonic twentie: Brutus eight: Cassius twelve: Lepidus three : Dolabella two. and at least one in Africk. Summe fixtie fix: all at one time: which following the rate fet down in Antonius oration, 5 Eus. (an hundred and seventy thousand souldiers in twentie eight Legions) in fixty fix bringethoutbets Evecate 2000 7. 18. 3500. Sim- flate. After the civill warres ended, Augustus setling the state, and removing armes out of Italie, established in the provinces and limits of the Empire. 23. Legions with their Auxilia, that 15, according to the Politions already laied, two hundred seventy fix thousand souldiers. Tiberius maintained twenty five Legions, that is, three hun-Lited, two hundred teventy ist mountain toutiers. A recrus maintained to the property of the p In Galbaes time the state maintained one and thirty Legions.

> Sceunda (f) Augusta. Vicelima (g) Victrix. (h) Sexta, (i) Ferrata. (k) Decima, (l) Gemina. In Gallia (m) Lugdunenti one, (n) Prima (n) Italica. (o) Quarta, (p) Macedonica. (p) Decimaoctava, alias Duoetvicelima. In High (m) Germany three, (q) Vnactvicesima (r) Rapax. Quinta. In Low Germany foure, f Decimaquinta. Decimafexta. Septima Galbiana. Tertiadecima . Gemina. Vndecima b Claudiana. Quartadecima • Gemina. Tertia Gallica. Septimas Claudiana, Octava · Augusta. In Africa one, Tertia i Augusta. k Tertia Cyrenaica. Duoetvicesima Primigenia. Quarta " Scythica. Sexta P Victrix. Duodecima Fulminatrix. Vicefima, if the place be not corrupt in Dio, that there were two of that name continued from Augustus to his time.

C : Quinta · Macedonia. Decima x Fretenfis. Ta Tewry three, ? Quintadecima * Apollinea.

At Rome one, {Primab Adjutrix b Claffica.

In this Caralogue Prima Italica of Gallia Lugdunensis, Prima Adiurrix at Rome, and Septima Galbiana of Pannonie were conscribed by Nero and Galba: The seven Legions of Germany, Duoetvicesima of Egypt, and Nona of Britannic were established by Tiberius Caius, or Claudius, or peradventure some of them in the latter simes of Augustus. All the other nineteene were undoubtedly founded by Augustus, and in effe yeares before Augustus death; for albeit two of them beare the name of Claudius, Vndecima Claudiana in this Catalogue of Dalmatis, and Septima Claudiana of Meesia, it was not because Claudius was their founder, but as Dio saith saining a vi vi καμέριου interactor μι αντιστού μεταικό το the Countries had either no souldiers at all, or but onelyfome (c) Auxiliary garrifons of cohorts and wings, quae perfequi, faith Tacitus 4. Annal, incertum est, sum ex c As at this time unity source (1) anamany guizent number of defigurable missentially we reasonably prefume out of Tacitus Rostins, with a wild imperiable that the Auxilia annexed to the Legions joyned to these locall, were in number not inferiour to the Tomasia-je-Tac. Legions considered alone. This number of Legions or there about we finde retained many yeares in the Romane 2. Hist. Empire. Favorinus de Hadriano apud Spartianum. Non recle suadetis, familiares, qui non patimins me illum omnibus d Neque multo dollierem credere, qui habet triginta legiones. In Alexander Severus time (e) Dio reckoneth thirty two Legions where lin wiring. of two and twenty are the same that we have found in Galbaes time, the nine remaining of the thirty one which e Lib. 55. we had under Galba, being miscarried in the meane time, or joyned to some other; to wit, Nona of the Brittish, all the feven Legions of Germany, and Vicefima fecunda of Egypt. And for Quinta and Decimaquinta in low Germamy we are affured by Tacitus of their ruine at Vetera. In itead of these nine thus decaied, we have ten other named by Dio : Secunda Adjutrix, and Quarta Flavia enrolled by Vespatian; Prima Minerva by Domitian; Secunda Agyptia and Tricelima Germanica, otherwife called Secunda Trajana and Tricelima Vipia by Trajan, Secunda Ita-lica and Terri Italica by Marcus, Prima Parthica, Secunda Parthica, Tertia Parthica by Severus. The catalogue of the Legions which at this day is extant in the Court of the Capitoll, and is evidently more modern then Dio, hath the same number with Dio, and nine and swenty of the same Legions, onely in the particular names in stead of Vi. cesima, Septima Galbiana, and Tercia Italica which are in Dio, it hath Vicesima Secunda Primigenia, Septima Gemina, and Decima fexta Flavia And of the Legions in Galbaestime, that monument hath but onely twenty, lacking feelide the same nine which are wanting in Dio) Septima Galbiana, and the Vicesima which we have placed in Syria Now thirty one Legions Imperiall, which in Galbacs time we do finde, according to our suppositions contains an hundred eighty fix thousand footmen, and eighteene thousand fix hundreth horse. The Auxilia of the one kinde and of the other in number not much oth, rwife So we have in these times usually maintained by the Empire, soother of Agathias lib. 5. three hundred feventy two thousand, and horse thirty seven thousand two hundred at the smallest reckoning Whose ordinary pay, beside corne and some apparell, at one denarius or deachma a day for the footman, and three for served in the latthe horse, beside the increase of wages given to the officers, amounteth by the yeare to a hundred seventy fix mil- ter Emperours the horle, belief the increase of wages given to the omeers, amounted by the yeare of a hundred fixty two time far greater, lions five hundred fourteene thouland denarit, in our money five millions five hundred fixteene thouland fixty two of 64,000. pounds and ten fhillings; which is more than the great Turke at this day receive th in two years toward all charges, fighting men, and yet they maintained be fide a Guard of many thou 2 nds for the Prince with double pay, another for the Pro-which he comvolt of the City, with many Cohorts of Night watchers, and many armadaes with proper fouldiers annexed, as shall plaines to have be declared. Neither can we finde throughout all the Romane story for lack of pay any disorder or mutinie to have nian in his latgrown among the fouldiers, though otherwife very mutinoufly disposed,

The tervice at home in the City was performed by three forts of fouldiers principally, Pratoriani, Vibani, and diminified a band of cholen men to the guard of his person, so named by Scipio Africanus, but induced beforein Romulus time & Transported a band of choice men to the guard of his person, so named by Scipio Africanus, but induced beforein Romalius time of selected text so the selection of the person of the selection of the selecti another irray del Jud out a kit inva The Luar Ge to content or an all input. That is, Whom alwaies he had about him, and give to him being 300 in number for the guard of his person and disparch of his urgent affaires: Dionysius lib. 2. in the free heistell Braun sommon-worth not tree, by the habroad in the warre, till Sylla and Cafe uluring the late retained for home disk or which is a sample normal state. The sample should be supported by Cafe in the sample of the sample normal sampl his guard and not his government, committed a notable and dangerous tolectime in matter of tate, & operate the in the day
way to his own deliruration. After the death of Cæfar the state being troubled, Antonius by permission of the Set tell ad Regullion
the Distance had nate, poport istal deristum. That is, Put a guard about his perion, of fix thouland men. 2. Est. And Octivi-colored deletion usper in in control against Antonius, returned out of Campania els sucies "par a elegis is solid re information of circa fe perfetti Action de in onution. That is, Bringing with him 10000 men under one lintigne for the guard othes person onely causa. Liv.lib.2. And a little ther Antonius marching from Brundulium to Rome, in matter spanish antique air of a delsur to ne of the plant 1.0 a. κατοι εί τον πέσον επιλίξετο. That is, Selected out of his whole army a Practorian cohort of the beit and choiceit men other. In bello Philippentia Przeorian cohort of two thouland going toward Octavius, was intercepted at lea by the le of the contrary part 3. Eus. and after the war Antonius and Octavius innugative spanishes Judines in spanishing spiri, Sornol Edulum diet corn, κή σωπιλόμοσω ele εμπηγίσμε πάξειε. That is , Received into fervice 8000. fouldiers which defired to continue in pay, & distributed them into Pratorian cohorts E44 5. And after the battell at Actium Augustuseschewing his fathers fault, and thinking it expedient for the lafety of his person, maintenance of his state, & dispatch of affaires to have in a readineffe a convenient company of fouldiers in armes, established under the name of Pietoriani, a guard often thousand men divided into ten cohorts, saith Dio lib. 53. Tacitus 4. Annal mentioneth but nine in Tiberius time. In Vitellius time, pravitate vel ambitu confujus or lo militie, sedecim pretorie, quatuor urbane cohortes forbebantur, quibus singula millia in: sent, 2. Hist. This guard of Prætorians consisted e militibus Etruria ferme Vinbriaque deletis, aut vetere Latio, & coloniis antiquitus Romanis, differing in that point onely from the guard of Tyrantsin

fr.Hift. t 5. Hift. Iof. 3. u Die. x Ex lap. Capitolino. a t Hift. h 2 Hift.

Ιn

k cap. 34.

1 cap. 6.

m Sui principes runque summam vice facta juliest, & curcharum provinciarum maximani poteftatem habet : prater quem vel vicarium e'us mallus maziftratus babet plenifimam imperium n Some other

Græcians call them war / vs.

p Festus.

q Suct. Augusto. qua plures quam tres cohortes in oppida dimittere 1 cap. 37.

ancient times, which commonly confifted of mercenary ftrangers. And fo the Emperourshad also another Guissi of Germans: Facitus 1. Annal, yobora Germanorum qui tumcusodes imperatori aderant. 13. Annal. Germanos sup. recus. dem honorem custodes add tos, Sueton, k Nerone, abdustaque militum & Germanorum statione. Which Guard Gallag distolved, Suet, cap, 12 Germanorum cohortem à Cafaribus olim adeusodiam corporis institutam multisque experimenti site. lifinam difficit, as fine ullo commodo remifi in patriam. Dio lib. 55. maketh mention also of certaine hortemen of Ba-tavia attending upon the Prince. ទីពែល τε នែកមេខ ដៃសែងការ, ១៤១ ជា ទី២ និងការដែល ឯកបិ ជានៃ និងការដែល ជាថ្ងៃ នៅ ប្រធាន និងការដែល និងប្រ าร์บาน สอเป็นกา สเตรีย สมาชิ สมาชิก อาการ อังเลนเลย. That is, Certaine choife horfemen whom they call Batavi, of Batavia an Ile in the Rhene ; but the number of them I cannot precifely set downe. Of the Pretoriani some were horsemen, Tacit, 1. Annal. Additur magna pars pretoriani equitis. Sucton. Claudio cap. 21. Africanas exhibuit Claudius coefficiente turmae. auitum pretorianorum, ducibus Tribunis ipsoque presetto. Most footmen, as Spiculatores, and other. Their proper office quitum presuranos uns, actions trivans spoque professional to centers, sopresent and confession and contest proper onice was objusteeness, and confession and sold and ward at the Palace'every Cohort in his turne, or to accompany the Prince abroad in Forum, in Curiam, in convinium, Sec. Tac. 1. Hift. Consultanibus placut tentari animum cobortis, que in Palatio stationem agebat. And againe, Annal. 12. E gredium Wiroad sobortem que morem militie excubits adeft. Sucton. Othone: Obfiturespecius cobortis que tune excubabat. Tac. Annal 1. Miles in forum, mi'es in curiam comitabatur Dio.lib. 60. à vile ounmorites mirus tirde spandine oundrine, il, on him, which cultome begun by him is continued even to this day. And not onely the Prince himfelfe, but his wife, mother and children had likewife some of these Pretoriani attending upon them. Tacit. 13. Annal. Excubins militares, que uconjugi imperatoris olim, tum & matri servabantur, depedi jubet. With Germanicus in Germany were due Pretinie cobortes, 2. Annal, whether of the body of the Roman guard, or after the ancient use of the word, I cannot determine, And 1. Annal. Tiberius (endeth with his fonne Drufus unto Pannonia duas pretorias cohortes, At the plaies I finde that a Cohort affitted to keepe good order, Tac, 13. Annal. Statio cohortis affidire ludis folia demonster. Moreover in accompanying Embaliadours fent from the Prince, in doing executions and murders, and many other ferviceable points, they were by the Prince employed. In the war but feldome upon urgent occasions. Tacit, t. Hill. Quod raro alias Pratorianus, urbanufque miles in aciem deducti. Of the Pratorian fouldiers the principall officers were called Prafetti pratorio, Captains of the Guard wemay tearme them, chosen at the first out of militar men, till upon the danger discovered that way, how unsafe it was to put such strength into mens hands of that quality though of mean birth, wildome in latter times and skill in law was in that choife rather respected, as it appeareth by Papinian, Vlpian and other famous Lawyers preferred to that roome: by means of whom peradventure the place became Prince. The number of them at the first institution was two. Mz cenas apud Dionem lib 52, in his advice to August fins. W f drimmetardio car deicus ras elei or poucis de peu papi pelia. To, To pe irid roel durin Barginedaj opanier, nij to melia mengelbe ist. die er en ismane ein immpge ebent, in an nie mese entil inmanten en en odenen, entreize giebede er andenen er eine. That is, I counsell you to appoint two of the most choise persons of the Equites for Captaines of your Guard. To committeto one may breed danger, and to moe confusion. Wherefore let there be two Prasetti piece torio, that if one be ficke, you may not want one to performe fo necessary a charge. Agrippina perswaded Claudius to reduce the whole government to one. Tacit. 12. Annal. Diffrahi Cohortes an bitu duorum & fi ab uno regeretur intensionem fore disciplinam affeverante uxore, transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burthum Afranium ceregie mistaris same. After whose death Nero againe duos praetoriis cehortibus imposuit. Annal. 14. In Galbaes time Laco was onely without any fellow Otho made two, Florius Firmus, and Licinius Proculus, as appeareth by Tac. 1. Hift. & fo confequently afterward, sometime one, sometime two, as it pleased the Prince. Now that which Macenas counselleth Augustus to chuse them ex equitibus Romanis, and no higher (left their high birth should give them courage perchance to attempt against their foveraignes) was observed in a manner continually till the time of Alexander Mammae, qui Praficlis Pratorii fuis faith Lampridius, fenatoriam addidit dignitatem, ut viri clariffimi & effent, & dicerentur : quad ances vel raro fuerat, vel omnino nen fuerat : coufque ut fi quis imperatorum fuece ff rum Pref. Part. date vellet, claticlavium cidem per lisertum fubmitteret. Notwithstanding in Vespasians time Titus prafetturam quoque pratorii suscepti nunquam adidiempus nifi ab equite Romano administra am, Sueton. Tito. which opinion of Suetonius I finde checked by Tacit. 4. Hill. Arctinus Clemens before that time, quanquam Senaurii ordinis, was made Prefedius Fretorio. Befide the two Captains there was one Prefedius Caftorium, Tribuni as many as Cohorces: and under the Tribunes (interious, and other petty officers, as in the armies abroad. Their pay was in the free flate & fe quiplex, "μιόλιος, in the Empire double to that of The Legionary (whiters, The Senatours, faith Diolib. 23 and wife so will happinesses and the Empire anomaly in the Legionary (whiters, The Senatours, faith Diolib. 23 and wife so will happinesses about the Legionary (which is the Company of the C those which should be of Augustus guard should receive double pay to the rest of the fouldiers, to the end they might be more diligent and watchfull in their charge. Tacitus t. Annal. limiteth the fumme, An Pretorias coborts que binos úcuas ios acceperint, & c. that is in our money fifteene pence, which no doubt is meant of the limple fooiman onely, for a Legionary horteman had more. Thefe Prætorian bands in Augustus and part of Tiberius time, lying dispersed in the City and colonies about, were by Sejanus united and placed together in callis prope viverium conmbe effe poline et inititi, wise, σωρωδολ, ον εγωνίνη, they call it in Greek. Sejam, faith Tactus, A. Annal pomprefettue molitam Angultus angle, untroit, a utroit, alpha a v perubem colomis van calles, religna abote untroit, alpha a v perubem colomis van in defectualmendo, ut final imperia acqueta numeroque et volume volta, interna de eff. into f. foliati vi fig., accettos mettu et actual principal color et video de video et video va circa finitima pariter ful venire, & severius acturos si vallum statuatur procul urbis illecebris. Suet. r liver. Rome castra constituit, quibus pretoriane cohortes tage ante id tempus & per hofpitia differfa continerentur. The ruines are under the walles of Rome. as it is not now far from S, Laurence gate. For afterward Conflamme the great perceiving the order to have more of the bad in it then the good, con mapanesare spanameigineche zint epipa mi nerus igerta zadini. That is, Called the Pratorian fouldiers, and defiroyed their campe, faith Zolimus lib 2. retaining the name of Prefettus Pretorii fill, but marting the office (faith the fame & Zotimus, who feldome faith well of that Prince) by dividing it into foure, and weakning their authority. Milites urbant in Augustus time (if Dio be not deceived as I thinkehe vis) were in numberfix thousand, distributed into foure Cohorts, or companies. Dio lib. 55. of the tribute opened the

мурмы потпь, у подазе пициров. in Tiberius and Caius time into three onely. 4. Annalium. Tres urbane cohor-t Prefettu Pratts, And Josephus and x lib, 2, 72 ring equipping; antique starginare polarites this roles, which as it appearationem Prareth by Sucronius - Claudio, were the coboutes wibane. In Vitellius time, quatuor whome coboutes quibus firming fellus pear. Hy, millia insifers. Tacitus z. Hift. Their governour was called Profession wibis molay to called expension or per called. whose office Dio described his, \$2, in Macenia oration; makeys \$3 and at Macenia oration; makeys \$3 and Macenia oration; makeys \$3 and Macenia oration; makeys \$3 and Macenia oration; makeys \$4,000 and Macenia oration; makeys \$ That is, Let there be a Traffitus with one of the greatest countenance, and such as before hath passed all maketh 4000 an maketh 1000 and degrees of honour with commendation, not to govern in ablence of other officers, but to undertake the government excellive & difactives of honour wind commensations in the Soviet in a plane of other typical points and in criminal excessive & and other city both in other matters; and nancity to judge in cales of appeals from other maggifrater, and in criminal orderly number not onely within the city, but within 60. Itadia round about. His office dured for life, unfelle it pleafed the Prince for the Francisco not one; writing early surveying the state and about 1815 one state of the unit of the state of en une necessitate de la constitutan poessatem, de insolentia parende graviorem mire temporavit. Namque amée profetis de qui dura neve mo regibus, ac mox magssitations, ne unto sone imperio sera, in tempos deligebater qui jus redecret, ac subtis mecircure. Cate. Admirtira, ac This Augustus bellis civilibus (linium Mecenatum equestres ordinia cunciis apud Romam heque Italiam prepositi, Alox retum presessam wei mainten personal de manitus de manitus non manitus non manitus personal de manitus de manitus non manitus personal de manitus pers нт лизущия сель инивого, нашов писсивают учественного оченов при путом пира нашом респрият. Мож terum videus pertiners, райов, от падимайть продых сель take layan axilia, fumple k conflictions a yet concrete fronties, & quad audacia turbis, fee & figuid in-dum, mif vim metual. Not withflanding this new office, the name and shadow of the old remained hill, and the true configuration. consuls going forth, ad inflaurandum sacrum in Albano monte, one or two of the young nobility were left for fathion- millionian ad-Take, with title of Profitius urbis, and authority of the Confuls. Tacit. 6. Annal. Duratqueadbuc simulacum, quotier of profitium urbis. sact, with title on experience arous and southern or comments a section failure from the management, quantet of prefection subjective and prefection and prefection of the original subject of the ori cap, utimo, but principally is ingential a table to the country, owners in epoints of this other and the total particular. From this place is a fixed with the country of t Of Rome, I indicate and counting sparaments in Wi annualizes of Belbium. That is, Againg the inconvenience of fire by C objective de night any vice import counting sparaments in Wi annualizes, elibertini generis kominibus Diol lib. 5. involve of a dein wine was, the felt wighted and the sparament of the sparame eddy historia o'ong, (ripens alone, 35 am 15 rous reasonance with color of the street parts of the city were wasted by fire, Augustus to meet with such mischances chose out e libertinis, seven companies, appointing an de Die. 1811. 15. partio) one city were variety of its scannes to more than important space finding the use and necessity of that institution be cod. t. it. 13. retained it still, and so they remaine even to our dayes, collected not only c libertinis, but of others also, and have their camps in the city and pay of the flate.

The city of Rome though opportunely seated for sea matters, as being distant only fifteen miles from mate Tyrhenum, and having the river of Tiber passing thorow the city of convenient bredth, & for depth able to carry small veffels, nevertheleffe many hundred yeares neglected the fervice. Which thing peradventure among others was not vessels, nevertheldse many hundred yeares neglected the tervice. Which thing peradventure among others was not the least cause which maintained the state in integritie, and preserved it so long without corruptions, of which the e in Polybinsis traffick, and service by sea, as these Politicks make us beleeves, is the principall mother and nurse. Notwithstanding is onely called a conquering state, and they which will live years and works show much necessarily have is more which we say subject to the say of the say that way also. Arid 7. Politic. And generall no state may look to stand without notable molestation, and danger which the Rothat way allo. Artic. Fortise. And greatest to take may possed from a northeack, or by fear is quite defective mans framed of truine, much felt or enlarge, which in any kinde of ferries, on foot, or on horfeback, or by fear is quite defective mans framed of truine, much felt or enlarge, which in any kinde of early is the fifthing that the property of the control o of rune, much telle to emange, which is any amount environment to that degree of perfection, which fome of their (which were five and dutery distantining annuaga persagnee in an attended Punick warre having to deale with the Carthagi- to one manager neighbours have attained unto. Wherefore the Romans in the neit Punick warre naving to deale with the Cartragic to one sympo-nians undoubted Lords of the (ea, & exp/nn). That is, of a long time even from their ancellors, and perceiving 26) it may pro-table errour, in they care ab wife condita 490. determined to apply them (elves, and diligently to attend to that part of bably be con-table errour, in they care ab wife condita 490. determined to apply them (elves, and diligently to attend to that part of bably be con-table errour, in they care ab wife condita 490. determined to apply them (elves, and diligently to attend to that part of bably be confervice: having before, as Polybius reporteth, not only no naves tethe, but no naves tange at all, no not so much as any outside, terrice, naving octores response reported, not only no meet now you to make a man at any more to much as any martine.

Embus or passing boat, but only upon borrowing. As for the Quinquereme a principall ship of war, their shipwrights fell of the order knew nor any way what it meant, till foch time as one of the Carthaginians by great good chance was in the first whom a made at Regium runne upon ground, and so being taken by the Romans, the ship wrights used it for a patterne. Again the wild the meant of the ship wrights used it for a patterne. Again the wild the property of the ship wrights used it for a patterne. Again the wild the property of the ship wrights used it for a patterne. Again the wild the property of the ship wrights used it for a patterne. Again the wild the property of the ship wild the ship wild the ship will be the ship wi men which were multered, having never ferved at lea, were ferupon benches in the fame order, and taught by practile me in blacket. men which were munerequising nevertered at teasy reletition to the mass indeed the first time the (i) Romans soon. Polybel 1. upon the die land to keep their time and measure in itrores, ruiu bus was more and to have reported, anno gapat livium attended to fervice by water; although forne Roman swriters upon a vanity and ambition have reported, anno gapat livium attended to fervice by water; although forne Roman swriters upon a vanity and are the reported pages of the same gapatite water. attended to fervice by waters after upin forme. Roman switters upon a remy man and the reported, anno graphs thousand ambig counter 320 challest afford pages are in the A.

33 indeed the river is so first at that place, that scarce two barges can passe one by another. And be live to also with his to the same of the same passes of the first at that place, that scarce two barges can passe one by another. And be live to also with his to the same passes of the humour, in his former books maketh solemne mention of the navie, of Professions or maiting, bout the time of Dumvini navales, focii navales, and so forth, which either were not all, or not to any purpose of warre. For as conthe war with the cerning matter of merchandile, many yeares before, Ancus Marius perceiving that Tiber at the mouth yeelded com. Latiness extant modity of haven, builded Oftia to lade and unlade wares there, a person integentual, that is sometime recognitudes of include & parts de Anmoutry of haven, butteen that to take and untake write thete.

**Soft-That is, So that Rome was not notify fevered of whatforer the country about did affoord, but by that means befrom edgisfine recorded also of sea commodities. Dionysius 1,3. And yet to say true, I see not how that opinion of Polybear in teams the country about that opinion of Polybear in teams the country. rigour stand with the caules of the Tarentine war some yeares before that time, alledged by the common consent of "am sex surersngour stand with the causes of the Larentine war tome yeares before that time, alreaged by the common consent of harm yes june to-all the Roman stories, but specified most particularly by Appian in his fragment of more appearance of the more is unit in more is unit in the property of the common standard and the specified in the property of the common standard and the specified in the specified the Romans with their flups should not passe the point called Lacinium; which sheweth that the Romans hanted the state

i d'inge pear nou-

k 'Cæfar. com.

appointeth 80.

legiones transpor-

faith one , and

Quafque quater

o lib. 53.

Ith. S.

Demetrie.

p styee.

Lucan.lib. 3.

rarias ad duas

fea. Then that the Roman Duumver went with ten naves (i) telle to furvey the coasts of magna Greeia, whereof four were funk, one taken, and the Dunmon flain. But whether now first or otherwise, the Romans upon the occasion before mentioned entring the feasbrought thither from their fervice by land, faith Polybius, a kinde of violent proceeding, as though winde and weather notwithstanding, what once they had determined to doe, that they must neceffairly go thorow withall. Which maner of contending and firving or rather enforcing of Fortune, as it is by land commendable, and to the Romans hath been cause of infinite good, so by sea against that wilde element it did them more harme, then their enemies the Carthaginians did; who although through their long experience by fea they excelled the Romans in skill and agility, no regundaris, yet of Brangaris, is if dari to Singaris. That is, At handy

ftrokes in grapling, and valour of fouldiers being inferiour, they were at the length inferiour in the whole. Ships, as farre as concerneth our purpole, were of three forts: of warre, of burden, and of passage: the first rowed with oare, the second governed with sayle, and the last often towed with cords. Ships of passige by sea, were either for transportation of men, antragopi, called also spanariose, moeta, binBade: or of horses, immanosi, a iran Mi, hippagines, over a river, or some short cut peradventure by sea, mpouesa, ferry-boats, if the number were few; and to passe whole armies with their carriage 200 in, rates, planks or fagots tied together. Ships of burden, onerarie, germyoi, & brigdes, bulhes. Which word our vulgar language also retaineth, were for carriage of victual and other provision, sometime for k transportation of touldiers also. Of thips of warre the most principall and of greatest service were naves longe, Herid atein, so named of their forme most apt both to be weelded and to make way, whereas ships of burden were commonly built bigge in the belly, and more round for capacity. Now Lone ge were forted again into their feverall kindes, according to the number of 1 bankes and oares placed one above tandae.

1 17 to cique
to a to the another, as I take it, though peralventure not directly. Some I know have concluded otherwife, that in the Trireme for example, three men with three oares fate upon one bank, and fome other, that three men pulled at one oare, directly against both the authority of ancient writers produced by themselves, and contrary to the ancient portraitures of tritemes remaining yet to be feen . So incredible a thing it feemed to beleeve that which in our gallies now adayes they never faw : whereas in truth Zozimus telleth us, that very many yeares before his time they had discontinued to make any triremes at all: as indeed from the battell at Actium, till the battel betweene fuegan extracts— ency na autoniumus to make any internet at all : as moded from the dated at returning the model betweene remain observable. Confiantine the great and Licinius at Hellefont. I fold on not remember by Ge any action of moment. His weris moveleditibiling be like quint. Assert Arac value of whole meganuted by interacting is a time, and with 3 M conquision having the Confianting of the configuration reme triplies put Liburnica), are as swife at sea as the gally of fifty oares', but nothing of the like service to the Trireme, which ber quam Davida kinde of thin, this many yeares hath not beene built; although Polybius describeth the measures and proportions a wefs in pige.

limit stems confue. ons of the Hexcres an usuall ship in the warres betweene the Carthaginians and Romans. But howsover, some time, removement of the control of t in the m combat were directed onely by oare, as being a thing very ferviceable in those calme seas. and more at commandement. The most usuall kindes of Naves long e in the Roman warres, especially ancient were these three: an octeres. Triremis, Quadricemis, and Quinqueremis: " rezigne, rergeine, if corriene, exceeding one another by one ranke of Taura, faith he, inair, faith he, inair, faith aid he inair, stiger i-erior, as intaoares, and confequently rowed with more strength, and builded more high. In the ninth yeare of the first Punick warre the two Admirals were Hexeres, " Polybius lib. 1. And in the writers of Romane flories we have mention also above this number; though seldome used in the Romane warres, as of Hepters, Otimes: " wips Andvortes de Starion ριε, έτ διεάριε, οδι διεύριε, τε σπαμθικόριε, τι υποροπαιοδικόριε, πι τι παριοδικόριε. Philip of Macedonie father to Perfeus had an रेंग्ड्रमांख्या ने श्रुप्रोधः मु र्रिड्रमण्डासः को ने भेने नीवे स्वतस्त्रकःineagofunione. Polybius in fragment, which place . Livy translateth thus: Regiam unam inhabilis prope magnitudinis, quam sexdecim e veisus removum agebant. And yet the Agyptian Kings exceeded usque ad viginti, & trigenta veisus хээ да гамгры. Темания, ейсенүн, сэ теманийн на Thill pater as a Plutarch and t Athenxus tellifie, built one of forty ranks and in a major transfer into to a caute or parace, then a mappe, being in length toure hundred and twenty foot, and in a winty is well? height feventy two, containing foure thouland rowers, other marriers four hundred, and almost three thouland the strong state of the marriers four hundred, and almost three thouland to the strong state of the s fouldiers. On the other fide under Triemis, there were two perfect kindes, Biremis and Moneres, and two unperfect. m Die lib. 50. cor 30 personnae xy also islas ovrunola and renunola. Bremis, in Greek dispus, and more usually dispuss consisted of two rankes of oares; of which the fittest for service, both of lightnesse and swiften se were called Libernice, as Appin faith of the Libernica ocothe interior tervice, both of inguinene and twittene were canced any among an employment of the countries pro-ple in Dalmatia who were the inventors of that fashion and building talbeit in latter times, as it may feem by Vege-דוני בי שפור דוני mugziat piylu tius and others, all ships, though of more or fewer ranks then two, built after that manner, were generally called Libunica. Signeres mentioned by Livy lib. 38. was a gally confilling of one simplerank, whereof I remember five kindes specially named; esserges, or Altaria voginit tenorum, of twenty oares, " esserings which had thirty (named also by Polybius in fragmentis, as it teemeth to me esserindames) nonegatings; which had forty, named also n reis ply) iğindess d'oo kous in a'v which had fifty, as the galleys now a layer commonly have, and item mere which had an hundred. The Gracians TAXABY OF SPATE(P) use μοτότροπε, and more usually silves, which " Gellius translateth celex as equivalent to Monores: and so that gradation in the fixt of Polybius feemeth to induce ; 1 3 hound recipete, 2 diepote, 3 diepote, 3 diepote, 4 diepote, 4 diepote, 5 diepote, 5 diepote, 6 diepote, 7 diep έμιολία and εμιόλο feemeth to have beene a ship furnished with one rank and a half onely, as it were between a (hilluprot prost shought, of the rouges, at 172 kinds under the Trieme, although being built as I (uppole, a d firmum, with two rowers and a halfe. There foure times of the inset kinds under the Trieme, although being built as I (uppole, a d firmum longarian navium, yet are not so generally hispass room; comprehended by the name, but in the writings of amoreted subsection. Montres and a Bisemis: and Technique Nia, between a Biremis, and a Trivemis, with two rowers and a halfe. These foure fome of the kinds to respens also Liv. 21. levereth celoces, & 1.38 recover receives, frem longe. Thucidides in his procme gue Der in red careins in sun feemeth not to allow the name of useque making to commander of, and yet to some other under the Trireme, where-a) conoson. Luca- nea, and that fome of the Moneres also were workers, it is cleare by Livy lib. 38. Nave Monerem habeto ex belli causa.

nin lib. (ive consent e grains crevisse librare. T active 1. His complet find direntian queque simplici ordine exchante, interpreting Monrecinto Litine.

(iv) the consent e grains crevisse librare. I active 1. His complet find direction queque simplici ordine exchante (iv) the consent of th

which else were a vain and needlesse addition. Besides these forts diversified, as we seeby the number of rowers we have in the stories particular mention of others, as Atyparones, Prift's, Phaseli, Cercari, &c. Differing peradventure from those we have reckoned in the fashion and manner of building, as being in some part built like to the Longe, and inpart to the Hulks, as Appian 5. Eus . witneffeth, namely ! Phifeli tricritici. And thefe kindes of fhipping dimunte in the we finde allo to have beene imployed in fervice by fea, fometime principally, and fometime de the party and is provider rior x acceffaries to others. And thus much of the different fashions of thips of warre, which again were divided in ! - " accept. thas & apertas: rostratas, turitas, and such as were otherwise. Telle, or confirste, rost of example, fo called because through the second they had sensor theme, Hatches: aperte, apertern having none: although Aphractum in the neuter gender in some Antonio and places of Tully, Diodore, Plutarch, &c. feemeth to stand for some speciall kinde of thip, and worder in Po- contrarily the lybius for a Quinquereme. Thegreater shippes, as Quadriremes, and upward, had alwayes, as farre as I remember, draft in oplybius for a Quinquereme. The greater shippes, as Susaniems, and upward, had alwayes, as raire as 1 remember, position to 12-harches; the Tritems and Extensis sometimes otherwise; the rest that were under in a manner alwayes aperts, respectively. tea, faith Plinie lib. 7. Ex prora tantum & puppi pugnabatur. And in the warre with Xerxes, the Athenian ships, faith Thucydides, out of her, did mine names pine no. Roftrate, arate, sandpere i sandpere in mere fuch as had roftra extra, tubilus à sanaturant. Refire were common to all flips of warre, greater or smaller, covered or open, to all such at the least, which were to incounter with the enemier in Speculatorius, and such like as were meerely company, being not greatly materiall. For whereas in their manner of fight by Sea, there were three ordinary wayes to offend, eisome greatly materials, For materials must mannet on inguive years, there were three ordinary wayes to offend, ether to break the enemies this by running against it, to will be away the roates, or to kill the fouldiers which food at defence upon the hatches, and to boord her, for performing the first, it was meet that their own should be furely and strongly headed for that encounter. Turite wywesty which had do proum by puppin unitarizing propagatala, ut mai quoque, saint Pliny, pugametur velut è marie. Pollux maketh mention of wyphon, Wifen & Babusan, That is, the right is is. 32. and left turret, which were on the fides.

The officers in the Navie were Prefettus classis, Admirall of the whole Armada; Duumviri in the ancient flory, when as two were joyned in the Commission, Trienthus Governour of a particular shippe, then Gubernator, the Master, Mandons, and other under officers: The rest Socii navales, or Miles, Mangons and other under officers: The rest Socii navales, or Miles, Mangons and other under officers: The rest Socii navales, or Miles, Mangons and Other under officers: manules of two fores, him; printes, to handle the oare, or working whom Czelir callein Manua, for the other levis of lib. 6. ces in the ship. Socii navales in the free state were collected, Exultime cass bominibus, or a sell was repaired. 13 His. Pexpos rmusiofier, ass Polybius speaketh; in latter times, ex h Dalmatu, Pannoniu, Ge. The Souldiers, δαβώτω, k lib. 1. most commonly Legionarie, accommodated both to fight at Sea, and upon occasion to make their descent into the 100000 100 100 land: and in latter times to every Armada was i annexed his proper Legion with the Legionarie Officers appertain- in space of the space ing. In the first Punick warre we have an example in & Polybius of three hundred Remiger, and an hundred and by 4 exerc setwenty hardam in each of the thips of warre; and likewife a division of the Armada into four ranks: The first called Prima legio & prima classis: and in consequence the second, and third; The fourth Triavis: but I finde little mention of this division in the practice of latter times. In the fift yeare of the first Punick war, and first of their fervice & @perganists. by Scaagainst the Carthaginians, the Romans manned out an m hundred Quinqueremes, and twenty Triremes, m Pol. b.t. by Sea agunit the Cartnaginians, the collains mainte dals intra o sexagesimum diem quam casa stivas furat, in Antonis o Polybius p.16 Florus " lib. 2. increateth the number, 100. travelent must be Lords of the world: and yet that of the elder Scipio maketh it as infutti: of fo wonderfull adipaten must usey use, within with the Louis view in the futtier of the word was more marvellous, who e Die quadra-gbmo quinto quame futtier at futual distable materia etai, navus infinitua armatajone excelible ching in squame dedusit, and that being not affilled by the publick purie. In the ninth years of the full Punitua warre, three moments, 330. according to Polybuss were manned. But Regulus the fame years, fuith Appian, Mibro. failed into Africk but the number of the fully punitual states are also according to Polybuss were manned. 330. according to rousons were manued. But you had a three hundred fixtic foure flippes of fervice in the fame of the flips was with three hundred and fiftie. Emilius and Fulwus had a three hundred fixtic foure flippes of fervice in the fame greater than to warre, which number can hardly be matched against in the Romane state in many years after. In the second Pu. wit, 220. 6807 nick an hundred and fixite, or two hundred, or not much above. Against Antiochus they manned but eightie, and & distances are other times the like in their more flourishing state. Which doubt Polybius also noteth in this Historie, but lea *** This During the distances the like in their more flourishing state. Which doubt Polybius also noteth in this Historie, but lea *** This During the distances the like in their more flourishing state. veth the folution to another place. For although the number of threchundred fixtie foure feem not fo excellive, yet fuch and so great was the Fleet, by reason of the qualitie of thips, that not onely the Grecian and Macedonian, but metions fuch and fo great was the Fleet, by reason or the quantite at maps, that the Octop an Octesian and intercontain, our missions section even the Perhan power, which covered the Sea with twelve hundred faile, could not by Polybius judgement than p Livy lib. 28 in comparison. After Polybius time, Pompey in bello 'Piratico had not above two hundred seventie. But in the extension of the properties of the proper driven Sex. Pompeius out of Italie, v fix hundred longar naves of his own, befide feventeen which fled with Pom- 70m bet no again driven Sex. Pompeius out of Italie, 'in numere angus meets of mis own, or meets the second meets of ware, 'sometime meets prey, and the Navy of Antonie, who shortly after the batte of A chium shrinished five hundred ship per a second meets of the second meets of th eft reckoning in the Romane state. But whereas we reade of a sixteen chundred with Sylla out of Asia; a a though and an a system of the state of the fand with Germanicus in Germanie, and such like; they are not to be otherwise intended but as vessels to trans- despose, you a port, not for the warre.

After the civill warresended, Augustus having as it were walled the State with Legions, and Aids by land, as be-feltum in mariinfen, to protect, and keep in obedience France, Spaine, Mauritania, Africk, Egypt, Sardinia and Siπι εθλως έυμε
cilie: another at Ravenna, In marifupero, to defend and bridle Epirus, Macedonia, Achaia, Afria, Creta, Cyprus, &c. δίτι, and out of Italie, one In Ponto Euxino, for defence of those countries consisting of forty thips at the beginning of I Appian. Mithr Vespasans time. Egestppus lib.2. Beside these Armadaes which remained ordinary for desence the Empire, Pro. Espasimum Gallise listus, faith 'Tactus, Rostrate naves presidebast quas Assistat visionic aspsta Augastus in oppidum Foroju - Lup. Augustus in oppidum Foroju - Lup. bense miserat valido cum remige: and betide, Apud idonea provincierum soite triremes. Claudius adjoyning Britanny to a Tacit. Anal. 2.
the Empire, adjoyned also the British Armada. And not onely by Sea, but also upon the Rivers that bordered the b Tac. 2.3.His. the Empire, adjoyned allo the Britin Armada. And not onery by oca, out and upon the Receive and one of Euphatenia. Arrian spire, Empire, severall Navies were maintained, as Germanica classis upon the Rhene, Danubiana classis, & Euphatenia. Arrian spire. Pent. Eurin. e. 4. Tacitus, and others.

Amal. THE

THE EXPLICATION OF

Place in PolyIvs, with a defence of the common copie against the opinion of certain great learned men, wherein also the reason of the militar stipend is declared.



O LYBIVS lib. 2. discoursing of the excellent and miraculous fertilitie of Lombardie, maketh report that a man in his Inne might there be well and plentifully entreated matter tepor that a state must be might be the fourth part of an Obliss. His words in our common printed bookes be these. The words we seemhold is distinct the common printed bookes be these. The words we seemhold in distinct the common printed bookes be these. The words we see a win was worker, it is many seemhold in the words which is the seemhold in the words when the words we have a seemhold in the words when the words we will be the words when the words we will be the words when the words when the words we will be the words when the words we will be the words when the words when the words we will be the words when the words we will be the words when the words when the words we will be the words when ixer to meds it zeelar, immanaels. The o' bit titapter wife de obox amuins 3 the way. Capen. That is, They which travell that Countrey, are entertained in their Innes. not bargaining by parcell, but demanding how much in groffe they must pay for a man, And for the most part the Hosts give entertainement with allowance of all necessarythings for halfe an Asia, that is, the fourth part of an Obolus, seldome ex.

ceeding that rate. For the better declaration whereof we are to understand, that Drathma was a Grecian silver counce weighing precifely the eighth part of an ounce, and usually divided into fix Oboli: That Drachma and Denarius according to the most testimonies in number, and most pregnant in proofe against the fewer and more doubt-full, of the ancient stories are interchangeably used, and so construed in the one and the other tongue, as precisely equivalent: That Densius contained precifely and in all Ages foure Selectii: and at the fift was currant for ten
Afficonely, as the name also imported: but afterward went at a higher reckoning, sometime for fixteene. So that Affisionely, as the 'name allo importeth but afterward went at a lugher reckoning, sometime for fixteene, So that of our filter, whereof the full lings fitting maked the ounce, Dutalma or Demains weigheddevenpence half-penic and Oblios was in value peny farthing: \$Clevius, peny half-peny farthing kne. Affis at the first finitium in, half-enery farthing: and when the Demains went as fixteene. Affis, or four money but farthing kne ece pricke. And if at anytime Demains were to Evanish the Companies of the Companie thirtieth. Sond de re numaia, a miracle. Which if Hottoman had faid, and faid no more, it had beene well faid: for effet shall an as a miracle Polybius put it down, and so it may seem much more unto us, considering the prices of things in our age. But Hottoman not contenting himselfe to accept it as a miracle, not with that most true and justifiable confideration, as anon shall appeare, that money hath his value by position, and not by nature, by the help of that is equall to two bleffled Art of correcting old copies proceeded to 4 amend the place, in the dof imaging an halfe-allis, readupuntly in Obe ing. The images the tis, to -iff and a halfer and in flead of images the place, in the dof in the place in the place in the dof in the place in the dof in the place of the pl large, but by note ? which the next copier not understanding left out; and the note . fignifying a Drac ma, eafily flipping into <. which fignifi th an Obolus. And to throughten his correction he addeth further, that it is athir g never heard of N. Tiralima, five drazius doodcim offibus affimaritar, (which muit needs follow by Polybius words, as they are printed) fiduct decem duntaxii, vel federim. And fo by the aid of that facred art of Criticks we have the price of a mans dinner to be a Sesterius, or the fourth part of a drachma, in our money penie helf-penie farthing kue: a correction both more miraculous and impossible then the text as it standeth. For Polybius himgrants sent in the best with effect the use of his ages, in his fixth booke fetterth down the Romane formans payto the fin-ment in fightest feller the best with effect the use of his ages, in his fixth booke fetterth down the Romane formans payto the fin-day fastification porting of all charges to be two 000 is adv. So that the fouldier in three daves roward his doctors and the history ges, which as it shall appeare, were many and great, shall have but a Drachma; and if a quarter of a Drachma be the price of a meale in a most plentifull countrey, in a most plentifull countrey in two dayes his three dayes wages are spent in bare meat alone, which me thinks is a miracle as great as the other, unlesse souldiers keep more failting dayes then others, who as Xenophon faith some-where, are men which commonly cannot live of the least.

And left a man might suppose, that Hottoman would have laid a heavy hand upon his other place also, if it had happened into his fingers, when this correcting humour was predominant in him, we have by good fortune, had nappened into his negret, when internet in a failing of the printed copy herein for good and authenticall. His work does to approve the common reading of the printed copy herein for good and authenticall. His words be thefe, page 164, of his book, De re nummaria: Abdum filpoind Poblemia b. 6. Girbit fair to print, but off, before the contraction for found to the found have written, not found). Fully interdiate down modelenifa. And furely to him which confidereth how many things the fouldier had to furnith himselfe out of his wages of (talking of the two Obals, or eight halfe Affix a day belide his dut, as Armor, Apparell, Tents, and fuch like recorded by Tad-fouldiers ordinatus and others, it cannot feeme through that in a most fruitfull and almost miraculously cheap countrey he might have one meale for the eighth part of his dayes wages, which in other ordinary places arose peradventure to as much more, and even there was not, as it appeared by the very words of that text, always 6 little. Now that 60 great cheapened of victuall is neither in politible nor greatly miraculous, but onely to us, that judge of that world by our own, thad not been hard to have difference by that which Polybius writeth not fix lines before, where he affirmeth that in the same countrey two Midmin of Barley, That is, three of our bushels , were fold ordinarily for foure Olds. That is, fixteene halfe-offis And I think it no great inconvenience that fixteene perfons might dine fer the price of three buffels of Burley, or furely much leffe, then that three persons could not dine under the price of three buffiels of Barley a peck and half peck, as it must follow by Hottomans account. Albeneus in the bi-

a Denarius, quasi dena ara. b A kue I call the eighth part of our peny; a teenth, a prick the two and thirtieth.

Afsis be the quarter of an 0-Lolus . one Obolus Drackma, or Denariue, to twelve Africa d Afini tamen. faith Hottoman pag. 23. tantuli n mm pretiicoillo To'ybii leco menda subesse

ry pay) vestem, arma, tentoria: hinc favitiam centrationum ir vacationes muneamerica i Tra

gianing of the eighth book produceth another tellimonicout, of Polybids in the foure and thirtieth of his storie, that in Portugall a good far kidde was aliastly fold for an Oboles , the price of foure mens dinner in Lombardie, that in Portugall a good fat kidde was untally fool for an Unotes, the price of four emens dinners in Lombardie.

And Hottoman himfelfe s bringeth our of Gellius enough to have withholden him from laying violent hands g dere nummarid,
upon a poore innocent place, that kee determs a 'thely was prized atten after it to hold it no abuffier, that
twentie perfons might drue competently for the price of a theep. The money, I grant, is but little, farthing ece
for a dinner; and fo was two pence halfs peny weight for a fouldiers pay by the day, which weight in filters, now
will not finde the leaft lackey in the campe his breakefall; and yet the Romane allowance in copine, a buffle of
wheat by the moneth, will even in our dayes ferve the callelf fouldier that is. For money received valuation and wheat by the monters, will even in our layer level in that the trouble that is, not money received valuation and price by the polition of the prince and thate; or mutual (convention of men, things most alterable upon every occasion. And therefore the Grecians terme it 16400000, because it consists of 16400, 164000 as being anothing in cation, And therefore the Checular to the form of the continuent of the property of the cation weight and allow facult neon of nature 1 changes not better in that the two way a prece of the tame weight and any of seen the ago for its and now do for little, no catify suppose, more generall can be affigued, then the great flore of that metall. For the excessive abundance of we seem to suppose the institution of the catify the seems of the catify the seems of t man, draweth necessarily 72 of of the things which nature requireth, to a higher rate in the market. man, a trawen merchaniy Capa ab Angullo Alexandria, faith Orofius, 3 kman tantum epithat gia creju, ut duplo mejara qiam anteba traun va-naliam pretia stanuercutar. And here in England that which was fold about an handred yeares agone for tenne groats, which then weighed an ounce, now fince the discoverie of the Indies can hardly be bought for tenne shalgrouts, which then weighted an owner now me in amoreties of the lame good one file and weight. And if if should happen hereafter the whole treasures of those countreyes to be transported into our Hand, the like plennie presupposed in the rest of the world adopting, these present present present the world adopting, these present pres would doubtleffe teeme as miraculous as that of Polybius to us. Polybius himleffe as Strabo writeth in the fourth booke of his Geographie, reportethate upon the difference of certain good mines in his time about Aquileia, the price of gold throughout all Italie fell a third part: which no their termes is all one to fay, briess of all things bought with gold role a third part. As for that which D. Hottoman maintaineth, that Devarius was neverurant at twelve Jūfi, but either at ten, or fixteene, although it be not much materiall to our profe, yet furely his negative is not receiveable against this positive place of Polybius inferring the contravy then it is with out all probabilitie, that it should go at ten and sixteene, and never at any middle rate, beside that other learned

at all probabilities, that it mount go at ten and accesses and access at any industrate; because that contrary with greater reason, as it stemes, and ground of good writers. So that D. Hottoman hath doubtlesse done great wrong every way to this place of Polybius. And surely if men upon private fancie do presume thus to alter publick Records, shortly we shall have just cause to preferre Winkin de word and Badius Ascensius

before the Prints of our time, and generally to esceme those Copies most correct, which have least beene corrected.

h Lipfice 1. ale-Horum, and its upon Tacitus I

Translations

Translations of the marginall Greek.

In the marign of Tacitus.

Page 3.48415 1874, deftroyed. 4 For vertue 3, wealth or nobilitie was with him a publike crime against all men.

Galls. 10st opinion of orderly proceeding and popularitie, in putting to death certains noble-men without forme of law, though peradventure they had justly deferred to die.

Anapon Stale, to be flaine by treason.

8. He that issent governour into Egypt sustaineth the person and place of a King. * In extortions and mur-

ders upon crueltie and avarice.

16. He gave to the Judges of Ludi Olympici a million of Sefterces, which afterwards Galba demanded of them back againe. " Galba fought out those who had bought or received in gift any thing of Neroes favorites, and of them he exacted it.

21. 5 Intending to make facrifice to Jupiter, and be seene of the Citizens. * He kissed his singers and cast to-wards every one of them.

22. They ravened, robbed and spoiled all things they could lay their hands on.

Referring upon the porches and high places about the place of affemblie, as it were to behold a play,

With which the Centurions feourge them that deferve punishment. Otho fearing to contradict them, and fwered that he would make the man away, but not so suddenly; for that he had matter of importance which he must first learne out of him.

25. Galbats body Helviditu Prifetts took up by Othoes permiffion, and Argius his freed man buried it by night.

26. This yeare Sulpitius Galba conquered the Chatti.

31. mushkes, univerfally one and another.

31. Miffing of their defire in Pogisius, they fought to fulfill it in fome other.

42. Miffing of their defire in Pogisius, they fought to fulfill it in fome other.

43. Othe dilparched towards Tigelliuss lying at Sinuefis, for there he folgourned, having thips attending in the road, as though he would have fled further and first he attempted to corrupt thin that was fent, offering him flore of gold to let him escape: then not obtaining his purpose, he gave him not withstanding the gold, praying him that he would yet have patience a little, till his beard might be shaven, and himselfe taking the razour cut his own throat.

* 47. * Left being in wine you fall to quarelling amongst your felves, and wound one another, and so dishonour the banquet. For the sight of Armes draweth men often to handling of them. Telema: bus excuse why be removed by fathers armour and weapons out of the place where the woors ufed to eat. Two Centurions. 4 Eightly Senatours. Sending them out by a back gate.

10. And the common people accounted the rifing of Tiber, as an evill figne. The river did most harme in

54. To doe his reverence to the Prince, and receive committion from him concerning the affaires of Jewice.

54. To doe his reverence to the Prince, and receive committion from him concerning the affaires of Jewice.

55. Some fay that the Ilandwas called cypracy of cypras the Sonne of Jimyas. 1 The faid altar wasplaced in the open aire without any covert, as others allo in Homer Seeme to have beene, on which those that travelled by the way did offer. It is reported and beleeved amongst the Bargyliete, that the image of Diana named Kindyas, though lying open to all weather, is yet neither touched with fnow, nor raine at all.

74. Slaying all those of the vantguard.
76. One of the common fouldiers firetching out his sward and crying, We are thus resolved for thee, O Cefus,

flew himfelfe.

78. Supposing it madnesse to receive the Empire at the conquered hands, having refused it before at the conquerours. And fearing to goe in Embassie to those of Germany whom he had forced to many things against their own will

90. Nothing amazed at the change determined to go on his journey to Rome.

120. Small vessels straight and light of forme 25, men apeece ; seldome and at the uttermost not above 30, the Grecians call them Camare.

131. The Temple of Jupiter, and Juno, and Minerva, SAt what time also the Capitol was burnt, which foule A& fome imputed to Carbo, fome to the Confuls; others faid it was done by Syllaes commandement. The certaintie was not known neither can I conjecture the cause why it was done. I Appian. For his felicitie against his enemies, his flatterers named him, The happy, which proceeding first of flattery, was afterward confirmed to him by common consent. Plut. Lastly upon these accidents he commanded himselfe to be called, The happy : for so much doth the world Felix fignifie.

135. And fighting in three feverall places in the citie, they were all made an end of.

139. To havetwelve fasces alwayes and in every place borne before him, and to fit between the present Confuls in a chaire of estate.

150. An escape of memorie.

\$60. Being brethren, and in a maner of the fame yeers, and never doing any thing the one without the other, but being alwaies united, and communicating as in bloud, fo in their counfels and wealth, they governed a great while the two Germanies together, afterward being fent for by Nero into Greece, as though he had flood in need of their fufficiency, they were according to the nature of those times accused. And both of them let themselves bloud to death; 164. immonting, Archers on horfe-back.

873. He hid himselfe in a cave under ground , and there lay secret the space of nine yeares with his wife, on

whom he begat two fonnes, b as it were by divine providence.

183. 4 Dissiplus in his periogofis speaking of Alexandria, where is faith he. The temple of the great god fupiter Sinspita beautified with much gold, then the which there is no one temple in the world more goodly and glorious. For he brought not with him that name from Sinope, but after his coming to Alexandria, the name of Sarapis was given him, which in the Egyptian language fignifieth Pluto.

186. In these times the noble men of Rome, such as be desirous of good learning, in stead of travelling to Athens, go to Massilia, and in another place be attributeth to them the commendation of warinesse in dispense, and modestie.

227

188. Xiphil, Agricola the first Roman that we have memory of discovered Britanny to be an Iland. Dio In processe of time first under Agricola Proprætor, and now under Severus the Emperor it was evidently known to be an

192. For as the proverb faith, Venture must be made in the Carian (that is the common mercenary fouldier) not

in the Generals person.

100. Making an expedition into Germany, he returned not having fo much as once feen the enemy; now it is needleffe to report what great honours therfore were then bestowed upon him, and alwaics after upon other Emperors his matches, left that sufpecting by the smallers of their honors their actions to be checked, they should wreak their anger upon the Senatours, 2500pt/26000, worthy to be led in triumph, or triumphed over.

In the margin of the Annotations.

Ag 2. Dio. Wherefore it becometh us not to mourne for him, but to magnifie alwayes his spirit as a God. P Afterwards the Centurions with torches put fire to the pile, which was soone consumed, and out of it an eagle let loofe flew up, as carrying forfooth his foule into heaven.

29 Aprian. To be facred and notto be touched himselfe, and whosoever else should flie unto him. Dio. The rerogatives granted to the Tribunes were conferred upon him, fo that if any man should injury him in word or deed, he was to be reputed a facrilegious and detestable person.

35. Antony allotted fouldiers to death, not those who had ftirred mutinies, forsaken their place in watch, or flanding in battel, upon which crimes onely the law of armes had laid fo rigorous and terrible a punishment, but &c.

* Called then Lugudunum, now Lugdunum.

98. * Northerly windes blowing yearely after the fummer follitium fome twenty dayes, about the rising of the

Dogstar: being mixed of the northerly and westerne windes.

137. One day after Antonius entred the city, being the third of the moneth Apelleus.

142. Of the Roman warres he spared to triumph, as being civill, and neither much beseeming himself, and much millifed and abhorred of the people, yet did he nowithflanding carry in triumph all the accidents of thole wars in divers pictures, and the images of the captaines and principall men, faving of Pompey, whom onely he effected to thew, as being yet in all menshearts greatly defired, and wifned for. The flaw in his triumph of the citizens flain in Africk did much grieve the people.

205. Dionyfius gloried much more in his poems, then in the happy successe of his warres, and amongst other 205; Dionyma gonte much more in my penns, mark of Dithyrambi, a man of great reputation and remown in that kind of poem; that lived in the tyrants court Philozenus a maker of Dithyrambi, a man of great reputation and remown in that kind of poem; the Tyrants verfes being read in banquet which indeed were naught, was asked his opinion of them. Who fpeaking formewhat freely his mindegate tyrant was offended with his antweer and trying out that upon envy he had spoken ill of his poems, commanded those that attended, to carry him forthwith away into the quarry pits, 4 This kinde of knavery and envious jugling and deceit, not by dispraising, but by commending to ruine your neighbours, was first and principally found out by such as remaine in Princes courts, upon jealousie and ambition they have, one to outgrow another.

207. Every one of the Legions is of 4000. a piece. i. Ten Legions were enrolled of 4000. a piece.

208. (There followed him the horse belonging to the Legion. For every Legion hath annexed to it an hundred and twenty horfe.

209. For dividing themselves into payres. Of the fix moneths they keep the field, each paire commandeth two moneths, The Law commandeth all the 60 centures to obey, and do what is commanded by him.

210. After that Augustus was fetled in monarchy, he quit the Italians of the paines of service, and utterly difarmed them. The gentlemen on horseback mult of necessity serve ten yeares, the footmen 16. before they be 46. yeares of age, When they will take up any fouldiers, they call the tribes one by one, as the lot falleth.

211. The same form of government the Præfecti also use with the allies.

212, The first day of the yeare they both sware themselves, and caused others to sweare, that they would accept for good all Carlars acts. Which thing is used even at this day for the acts of the present Emperours, and for those or all their predecessours whose memory is not disgraced.

214. " The whole figure of the castrametation is a square of equal sides.

216. If the place chance to be uneven, they make it plaine and even. When they are fast gathered together into the camp, and ready to enter the enemics countrey.

217. b Romulus divided his people into Legions, and every Legion confifted of 3000 persons, I He resolved to make war against the Sabins arming all the Roman forces, which were double to that they were before the taking

221 The Provost of the City having but few fouldiers under his government. Having never so much as imagined of sea service, then first they entred into conceit thereof.

222. For being without fayles, and prepared only for the fight, they did not follow in chase those which fled. Liburni a people of Illyrium, who with light and fwift thips roved about the Mare Ionium, and Illands there. Whereupon at this day the Romans call the lightest and swiftest of the Biremes Liburnica. Triacontoros and Teffaracontoros and Pentecontoros have their names of the number of their oares. Moneres and Biremis and fo in confequence havetheir names according to the number of ranks of oares one above another. Vling but few Triremes, but furnished with Pentecontori, and long ships.

223. Ships of service that were some five hundred, and of Liburnicæ an infinite number. A man may well doubt what the reason should be why the Romans being now lords of all, and in a far greater height then before,

can neither man out fo many fhips, nor fayle with fo great navies.

The rest which are not here translated, are but either some few words, or else Greek of that, the fubstance whereof is in the text.

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